This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

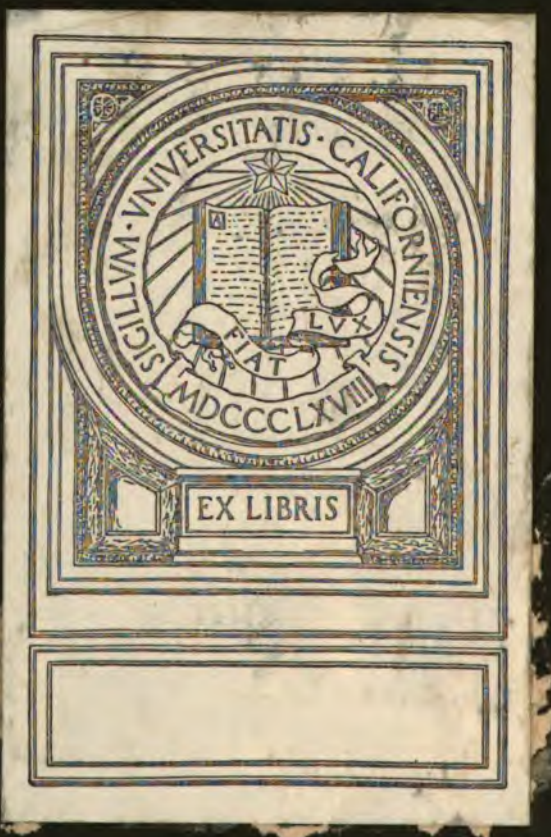
+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`


SIGILLVM · VNIVERSITATIS · CALIFORNIENSIS
LVX
FIAT
MDCCCLXVIII
EX LIBRIS

J. M. Casey
Presented by the Author
Feby 15. 1882.

This volume will be sent, express charges paid, to those who may order it. Price, $7.50, C. O. D. Address

Miss Hattie P. Hurlbut,
44 SOUTH ANN STREET,
Chicago, Ill.

Dec. 27, 1881.

Chicago Antiquities

By Henry H. Hurlbut.

Chicago, Illinois.

1880.

CHICAGO ANTIQUITIES:

COMPRISING

ORIGINAL ITEMS AND RELATIONS, LETTERS, EXTRACTS, AND NOTES,

PERTAINING TO

EARLY CHICAGO;

EMBELLISHED WITH

VIEWS, PORTRAITS, AUTOGRAPHS, ETC.

BY

HENRY H. HURLBUT,

MEMBER OF THE CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY; CORRESPONDINDING MEMBER OF THE WISCONSIN STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

CHICAGO:
PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR.

1881.

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1881, by
HENRY H. HURLBUT,
In the office of the Librarian of Congress, at Washington.

ANDOVER-HARVARD THEOLOGICAL LIBRARY

FERGUS PRINTING COMPANY CHICAGO.

PREFACE.

WHOEVER attempts to inflict upon the public a volume of the size and character of this, ought possibly to be allowed to tell what he might claim to excuse the offence. Therefore, we will say that it is sometimes urged that Chicago of to-day must be considered one of the wonders of the age; not but that there are many larger cities; not to assert that there are none so beautiful in architectural display; not that the breath of its winter winds is ever balmy and its summer heats always mild; not that it may boast of surpassing natural scenery; not that it has yet achieved the accumulated literary and artistic treasures of which other places may vaunt; not that it has already wedded the siren refined and luxurious effeminacy, the tendency, perhaps, of great and continued financial thrift, so much coveted, and yet so much to be feared. But still it is often insisted that Chicago pertains to the wonderful, because, in fifty years, the hamlet has grown from a colony of less than fifty residents to the number of some five hundred thousand souls. Such progress, from its aged infancy of half a century ago to its present gigantic youthfulness, if remarkable, is no doubt to be accounted for upon the natural and unavoidable sequence of effect from cause. Not alone, however, to its natural advantages, which Louis Joliet, the companion of Father Marquette (the earliest known white men here), first discoursed upon more than two centuries ago, is Chicago indebted. "*Veni, vidi, vici!*" For a century and a half, there were those who *came*, and *saw*, and *said;* but it was left to those of the middle half of the present century to demonstrate the truth of some of the possibilities of Chicago, and to us to say that it was they who *conquered.*

M196992

What they accomplished need not here be told; but we may add, that the early settlers of Chicago had the sagacity to perceive, the wisdom to embrace, the courage to undertake, and the unyielding perseverance that faltered at no effort; no narrow-minded and cowardly doubts took possession of their heads, hearts, and hands.

If such then are the facts, may it not be a pardonable error, to recall the beginnings, to look after the lower walls, the lines of the trenches, so to speak, indeed, to inspect the quality or peculiarities of the rubble-stone and concrete, the foundations, whereon rests the superstructure, the moral, intellectual, and material fabric of this great western metropolis.

The compiler of this book, several years since, issued a few dozen pages of it in pamphlet form; but as many articles for the continued series were more or less incomplete, for want of various well-authenticated items, etc., it was deemed expedient, from the occasioned delay, not to continue the publication in that shape, but to embody the material when ready at once in a volume. So the book has been hastened but leisurely; yet, to the reader, there may have been some gain by the waiting.

It would be scarcely prudent to anticipate a high public estimate of our service in presenting these pages. We do not claim to offer exhaustive essays, nor to give full biographies of individuals, or sketches of subjects; yet, if the contents of this octavo shall bring to the light new truths, or recall old facts nearly lost or forgotten; if they shall correct various errors, and, withal, place a few pebbles upon the historic pile or memento of Chicago's early history, then our efforts will not have been altogether futile.

To those persons who have furnished items, etc., for this volume, the compiler here makes his acknowledgments and sincere thanks.

CHICAGO, DEC., 1881.

INTRODUCTION.

UNDER the name of "Antiquities," we purpose to compile a series of pamphlets relating to early Chicago, if indeed so young a town may lay claim to so dignified a term. Our antiquities, however, are of rather a different stamp from those of the European world, for we may not boast of massive castle walls, ivy-clothed, tradition-wrapped, and crumbling beneath the weight of centuries. The corner stones of antiquity, yonder, were laid in the mists of a shadowy past; here, the morning beams which dawned in the beginning have not reached the evening twilight of dim uncertainty. The names of the founders of our American towns, together with the circumstances attending such beginnings, have been usually preserved; those of the cities of the old world are mostly hidden beneath the myths, superstitions, and vague tales of a remote and departed age.

It is true that not fifty years have passed, since some of our remaining early settlers saw the young town dressed in the swaddling-clothes of village incorporation; but a few decades have effected here what in most other cases the efforts of centuries have been required to accomplish. Yet the swiftly hurrying years have already brought around another and a new generation, who, though "to the manor born," speak of the primitive days of our city as "the olden time." To such at least, our series (which will contain many new or unfamiliar chapters) will be of interest.

We would not, by any means, undervalue the culture which disciplines the intellect and stores the mind with the lore and mythical tales and antiquities of the storied shores of the Mediterranean; but, for our particular and individual self, we must confess that we are far less tenacious of the memory of any of those illustrious humbugs told of in the classics, than of that of the early Chicago resident and first proprietor of the old "Kinzie House," Baptiste Point de Sable (he was here as early as 1779), the handsome, colossal, and opulent

black prince of the North Division; albeit, he was a swaggering Domingoan, and, like many other great men, drank too much rum. We have heard of Midas, and Crœsus, and Trismegistus, as well as of old Vulcan, but how little regard ought we to pay to the fame of those unreliable alchemists and artisans, when contrasted with that of our pioneer the elder John Kinzie, the veritable "*Shaw-nee-aw-kee*," the "silver-man" of the tribes of the Illinois. And concerning that memorable scow-boat

> " * * * the Argo,
> That Jason embarked in for the 'golden fleece,'
> For whether that wool became part of her cargo,
> We've little to look for in the myths of old Greece."

Indeed, to a Chicagoan, of little interest must be the whole yarn about the "golden fleece," when compared with the story which the venerable Gurdon S. Hubbard might tell us of his journeyings, and of the *fleeces*, those packs, bales, pony-loads, and canoe-cargoes of fine furs which he gathered in all the lake region, and along the two hundred-mile trail, that he in person laid out, forty-nine years ago, through the wilderness, from Fort Dearborn to the Kaskaskia River.

Our plan in issuing the papers comprising the series here proposed will be rather a discursive one; not that of annals, not a consecutive history, indeed not so much a history as *material* for history. Not an edifice in historic detail, of lofty and comely proportions, but rather a group of structures of varied, though relative, architecture.

H. H. H.

JANUARY 21, 1875.

THE

LAWS AND ORDINANCES

OF THE

CITY OF CHICAGO.

PASSED IN COMMON COUNCIL.

[We present some account and in part a transcript of a noticeable relic, which has come within the range of our knowledge and inspection. It is, without doubt, of considerable rarity, and we should not know where to find its duplicate in the city. We are referring to a publication issued in the latter part of the year 1839, of which this is the title-page.]

CHICAGO:
PRINTED BY EDWARD H. RUDD.

MDCCCXXXIX.

Fifty-two octavo pages comprised not only the "Laws and Ordinances," but also a "City Register," (a list of city officers,) and a "Chicago Business Directory," together with some half dozen pages of advertisements.

We present a few extracts from the said "Ordinances;" to-day they might be deemed curious, severe, or possibly a little whimsical. The "Business Directory" is here reproduced as first printed, with an occasional note of correction, and with the addition of a star (*) against the names of those whom we know to have passed from earth to that "other shore." This Directory was the first attempt which succeded the numbering of the buildings, though that numbering was only upon Lake Street. [The statement sometimes made, that "Norris' Chicago Directory and Business Advertiser" for the year 1844, was the first Directory ever published in Chicago, is certainly an error.]

Agreeable to the statute for the incorporation of towns, an election was held in Chicago, August 10, 1833, for the choice of trustees of the village; and it is worthy of note that there were twenty-eight votes polled on that occasion. Chicago was incorporated as a city March 4, 1837. The population in 1839 did not exceed 4,200 in number. A shipment of 2,673 bushels of wheat was made that year—the first, (excepting 78 bushels the year preceding), for it took everything, and more, that was raised in the vicinity, from 1835 to '38, for the use of the incoming settlers. The first daily newspaper (*The Chicago Daily American*, Wm. Stuart, editor and proprietor), appeared this year, the first number bearing date April 9, 1839. Among other important events of that year, in which Chicago and the whole western country were to become interested, was the incorporation by the Wisconsin Territorial Legislature of The Wisconsin Fire and Marine Insurance Company. This institution set sail under the command of George Smith, as captain, and Alexander Mitchell, as lieutenant, with the aid of ballast from their Scottish friends of Aberdeen. But, instead of an insurance company, it resulted in a rather stupendous bank of issue, vastly to the profit of the stockholders, and of NO LITTLE service to the people of the lake country and the Mississippi Valley.

Almost one-half of the 277 names of individuals or firms of the following Directory were located on Lake Street; but Chicago then, as to-day, felt her rising importance, and, nearing the end of Anno Domini 1839, was published this record of her greatness, and looked trustfully forward to the beckoning future.

Extracts from "The Laws and Ordinances."

"FOR THE PROTECTION OF LIFE AND LIMB.

SECTION 2. No person shall ride or drive any horse or horses in any avenue, street, or lane within this city faster than a moderate trot." *(Passed May 12, 1837.)*

[The "moderate trot" of the above ordinance was a gait that has not survived to the present day; witness, for instance, the "two-thirty" Chicago nags on West Washington Street any fair afternoon when a few inches of snow may have put in an appearance.]

"OF THE EXTINGUISHMENT OF FIRES.

SECTION 30. * * The citizens and inhabitants shall respectively, if the fire happens at night, place a lighted candle or lamp at the front door or windows of their respective dwellings, there to remain during the night, unless the fire be sooner extinguished.

SEC. 34. Every dwelling house or other building containing one fire-place or stove, shall have one good painted leathern fire-bucket, with the initials of the owner's name painted thereon, etc.

SEC. 35. That every able bodied inhabitant shall, upon an alarm of fire, repair to the place of the fire with his fire-bucket or buckets, if he shall have any, etc.

SEC. 36. Every occupant of any building shall keep the aforesaid fire-buckets in the front hall of said building, etc." *(Passed May 12, 1837.)*

"DIRECTING CERTAIN PUBLIC IMPROVEMENTS.

SECTION 3. The said city surveyor is further directed to survey, describe, and record in manner aforesaid, a street eighty feet wide, which shall be called "Hoosier Avenue," which shall commence on the west line of section sixteen, on Second-street, and run in a south-westerly course to the bounds of the city, in the direction to cross the Canal at Canalport, in some eligible place so as to intersect the State road in that direction." *(Passed June 1, 1837.)*

"AN ORDINANCE TO NUMBER LAKE STREET.

SECTION 1. Beginning at the south-west corner of Lake-street and Michigan Avenue as number one, and at the north-

west corner of the same street as number two, and thence numbering successively westwardly to the south branch of the Chicago River. The buildings to be numbered as far as State-st., according to the lots as laid out and sold by the agent of the United States, one number for each lot. West of State-street, the buildings are to be numbered one number for every 20 feet of each block. The odd numbers to be on the south side, and the even numbers on the north side of Lake-street, according to the plan of Lake-street, as laid out and numbered by the street commissioner, and on file with the city clerk." *(Passed Nov. 12, 1839.)*

"CONCERNING BILLIARD TABLES AND BALL ALLEYS.

SECTION 1. That there shall be no billiard table or tables set up or used in said city from and after the 15th day of May next.

SEC. 2. That there shall be no nine pin alleys, or any ball alley where pins are used, sit up or used, in the said city of Chicago from and after the 15th day of May next." *(Passed April 22, 1839.)*

"That in addition to the penalties already imposed by the ordinance to which this is an amendment, if any owner or keeper of any billiard table or ball alley or ten pin alley shall suffer the same to be used or played upon after the hour of 10 o'clock P.M., he shall forfeit and pay to the city of Chicago the sum of five dollars for each offence, with costs of suit." *(Passed Dec. 9, 1839.)*

"OF NUISANCES AND THE PRESERVATION OF GOOD ORDER.

SECTION 4. Any person who shall solicit alms, without a written permission from the Mayor, from citizens, shall pay a penalty for each offence of two dollars." *(Passed May 12, 1837.)*

"TO COMPEL THE ATTENDANCE OF MEMBERS.

SECTION 3. Any member of said Common Council who shall absent himself from the meeting of the Council, after the same shall have been duly organised for that meeting, without having first obtained leave of the Mayor or Council for that purpose, shall, for each offence, forfeit and pay to said city the sum of ten dollars." *(Passed Dec. 2, 1839.)*

City Register, 1839.

BENJAMIN W. RAYMOND, Mayor.

ALDERMEN, FIRST WARD.
James A. Smith,
Oliver H. Thompson.

ALDERMEN, SECOND WARD.
Eli S. Prescott,
Clement C. Stoce.

ALDERMEN, THIRD WARD.
William H. Stow,
Ira Miltimore.

ALDERMEN, FOURTH WARD.
John Murphy,
Asahel Pierce.

ALDERMEN, FIFTH WARD.
Henry L. Rucker,
John C. Wilson.

ALDERMEN, SIXTH WARD.
John H. Kinzie,
Buckner S. Morris.

Samuel J. Lowe, *High Constable.*

Assessors.
1st Ward, Alvin Calhoun.
2d ——, Thomas Brock.
3d ——, Thomas C. James.

Assessors.
4th Ward, John Gray.
5th ——, James Duffy.
6th ——, Jacob Raynor.

Alvin Calhoun, *Chief Engineer.*

Charles T. Stanton, Geo. Chacksfield, *Ass't Engineers.*

Wm. W. Brackett, *City Clerk.*

Erastus Bowen, *Collector.* Geo. W. Dole, *Treasurer.*

Charles M. Gray, *Street Commissioner.*

S. Lisle Smith, *City Attorney.*

Charles V. Dyer, *City Physician.*

Asa F. Bradley, *City Surveyor.*

George Davis, *Sealer of Weights and Measures.*

SCHOOL INSPECTORS.

Peter Bolles, John Scott, J. Y. Scammon,
David Moore, Daniel Elston, Wm. H. Brown,
Nathan H. Bolles.

Police Constables.

Samuel J. Lowe, D. C. Allen,
Daniel B. Heartt, George M. Huntoon.

Fire Wardens.

1st Ward, N. H. Bolles.
2d ——, Jerem. Price.
3d ——, John Gray.

4th Ward, John Miller.
5th ——, David Moore.
6th ——, Alonzo Wood.

Drs. Brainard, Gay, and Betts, *Board of Health.*

[A REPRINT.]

Chicago Business Directory.

Adams, William H., shoe and leather dealer, 138 lake street,
Arnold, Isaac N., attorney and counsellor at law, dearborn street,
*Abel, Sidney, postmaster, office clark street,
Allen, J. P., boot and shoe maker, north water street, (*John P.*)
Attwood, J. M., house, sign and ornamental painter, randolph street,
Bristol & Porter, agents for C. M. Reed, forward. commis. merchants, (**Robert C. Bristol; Hibbard Porter.*)
*Beaubien, J. B., Esq., reservation, fronting the lake,
Blassy, B., baker, randolph street,
*Boyce, L. M., wholesale druggist and apothecary, 121 lake street,
Brackett, William W., city clerk, clark street,
*Brown, Henry, attorney and counsellor at law, clark street,
Bancroft, J. W. & Co., lake street coffee house, 135 lake street,
Beecher, J., boot and shoe maker and leather dealer, 160 lake street,
Burley, A. G., crockery, stone, and earthenware merchant, 161 lake st.
Bates & Morgan, cabinet makers, 199 lake street, (*A. S. Bates; Caleb Morgan.*)
Botsford & Beers, copper, tin, and sheetiron merchants, dearborn street,
*Brinkerhoff, Dr. John, clark street,
*Betts, Dr., residence and office michigan street,
*Brown, William H., cashier, Illinois branch state bank, lasalle street,
*Boyer, J. K., coroner, south water street, (*John.*)
Beaumont & Skinner, attorneys and counsellors at law, clark street, (**Geo. A. O. Beaumont; Mark Skinner.*)
Balestier, J. N., attorney and counsellor at law, clark street,
*Burton, Stiles, wholesale grocer and liquor dealer, lake and state strs.
Bowen, Erastus, city collector, foot of south water street,
Berry, B. A. & Co., dry goods and grocery store, south water street,
Bradley, Asa F., city surveyor, morrison's row, clark street,
Brady, George, constable, alley between north water and kinzie streets,
Briggs & Humphrey, carriage and wagon makers, randolph street, (**Benj. Briggs; J. O. Humphrey.*)
*Butterfield, Justin, attorney and counsellor at law, dearborn street,
*Bolles, Nathan H., county commissioner, overseer of poor, lake street,

Bethune, Andrew, Parisian dyer and scourer, north water street,
Carter, T. B. & Co., fancy dry goods merchants, 118 lake street,
Clarke, W. H. & A. F., wholesale druggists & apothecaries 128 lake st.,
Cole, A., ship, house, sign, and ornamental painter, 129 lake street,
*Carney, John, grocery and provision store, 133 lake street, (*James Carney.*)
*Cure, P., grocery and provision store, randolph street,
*Curtiss, James, attorney and counsellor at law, 175 lake street,
Clever, J., soap boiler, factory on the south branch, (*Charles Cleaver.*)
Collins, S. B. & Co., boot, shoe and leather dealers, 140 lake street, (**Saml. B. C. of S. B. C. & Co.*)
*Church, Thomas, grocery and provision store, 111 lake street,
*Childs, S. D., wood and metal engraver, saloon buildings, clark street,
*Clark, L. W., exchange broker and lottery agent, 150½ lake street,
Cleveland & Co., house, sign and ornamental painters, dearborn street,
Conklin, J., blacksmith, carriage and wagon repairer, clark street,
*Cook, C. W., Illinois exchange, 192 lake street,
Cobb, S. B., saddle, bridle, harness and trunk maker, 171 lake street,
Cook, Isaac W., eagle coffee house, dearborn street,
Clarke, Dr., 159 lake street,
Cunningham, John, grocery, north water street, at the ferry, (*Henry Cunningham.*)
*Couch, Ira, hotel keeper, corner of dearborn and lake streets,
*Calhoun, John, collector of taxes, Eddy's store,
Carpenter, Philo, druggist and apothecary, south water street,
Chacksfield, George, grocery and provision store, south water street,
*Collins, J. H., attorney and counsellor at law, dearborn street,
Colvin, Edwin B., door and sash maker, dearborn and north water streets,
*David, William, boot and shoe maker, near New York house, lake street,
*Doyle, S., draper and tailor, junction of kinzie and north water sts.
Durand, Charles, attorney and counsellor at law, 149 lake street,
*Davis, George, county clerk, 159 lake street,
*Delicker, George, wholesale grocery and provision store, 163 lake street,
*Dewey, Dr. E., druggist and apothecary, dearborn street,
Dodge & Tucker, ship chandlers and grocers, south water street, (*John C. Dodge; *Henry Tucker.*)
*Davlin, John, auctioneer, corner of dearborn and south water streets,
Davis, Miss A., cloak maker and tailoress, 115 lake street,
*Dole, George W., city treasurer, michigan street,

Dyer & Boone, Drs., state street, opposite the new market, (*Charles V. Dyer; Levi D. Boone.*)
*Davis, William H., constable, south water street,
Eddy, & Co., hardware, stove and ironmongers, 105 lake street, (*Ira B. Eddy; John Calhoun.*)
Edwards, Alfred, grocery and provision store, north water street,
Eldridge, Dr., clark street, Harmon & Loomis' building, (*John W. E.*)
*Etzler, Anton, cap, stock and umbrella maker, 151 lake street, (*Anton Getzler.*)
Frink & Bringham, stage office, 123 lake street, (**John Frink: — Bingham.*)
Follansbe, A., grocery and provision store, dearborn street,
Funk, J., fulton and illinois markets, 95 lake and north water streets, (*Absalom F.*)
Foster & Robb, grocers and ship chandlers, dearborn street, (*Geo. F. Foster; *Geo. A. Robb.*)
Follansbe C., grocery and provision store, dearborn street,
Fenherty, John, fancy dry goods store, south water street,
Fullerton, A. N., lumber merchant, north water street,
*Foot, D. P., blacksmith, south water street, (*David P. Foot.*)
Goss, S. W. & Co., dry goods merchants, 105 lake street,
Gale, S. F., bookseller and stationer, corner of lasalle 159 lake street,
Gale, Mrs., New York millinery store, 99 lake street, (*Mrs. Abraham Gale.*)
Goodsell & Campbell, dry goods and grocery store, dearborn street, (*L. B. Goodsell; — Campbell.*)
Goold, N., grocery and provision store, 155 lake street,
Gurnee, W. S., saddle and harness maker, 129 and 164 lake street,
Gray, C. M., street commissioner, randolph street,
Gill, Edmund, Shakspeare hotel, north water street, near the lake house,
*Graves, D., Rialto, dearborn street, (*Dexter Graves.*)
Gage, J., flour store, south water street; mill on the south branch,
*Gavin, Isaac R., sheriff, randolph st., north-west corner public square,
Goodrich, Grant, attorney and counsellor at law, 105 lake street,
Goodenow, A., dry goods merchant, 134 lake street,
Gray, John, chicago hotel, wolf point,
Hupp, S., tailor and cutter, 210 lake street,
*Hunter, Edward, deputy sheriff, wells street, (*Edward E. H.*)
Hubbard & Co., forwarding and commission merchants, north water st., (*Gurdon S. Hubbard; *Henry G. Hubbard.*)
*Hooker, J. W., grocery and provision store, 152 lake street,
Hobbie & Clark, dry goods merchants, 142 lake street, (**Albert G. Hobbie; John Clark.*)
*Hanson, J. L., grocery and provision store, 146 lake street, (*Joseph L. Hanson.*)

*Hamilton, R. J., clerk circuit court, clark street,
*Hodgson, J. H., tailor and clothier, opposite city hotel, clark street,
Hovey & Burbeck, lake street market, 143 lake street, (*Samuel S. Hovey; —— Burbank.)
Howe, Miss, milliner and mantuamaker, corner of lake and wells sts. (*Now the widow of Rufus B. Brown.*)
*Henson, O. C., hair cutting and shaving shop, 183 lake street,
Heymann, F. T., watchmaker and jeweller, 173 lake street,
Hallam, Isaac W., rector St. James' church, corner cass and illinois sts.,
*Howe, F., clerk, Illinois branch state bank, lasalle street. (*Frank Howe.*)
*Howe, F. A., justice of the peace, 97 lake street, (*Fred. A. Howe.*)
Harmon, Loomis & Co., wholesale grocers, clark and south water sts. (*Chas. L. Harmon; Horatio G. Loomis.*)
*Holbrook, J., clothing, bed and mattress store, south water street,
*Holmes, L. W., hardware and stove merchant, south water street,
Hall, Henry P., barber, north water street, opposite the lake house,
*Howe, J. L., city bakehouse, north water street, (*James L. H.*)
Hoyne, Thomas, attorney and counsellor at law, 107 lake street,
Harmon, Isaac D., dry goods merchant, clark street, near the river,
Harmon, William, blacksmith, north water street, (*Harman.*)
Hunt, B. T., bed and mattress store, south water street,
*Huntoon, G. M., constable, near corner of dearborn and kinzie streets, (*Geo. M. Huntoon.*)
Higgins, A. D., merchant (Parish & Metcalf's), 132 lake street,
Hayward & Co., burr mill stone manufactory, kinzie street,
Johnson, J., hair cutting and shaving shop, 131 lake street,
*Jones, William, justice of the peace, dearborn street,
Judd, N. B., attorney, exchange buildings, 107 lake street,
King, Tuthill, New York clothing store, 115 lake street,
King, Willis, lumber merchant, randolph street,
*Kerchival, L., inspector of the port of Chicago, (*Lewis C. K.*)
Kinzie & Hunter, forwarding, commission merchants, north water st. (**John H. Kinzie and General David Hunter.*)
Kendall, Vail & Co., clothing store, 119 lake street,
Keogh, P. R., tailor and clothier, clark street,
Killick, James, grocery and provision store, dearborn street,
*Kimberly, Dr. E., residence north water street, near the lake house, (*Dr. Edmund S. K.*)
Kent & *Gilson, livery stable keepers, state street,
Leavenworth, J. H., overseer public works, garrison,
*Lewis, ———, merchant, dearborn street, (*L. F. Lewis: removed to Wisconsin.*)
*Lewis, A. B., sunday school agent, lasalle street,
*Lowe, Samuel J., high constable, clark street, near methodist church,
*Loyd, A., carpenter and builder, wells street, (*Alex. Loyd.*)

*Lincoln, Solomon, tailor and clothier, 156 lake street,
Lindebner, J., tailor and cutter, lake street,
*Leary, A. G., attorney and counsellor at law, dearborn street,
*Lill, William, brewer, lake shore, north side of the river,
Magie & Co., dry goods merchants, 130 lake street, (*Haines H. Magie; *John High, jr.*)
M'Donnell, Charles, grocery and provision store, market street,
M'Craken & Brooks, tailors and clothiers, clark street, (**Thomas Brooks.*)
M'Donnell, Michael, grocery, north water street,
Manierre & Blair, merchant tailors, clark street, (*Edward Manierre; *Geo. Blair.*)
Morris, B. S., alderman, attorney and counsellor at law, saloon buildings,
*Montgomery, G. B. S., merchant, 137 lake street,
Mills, M., grocery and provision store, 154 lake street,
Matthews, P., dry goods merchant, 162 lake street,
*Merrill, George W., dry goods merchant, 166 lake street,
Morrison, John H., grocery store, 190 lake street,
Murray, George, tailor and clothier, 198 lake street,
Mooney, Michael, blacksmith, franklin street,
Murray & Brand, exchange brokers, 189 lake street, (**James Murray; *Alex. Brand.*)
Massey, I. F., saddler and shoe merchant, 175 lake street,
Morrison, J., carpenter, clark street,
*Morrison. Orsemus, morrison's row, clark street,
Massey, Mrs., milliner and dress maker, 175 lake street,
Malbucher, L., grocery and provision store, 167 lake street, (**Louis Malzacher.*)
M'Combe, Mrs., milliner and dress maker, 165 lake street, (*Miss McComber.*)
Marshall, James A., auctioneer, commission merchant, south water st.
Mosely & M'Cord, merchants, south water street, (**Flavel Moseley; *Jason McCord.*)
*Murphy, J., United States hotel, west water street, (*John Murphy.*)
Morrison, John C., grocery and provision store, south water street,
Mitchell, John B., boot and shoemaker, south water street,
*Miltimore, Ira, steam sash factory, south branch of Chicago river,
*Moore, Henry, attorney and counsellor at law, clark street,
Marsh & Dole, butchers, dearborn street, (*Sylvester Marsh; *G. W. Dole.*)
Merrick, Dr., 121 lake street; house corner state and randolph streets,
*Manierre, George, attorney and counsellor at law, 105 lake street,
*Meeker, George W., attorney and counsellor at law, 150 lake street,
Mylne & Morrison, lumber merchants, south water street, (*Robert Milne; Alex. Morrison.*)

*Newberry & Dole, forwarding, commission merchants, north water st., (**Oliver Newberry, of Detroit; *Geo. W. Dole.*)
Norton & Co., H., grocers and provision merchants, south water street, (*Horace Norton; Joel C. Walter.*)
Nickalls, Pateson, livery stable keeper, kinzie street,
Nicholson & Co., merchants, north water street,
Osbourn & Strail, hardware, stove, iron merchants, 124 lake street, (*Should be Osborn & S.*)
Otis, S. T. & Co., stove, iron, hardware merchants, dearborn street,
Osterhoudt, L. M., New York house, 180 lake street,
Osbourn, William, boot, shoe and leather merchant, 141 lake street, (*Should be Osborn.*)
Oliver, John A., house, sign and ornamental painter, kinzie street,
Ogden, William B., Esq., kinzie street,
Ogden, M. D., of Arnold & Ogden, attorneys, dearborn street,
O'Brien, George, grocery and provision store, north water street,
O'Connor, Martin, blacksmith, randolph street,
*Post, Dr., residence lake street, office dearborn street,
Peck, E., treasurer canal fund, clark street,
Page, Peter, mason, clark street, brick building above randolph street,
Paine & Norton, dry goods merchants, 117 lake street, (**Seth Paine and *Theron Norton.*)
Parsons & Holden, grocery and provision store, market street, (**Edward Parsons; Chas. W. H.*)
Parish & Metcalf, general merchants, 132 lake street,
Peacock & Co., J., gunsmiths, 153 lake street, (*Joseph Peacock; David C. Thatcher.*)
*Pearson, Hiram, grocer and dry goods merchant, south water street, (*Hiram Pearsons.*)
Periolat, F. A., grocery and provision store, 126 lake street,
Pfund, J., bread and biscuit maker, clark street,
*Philips, Clifford S., wholesale dry goods merchant, 125 lake street,
Phillips, John F., tailor and clothier, city hotel buildings, clark street,
Pond, William, watch and clock maker, 183 lake street,
Prescott, E. S., receiver land office, United States, 175 lake street,
*Price, J., fire warden, south water street, (*Jeremiah Price.*)
Price, Robert, tailor and clothier, 153 lake street,
Proctor, Dr., dearborn street, below lake street,
Randolph, G. F., wholesale dry goods merchant, 109 lake street,
Rankin, William & John, brass founders, clark street and Illinois st.,
Raymond, B. *W.*, general dry goods merchant, 122 lake street,
*Reed, C. M., forwarding and commission merchant, south water st.,
Reed, Mrs., cloak and dressmaker, 115 lake street,
Ross, Hugh, bookbinder and paper ruler, clark street, below lake st.,
*Rossetter, Asher, mansion house, 86 lake street,
*Rucker, Henry L., alderman and justice of the peace, dearborn st.,
*Rudd, Edward H., job and book printer, saloon buildings, clark st.,

*Russell, James, city hotel, clark street, (*Jacob Russell.*)
*Saltonstall, *W. W.*, Hubbard & Co.'s warehouse, north water street,
Sauter, C. & J., boot and shoemakers, 212 lake street, (*Chas. and *Jacob S.*)
Sherman, A. S., mason, west of the south branch of Chicago river,
Sherman, E. L., teller, Illinois branch state bank, lasalle street,
Sherman & Pitkin, general dry goods merchants, 150 lake street, (*Oren Sherman; Nathaniel Pitkin.*)
*Sherwood, S. J., watchmaker and jeweller, 144 lake street,
Shields, Joseph, watch and clock repairer, dearborn street,
Shollar, A., grocery and provision store, 200 lake street,
Smith, Bradner, carpenter, wolcott street,
*Smith, Lisle, city attorney, 107 lake street, (*S. Lisle Smith.*)
*Smith & Co., J. A., hat and cap manufacturers, 127 lake street,
Smith & Co., George, exchange brokers, 187 lake street,
Stanton & Black, auctioneers, commission merchants, 85 lake street, (**Chas. T. Stanton; —— Black.*)
Stearns & Hallam, fancy dry goods merchants, 148 lake street,
Stoce & White, blacksmiths, corner randolph and wells streets, (*Clemens Stose; —— White.*)
Stocking, Rev. Mr., pastor metho. church, opposite pub. square, clark st.,
*Stone, H. O., grocer and provision merchant, south water street,
Strode, J. M., register land office, saloon buildings, clark street,
*Stuart, *W.*, publisher and editor of Chicago American, south water street,
Sweet, C., grocery and provision store, north water street,
Storms, A., carpenter and builder, state street,
Sawyer, S., druggist and apothecary, dearborn street,
Shelley, G. E., lake house, north water street,
Steele, J. *W.*, city refectory, dearborn street,
*Seymour, Jesse, sauganash hotel, market street,
Sweetser, J. Oldham, surgeon dentist, rush street, opposite lake house,
*Stuart, Dr. J. Jay, rush street, opposite the lake house,
Scammon, J. Young, attorney and counsellor at law, 107 lake street,
*Spring, Giles, attorney and counsellor at law, 107 lake street,
Snow, G. *W.* & Co., lumber merchants, south water street, (**Geo. W. Snow, of G. W. S. & Co.*)
*Sherman, F. C., contractor and builder, clark street,
Tuttle, Nelson, stage agent, 180 lake street,
Taylor, Daniel, boot and shoe maker, 120 lake street,
*Thompson, O. H., grocery and dry goods merchant, south water street,
*Tucker, William, cooper, south water street, (*Thomas E. T.*)
Tripp, ——, carpenter, clark street, next the methodist church, (*Robinson Tripp.*)

Taylor, Francis H., tailor, wolf point,
*Updike & M'Clure, carpenters and builders, dearborn street, (*Peter L. Updyke; Andrew McClure.*)
Van Osdell, John, contractor and builder, corn. wolcott and kinzie sts., (*John M. Van Osdel.*)
Vaughan, William, clothes broker, 159 lake street,
Villiard, L. N., grocery and provision store, 187 lake street,
Woodworth, R. & J., wholesale dry goods merchants, 103 lake street, (**Robert and* **James H. W.*)
*Wheeler, William, tin, sheet-iron and coppersmith, 145 lake street.
*Wright, John S., forwarding, commission merchant, north water st.,
*Weir, John B., cabinet and chair maker, 188 lake street,
*White, George, city crier, market street, or at Stanton & Black's,
Wilman, Andrew, blacksmith, randolph street, opposite public square.
*Whitlock, Thomas, boot and shoe maker, 102 lake street,
*Whiting, *W.* L., produce and commission merchant, Hubbard's store.
Wentworth, J., editor and publisher of Chicago Democrat, 107 lake st.
*Wolcott, Henry, private boarding house, corner kinzie and wolcott sts.,
Wadsworth, Julius, agent for the Hartford insurance Co., 105 lake st.,
Warner, Seth, merchant, south water street, (*Seth P. W.*)
*White, Alexander, house, sign and ornamental painter, north water street,
Wicker, J. H., grocery and provision store, 87 lake street,
*Walton, N. C., grocery and provision store, north water street,
Walker & Co., grocer and provision merchant, south water street, (**Chas. Walker; **Almond Walker.*)
Williams, Eli B., recorder, clark street; store south water street,
Wait, H. M., grocery and provision store, lake street,
Wandell, John, great western, 152½ lake street,
Wheeler, *W.* F., dry goods merchant, 107 lake street,
Williams, J., hair cutting and shaving shop, 90 lake street,
Wells, H. G., grocery and provision store, 101 lake street,
Yates, H. H., grocery and provision store, clark street.

CHURCHES OF THE CITY.

Baptist Church, La Salle, above randolph street; I. T. Hinton, elder,
Episcopal Church, Cass street, opposite Kinzie Square,
Presbyterian Church, west side of Clark street, above the pub. square.
Methodist Church, east side of Clark street, above randolph,
Roman Catholic Church, Corner of Lake and State street,
First Unitarian Society, Rev. Mr. Harrington, Saloon Buildings.

A number of omissions will probably be found in the foregoing directory, in consequence of the difficulty in procuring a suitable person to collect names and residences for it; but it is the intention of the publisher, as soon as circumstances will permit, to issue another edition, enlarged and otherwise improved.

DWELLERS IN CHICAGO IN 1839.

[We had intended this notice for a later page of this volume, but having re-arranged a part of the foregoing since first issued, we insert it here.]

We are much pleased with the appearance of Mr. Fergus' beautifully printed pamphlet, entitled "Fergus Directory of the City of Chicago, 1839." We think, though, a more appropriate title for it would have been "Fergus' Retrospective List of Chicago Residents in 1839," inasmuch as this list of names has been gotten together thirty-seven years after the date it represents.

While there may be in that production possible inaccuracies, we have heard it spoken of, by those competent to judge, as a wonderful compilation for fulness and freedom from error. Yet, whether perfect or otherwise, or with what name Mr. Fergus is pleased to christen his catalogue, we must say that he has done a commendable and lasting service for Chicago history, and one to which the progressing years will of necessity give increased value.

Having expressed our appreciation of the "Directory," we will add a word or two in our own behalf, being that Mr. F., in his Introduction, rather intimates something *untruthful* ("fancy,") as well as *mercenary* ("statements of interested parties,") on our part. The ground of indignation seems to be, that we had caused to be *reprinted* a "Chicago Business Directory" published in 1839, of which original, he claims to have been the sole author and type-setter, albeit Edward H. Rudd's name appears on the title-page as printer, and Mr. Fergus' name does not appear in the book. (That is not surprising; perhaps Mr. F. was not carrying on the business himself: at least that model institution, the "Fergus Printing Co.," was not then in being.) Mr. F. does not allow that this original directory was the first of its class, and would thus appear to ignore the paternity of his own early bantling, though he placed the heading "Chicago Business Directory,"

and put, as an apology for its meagreness, the following, as see *ante* p. 19:

"A number of omissions will probably be found in the foregoing directory, in consequence of the difficulty in procuring a suitable person to collect names and residences for it; but it is the intention of the publisher, as soon as circumstances will permit, to issue another edition, enlarged and otherwise improved."

Our own excuse for the reprint is this: in the summer of 1873, we were shown, by an early settler, (James A. Smith,) a copy of the Laws and Ordinances with the aforesaid Business Directory, which, as a bibliographical relic of the early City, seemed worthy of preservation; hence its reproduction. It was not our fault that the original was not larger; it was not our freak, commendable or condemnable, the giving it the title "Chicago Business Directory."

July 1, 1876.

A RELIC; WHERE IS IT?

"Some twenty years since, it was told in a Chicago daily, that a brass cannon, a part of the armament of Fort Dearborn, thrown into the river at the evacuation of 1812, had a few years before been dredged up from the river bed. Where is that piece? If the War Department took it away, ought it not now to be returned?"—*Sidney S. Hurlbut's Memorial Chart.*

WHAT BECAME OF IT?

We have heard inquiry made without satisfactory response, as to what had become of the metalic box and its contents, which were placed within the northeast corner-stone of the late Court House at the time it was built. Neither Mr. T. Mackin or Mr. Knerr, the purchasers of the debris, know anything about the matter. The aforesaid receptacle is said to have contained various documents not elsewhere to be found, and among them a list of the names of every dweller in Chicago in 1833, outside of Fort Dearborn. We would be pleased to learn of the safety, in proper hands, of those records, as their destruction would be another "lost pleiad," among the blotted out lights of our local history.

FORT DEARBORN; WHEN CHRISTENED.

It has been often stated, that only after the re-building of the Fort (completed in 1817,) it first received the name Fort Dearborn. This was incorrect, for in 1812, the name seems to have been generally known, as the Eastern newspapers mostly so referred to the garrison on learning the news of the abandonment of the Fort by the troops, and the immediate treachery of the Indians. A letter from the War Department admits this, though their records fail to impart anything definite of an earlier date. Yet evidence from other sources has not been wanting, to confirm the statement, that this post was called "Fort Dearborn" in the year it was first finished, in 1804. The fact appeared in the accounts and papers of the elder John Kinzie, who was here that year. Those documents, at the time of the great fire, were in the library of the Chicago Historical Society. But a living witness is here to-day, October 30, 1875, who was here when the Fort was built in 1803-4, and she has assured us of the fact above stated; we allude of course to Mrs. Whistler.

THAT SILVER PITCHER.

In the second month A. D. 1853, might be seen at the manufactory of Speer & Cosper in Chicago, a new and massive silver pitcher, a which morning paper noticed as follows: "Made for one of our citizens,—one of the most superb pieces of plate this western world can boast of. There is engraved on it the Coat of Arms of his ancestors, and the raised, embossed and fretted work, are rich and most effective. Who the owner is, to us a mystery; all we were told was, that he is an old and time-honored citizen; that he was here when the Indian's war-whoop spread terror along the bank of the lake,—that he took part in the terrific struggle of the Indian War, the sanguineness of which, 44,000 out of the 45,000 people now in Chicago can form no conception; has grown up with the city, and now enjoys the fruits of his long and arduous labors. Long may he live, and may those fruits increase upon him."

EARLIEST RESIDENT IN CHICAGO NOW LIVING.

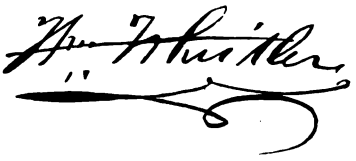
Very few of the four hundred thousand of the reasonably adult individuals now residing in Chicago are probably aware that the lady of whom we are going to speak is now a visitor in our city. After so long a period, since early in the century, before those of our citizens who have only reached their "three score years and ten" were born, when she came a

trustful wife of sixteen, and stepped ashore upon the river bank, it is not a little remarkable that she is, to-day, again passing over and around the locality of this her early home. Under the gentle supervision of this married maiden's blue eyes, our stockade fortress, then so far within the wilderness, was erected. Yet, of all those who came in that summer of 1803, the sailor-men of that vessel, the oarsmen of that boat, the company of United States soldiers, Captain and Mrs. Whistler, and their son, the husband and his bride of a year, all, we may safely say, have bid adieu to earth, excepting this lone representative. These are some of the circumstances which contribute to make this lady a personage of unusual interest to the dwellers here. A few particulars in the life of Mrs. Whistler, together with some of the facts attending the coming of those who arrived to assist in building Fort Dearborn, will certainly be acceptable.

It was a coveted pilgrimage which we sought, as any one might believe, for it was during the tremendous rain-storm of the evening of 29th October, 1875, that we sallied out to call at Mrs. Col. R. A. Kinzie's, for an introduction to the lady's mother, Mrs. Whistler. When we entered the parlor, the venerable woman was engaged at the centre-table in some game of amusement with her grandchildren and great-grandchildren, seemingly as much interested as any of the juveniles. [We will remark here that five generations in succession of this family have lived in Chicago.] She claimed to enjoy good health, and was, apparently, an unusual specimen of well-preserved faculties, both intellectual and physical. She is of a tall form, and her appearance still indicates the truth of common report, that, in her earlier years, she was a person of surpassing elegance. A marked trait of hers has been a spirit of unyielding energy and determination, and which length of years has not yet subdued. Her tenacious memory ministers to a voluble tongue, and we may say briefly, she is an agreeable, intelligent, and sprightly lady, numbering only a little over 88 years. "To-day," said she, "I received my first pension on account of my husband's ser-

vices." Mrs. Whistler resides in Newport, Kentucky. She has one son and several grandsons in the army. Born in Salem, Mass., July 3, 1787, her maiden name was Julia Ferson, and her parents were John and Mary (La Dake) Ferson. In childhood she removed with her parents to Detroit, where she received most of her education. In the month of May, 1802, she was married to William Whistler (born in Hagerstown, Md., about 1784), a Second Lieut. in the company of his Father, Captain John Whistler, U. S. A., then stationed at Detroit. In the summer of the ensuing year, Captain Whistler's company was ordered to Chicago, to occupy the post and build the Fort. Lieut. James S. Swearingen (late Col. Swearingen, of Chillicothe, O.) conducted the company from Detroit overland. The U. S. schooner "Tracy," Dorr, master, was dispatched at the same time, for same destination, by the lakes, with supplies, and having also on board Captain John Whistler, Mrs. Whistler, their son George W., then three years old (afterwards the distinguished engineer in the employ of the Russian government), Lieut. Wm. Whistler, and the young wife of the last named gentleman. The schooner stopped briefly on her route at St. Joseph's river, where the Whistlers left the vessel and took a row-boat to Chicago. The schooner, on arriving at Chicago, anchored half a mile from the shore, discharging her freight by boats. Some 2000 Indians visited the locality while the vessel was here, being attracted by so unusual an occurrence, as the appearance in these waters of "a big canoe with wings." Lieut. Swearingen returned with the "Tracy" to Detroit.

There were then here, says Mrs. W., but four rude huts or traders' cabins, occupied by white men, Canadian French, with Indian wives; of these were Le Mai, Ouilmette, and Pettell. No fort existed here at that time, though it is understood (see Treaty of Greenville) that there had been one at a former day, built by the French, doubtless, as it was upon one of the main routes from New France to Louisiana, of which extensive region that government long held possession by a series of military posts. [It is said that Durantaye,



a French official, built some sort of a fortification here as early as 1685.]

Capt. Whistler, upon his arrival, at once set about erecting a stockade and shelter for their protection, followed by getting out the sticks for the heavier work. It is worth mentioning here, that there was not at that time, within hundreds of miles, a team of horses or oxen, and, as a consequence, the soldiers had to don the harness, and with the aid of ropes drag home the needed timbers. The birth of two children within the Fort we have referred to elsewhere. Lt. Whistler,

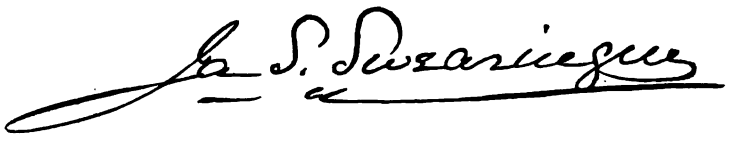
after a five years sojourn here, was transferred to Fort Wayne, having previously been made a First Lieutenant. He distinguished himself at the battle of Maguago, Mich., 9th Aug., 1812; was in Detroit at time of Hull's surrender, and, with Mrs. Whistler, was taken prisoner to Montreal; was promoted to a Captain, December, 1812; to Major, in 1826; and a Lieut.-Col., in 1845. At his death, he had rendered sixty-two years continuous service in the army; yet Mrs. W. says she remembers but six short furloughs which he had during the whole term. He was stationed at various posts, beside those of Green Bay, Niagara, and Sackett's Harbor; at the last named post, Gen. Grant (then a subaltern officer) belonged to the command of Col. W. In June, 1832, Colonel Whistler arrived again at Fort Dearborn, not the work which he had assisted to build twenty-eight years before, for that was burned in 1812, but the later one, erected in 1816–17. He then remained here but a brief period.

Col. Wm. Whistler's height at maturity was six feet two inches, and his weight at one time was 260 lbs. He died in Newport, Ky., Dec. 4, 1863.

Capt. John Whistler, the builder and commandant of the first Fort Dearborn (afterwards Major W.), was an officer in the army of the Revolution. We regret that we have so few facts concerning his history; nor have we a portrait or signature of the patriot. It is believed, that when ordered at Chicago he belonged to a regiment of artillery. He continued in command at Fort Dearborn, until the forepart of 1811, we think, for we notice that his successor, Captain Heald, gave to the Pottawatomie, Little Chief, a pass to St. Louis, dated here July 11, 1811. Mrs. Whistler expressed to us her opinion, that had Captain W. been continued in the command, the Chicago massacre would not have happened. Major John Whistler died at Bellefontaine, Mo., in 1827.

Col. James Swearingen was a Second Lieutenant, in 1803, when he conducted the Company of Capt. Whistler from Detroit across Michigan to Chicago. The regiment of artillery, with which he was connected, is understood to have been the

only corps of that branch of defence. Lieut. Swearingen continued in the service until about 1816, attaining the rank of Colonel, when he resigned his commission, and made his residence in Chillicothe, O., where he died, on his 82d birthday, in February, 1864.



THE AMERICAN FUR COMPANY AND CHICAGO.

During the existence of the American Fur Company, Chicago was at times the home or head-quarters of various of its agents; Hubbard, Beaubien, Crafts, and the Kinzies, at least, sojourned here more or less. By way of Chicago was the thoroughfare to the Illinois, St. Louis, and below. While Mackinaw had been for more than a century the storehouse and great trading post of the fur dealers, Chicago was the port and point of a very limited district of distribution. But civilization has changed the character of trade, and the settlement and cultivation of the country by the white race has transferred from Michilimackinac to Chicago the commercial depot and trade centre of not only a great share of the region comprising the old Northwestern Territory, but of a far greater area of empire.

To notice slightly the origin of the American Fur Company, we will say that John Jacob Astor, a German by birth, who arrived in New York in the year 1784, commenced work for a bakery owned by a German acquaintance, and peddled cakes and doughnuts about the city. [See *Scovill's "Old Merchants of New York,"* contradicting other stories of Astor's early life in America.] He was afterwards assisted to open a toy shop, and this was followed by trafficking for small parcels of furs in the country towns, and which led to his future operations in that line.

Mr. Astor's great and continued success in that branch of trade induced him, in 1809, to obtain from the New York Legislature a charter incorporating "The American Fur Company," with a capital of a million dollars. It is understood that Mr. Astor comprised the Company, though other names were used in its organization. In 1811, Mr. Astor, in connection with certain partners of the old Northwest Fur Company (whose beginning was in 1783, and permanently organized in 1787), bought out the association of British merchants known as the Mackinaw Company, then a strong competitor in the fur trade. This Mackinaw Company, with the American Fur Company, was merged into a new association, called the Southwest Fur Company. But in 1815, Mr. Astor bought out the Southwest Company, and the American Fur Com-

Gurdon S Hubbard

pany came again to the front. In the winter of 1815–16, Congress, through the influence of Mr. Astor, it is understood, passed an act excluding foreigners from participating in the Indian trade. In 1817–18, the American Fur Company brought a large number of clerks from Montreal, and the United States, to Mackinaw, some of whom made good Indian traders, while many others failed upon trial and were discharged. Among those who proved their capability was Gurdon S. Hubbard, Esq., then a youth of sixteen, the earliest resident of Chicago now living here. Quite appropriate will it be to present a likeness of Mr. H. in connection with this article. He was born in Windsor, Vt., in 1802, and his parents were Elizur and Abigail (Sage) Hubbard. His paternal emigrant ancestor was George Hubbard, who was at Wethersfield, Ct., in 1636. Mr. Hubbard is also a lineal descendant of the clergyman Governor, Gurdon Saltonstall (named for Brampton Gurdon, the patriot M. P., whose daughter was the grandmother of the Governor), who was the great-grandson of Sir Richard Saltonstall, the firm and efficient friend of early New England.

[The citizens of Chicago must be pleased to learn that Mr. Hubbard has in hand, getting ready for the press, a volume of autobiography, and reminiscences of men, things, and happenings, during his long sojourn in the West.] We need, therefore, merely add here that Mr. Hubbard left Montreal, where his parents then lived, May 13, 1818, reaching Mackinaw, July 4th, and first arrived at Chicago on the last day of October or first day of November of that year. In 1828, he purchased of the Fur Company their entire interest in the trade of Illinois.

We are indebted to Mr. Hubbard for the following, relating to the American Fur Company, which he has kindly communicated:

"Having entire charge of the management of the company in the West, were Ramsey Crooks and Robert Stuart. To William Matthews was intrusted the engaging of voyageurs and clerks in Canada, with his head-quarters in Montreal. The voyageurs he took from the *habitans* (farmers); young, active, athetic men

were sought for, indeed, none but such were engaged, and they passed under inspection of a surgeon. Mr. M. also purchased at Montreal such goods as were suited for the trade, to load his boats. These boats were the Canadian *batteaux*, principally used in those days in transferring goods to upper St. Lawrence river and its tributaries, manned by four oarsmen and a steersman, capacity about six tons. The voyageurs and clerks were under indentures for a term of five years. Wages of voyageurs, $100, clerks from $120 to $500 per annum. These were all novices in the business; the plan of the company was to arrange and secure the services of old traders and their voyageurs, who, at the (new) organization of the company were in the Indian country, depending on their influence and knowledge of the trade with the Indians; and as fast as possible secure the vast trade in the West and North-west, within the district of the United States, interspersing the novices brought from Canada so as to consolidate, extend, and monopolize, as far as possible, over the country, the Indian trade. The first two years they had succeeded in bringing into their employ seven-eighths of the old Indian traders on the Upper Mississippi, Wabash, and Illinois rivers, Lakes Michigan and Superior, and their tributaries as far north as the boundaries of the United States extended. The other eighth thought that their interest was to remain independent; toward such, the company selected their best traders, and located them in opposition, with instructions so to manage by underselling to bring them to terms.

At Mackinaw, the trader's brigades were organized, the company selecting the most capable trader to be the manager of his particular brigade, which consisted of from five to twenty *batteaux*, laden with goods. This chief or manager, when reaching the country allotted to him, made detachments, locating trading houses, with districts clearly defined, for the operations of that particular post, and so on, until his ground was fully occupied by traders under him, over whom he had absolute authority.

Mr. John Crafts was a trader sent to Chicago by a Mr. Conant, of Detroit; was here at the (new) organization of the American Fur Company. His trading house was located about half a mile below Bridgeport, ("Hardscrabble," the same premises, where in April 1812, two murders were committed by the Indians) on the north side of the river, (south branch) and had, up to 1819, full control of this section, without opposition from the American Fur Company, sending outfits to Rock River and other points within a range say of a hundred miles of Chicago. In fall of 1819, the company transferred Jean Baptiste Beaubien from Milwaukee to this point, for the purpose of opposing Mr. Crafts. He erected his trading houses at the mouth of Chicago river, then about the foot of Harrison street. In 1822, Crafts succumbed, and engaged himself to the American Fur Company, taking a charge. Mr. Beaubien was under him. Subsequently, the company bought from the U. S. the Factory House, located just south of Fort Dearborn, to which Beaubien removed with his family. Crafts died here of bilious fever in December, of I think the year 1823. Up to this date, Mr. John Kinzie was not in any business connected with the American Fur Company, but confined himself to his trade, silversmith, making Indian trinkets. At the death of Mr. Crafts, he acted as agent for the American Fur Company. He had no goods, as Mr. Beaubien bought out the Company's right of trade with the Indians. By this

time there was a very limited trade here, in fact, this place never had been pre-eminent as a trading-post, as this was not the Indian hunting-ground."

We will here allude to Mr. Astor's attempt to establish an American emporium for the fur trade at the mouth of the Columbia river, which enterprise failed, through the capture of Astoria by the British in 1814, and the neglect of our Government to give him protection. The withdrawal of Mr. Astor from the Pacific coast, left the Northwest Fur Company to consider themselves the lords of the country. They did not long enjoy the field unmolested, however. "A fierce competion ensued between them and their old rivals, the Hudson's Bay Company, which was carried on at great cost and sacrifice, and, occasionally, with the loss of life. It ended in the ruin of most of the partners of the Northwest Company, and merging of the relics of that establishment, in 1821, in the rival association."

Ramsey Crooks was a foremost man in the employ of Mr. Astor in the fur trade, not only in the east, but upon the western coast, and has been called "the adventurous Rocky Mountain trader." Intimately connected, as Mr. Crooks was, with the American Fur Company, a slight notice of him will not be out of place. Mr. Crooks was a native of Greenock, Scotland, and was employed as a trader, in Wisconsin, as early as 1806. He entered the service of Mr. Astor in 1809. In 1813, he returned from his three years' journey to the western coast, and in 1817 he joined Mr. Astor as a partner, and, for four or five years ensuing, he was the company's Mackinaw agent, though residing mostly in New York. Mr. Crooks continued a partner until 1830, when this connection was dissolved and he resumed his place with Mr. Astor in his former capacity. In 1834, Mr. Astor, being advanced in years, sold out the stock of the company, and transferred the charter to Ramsey Crooks and his associates, whereupon Mr. C. was elected president of the company. Reverses, however, compelled an assignment in 1842, and with it the death of the American Fur Company. In 1845, Mr. Crooks opened a commission house, for the sale of furs and skins, in New York city. This business, which was successful, Mr. C. continued until his death. Mr. Crooks died in New York, June 6, 1859, in his 73d year.

[Through the politeness of a lady of Chicago, we have been favored with the loan of a volume, formerly one of the books of the American Fur Company, containing various items of interest. The lady referred to was formerly of Mackinaw, and had the good taste when noticing, some years since, the waste of numerous books and papers of the old

Fur Company, to secure quite a number from such a fate. All those book and papers, excepting the one lying before us, she afterward presented to the Chicago Historical Society, and they shared the flames which consumed its valuable collection.

Though only in part referring to our immediate locality, we think it will be excusable to place upon record the following extracts and items (mostly of persons and their destination) from the volume above mentioned. The book comprises outward invoices of the year 1821 and '2, from the Agency at Mackinaw, or "Michilimackinac" as it was written. Pains have been taken to carefully follow the orthography, of the names of persons and places.]

(For account and risk of the American Fur Co., Merchandise delivered.)

Josette Gauthier, for the Trade of Lake Superior. Michilimackinac, 23 July, 1821.

Madeline Laframboise, for the Trade of Grand River and its dependencies. 3 Sept., 1821.

[Madam Laframboise was of the Indian race, an Ottawa woman, whose husband had taught her to read and write. She was of a tall and commanding figure, and Mr. Hubbard informs us that "she was a woman of extraordinary ability, spoke French remarkably well, and, in deportment and conversation, a lady highly esteemed; her husband was killed on the Upper Mississippi." After his death, "she took control of the business, and continued as a trader in the Company's employ," was accustomed to visit the various trading posts, and looked closely after the doings of the clerks and employés. The daughter of Madam Laframboise became the wife of Lieut. John S. Pierce, of the army, brother of the late President Pierce.]

(On their own account and risk.)

Therese Schindler, for her Trade at and about Michilimackinac. 23 August, 1821.

Eliza and James Mitchell for their Trade. August 12, 1822.

(For account and risk of the American Fur Co.)

John F. Hogle, for the Trade of Lac du Flambeau and its dependencies. 24 July, 1821.

Jean Bt. Corbin for the Trade of Lac Courtoreille and its dependencies. 31 July, 1821.

Eustache Roussain, for Trade of Folleavoine and its dep. 31 July, 1821.

Goodrich Warner, for the Trade of Ance Quirvinan and its dep. 2 August, 1821.

Joseph Rolette, for the Trade of the Upper Mississsippi and its dep. 15 August, 1821.

Amount of Invoice, $25,354.84.

[Joseph Rolette was at Prairie du Chien as early as 1804. He was a decided character in his day, and numerous anecdotes are told of him which establish that fact. He held sway over the French inhabitants and voyageurs, and was exacting in his requirements; his will was arbitrary, his word law, and the people feared him, it is said, worse than they did death. He was educated for the Catholic church, officiated at one time as chief-justice, and, it is told to have been rich to watch the proceedings and decisions of that court. In the capture of Mackinaw from the Americans, in 1812, Rolette took an active part on the side of the enemy, having command of the Canadians on that occasion. He also raised a company to take part in the expedition under Col. McKay, against Prairie du Chien, and bore the despatches to Mackinaw after its surrender. Mr. Rolette died at Prairie du Chien in 1841.]

William H. Wallace for trade of Lower Wabash and its dep. 22 August, 1821.

[This gentleman was a Scotchman, and is understood to have died in Chicago about 1826. He was connected with the Fur Company upon the Pacific coast some years before. A manuscript narrative of his journey, in 1810, to the Northwest coast, from Montreal, *via* New York, Sandwich Islands, etc., left by him, was deposited with the Chicago Historical Society.]

John Henry Davis, for the trade of the Upper Wabash and its dep. 24 August, 1821.

Jeremie Clairemont, for the trade of Iroquois river and its dep. 22 August, 1821.

Truman A. Warren, for the trade of Lac du Flambeau and its dep. July 15, 1822.

John Holliday, for the trade of Ance Quirvinan, and its dep. 26 July, 1822.

Joseph Bertrand and Pierre Navarre, for trade of St. Joseph and Kinkiki and its dep. Aug. 7, 1822.

[The present village of Bertrand, Mich., formerly called Parc aux Vaches, it is believed, was named for Joseph Bertrand.]

William Morrison, for the trade of Fon du Lac and its dep. July 20, 1822.

[This gentleman, who died in 1866, near Montreal, discovered, in 1804, the source of the Mississppi, in advance of Schoolcraft or Beltrami, or, indeed, any other white man.]

Antoine Deschamps and Gurdon S. Hubbard, for the trade of Iroquois river, and its dep. August 9, 1822.

[Antoine Deschamps, in the year 1792, was at what was formerly called La Ville de Maillet, that was afterwards "Fort Clark," and the village of Peoria. He lived there, at least, until 1811.]

(Joint Account.)

Russell Farnham, for the trade of the lower Mississippi and its dep. 10 August, 1821.

Consignment to address of James Kinzie for account of him and the American Fur Company; for trade of Milliwaki and its dep. Shipped per Schooner *Ann*, Capt. Ransom, from Michilimackinac, to Chicago. 13 Sept., 1821.

[The late James Kinzie, formerly of Chicago, and half brother of the late John H. Kinzie.]

Joseph C. Dechereau, for the trade of Penatangonshine and its dep. 5 Oct., 1821.

Louis Pensonneau, sen., for trade of Illinois river. August 12, 1822.

[Louis Penceneau, both senior and junior, lived at Peoria; the former built a house there soon after the peace of 1815.]

(Own account and risk.)

Etienne (otherwise Stephen) Lamorandiere, for Trade at Drummond's Island. July 21, 1821.

Michael Cadotte, sen., for his trade at La Pointe, Lake Superior. 23 July, 1821.

Joseph La Perche, *alias* St. Jean, for his trade on the lower Mississippi. 30 July, 1821.

Joseph Bailly, for trade of Lake Michigan, etc. 10 August, 1821.

Binette, Buisson and Bibeau, for trade on the Illinois river and its dep. 18 August, 1821.

Joseph Guerette, for trade on Illinois river. 18 August, 1821.

Augustin Grignon, John Lawe, Jaques Porlier, sen., Pierre Grignon, and Louis Grignon, all of Green Bay, for their trade there. 3 Sept., 1821.

[The Grignons were grandsons of Charles DeLanglade, who settled at Green Bay as early as 1745.]

Antoine Deschamps, for the trade of Masquigon. 11 Sept., 1821.

Richard M. Price, for the trade of Drummond Island. 5 Sept., 1821.

Daniel Dingley, for the trade of Folleavoine, south Lake Superior. July 30, 1822.

Edward Biddle, from 1st Oct., 1821 to 15 Aug., 1822.

Ignace Pichet. June 28, 1822.

Rix Robinson, for trade of Grand River, Lake Michigan. August 23, 1822.

[He studied law in the State of New York, but abandoned it and came to Mackinaw to take up the business of Indian trader.]

William A. Aitken, for his trade at Fon du Lac and its dep. July 4, 1822.

Jean Bt. Beaubien, for his trade at Milliwakie.

[The late Col. J. B. Beaubien, of Chicago.]

Pierre Caune for his trade. Aug. 31, 1822.

Washington Irving, in his "Astoria," gives a graphic account of the occasional meetings of the partners, agents and employés of the old Northwest Fur Company, at Montreal and Fort William, where they kept high days and nights of wassail and feasting; of song and tales of adventure and hair-breath escapes. But of those lavish and merry halls of the old "Northwest," we need suggest no comparison with the Agency dwelling of the American Fur Company at Mackinaw, where the expenses charged for the year 1821 were only $678.49. In that account, however, we notice the

following entries: 31¼ gallons Teneriffe Wine; 4½ gallons Port Wine; 10 gallons best Madeira; 70½ gallons Red Wine; nine gallons brandy; *one barrel flour*.

We will close this article by giving a catalogue of goods furnished for the trade of the Chicago country, fifty-three years ago:

Arm bands, blankets, broad cord, blue cloth, brown Russia sheeting, blue bernagore handkerchiefs, black silk do., black ribbon, boxwood combs, barrel biscuit, black bottles, boys' roram hats, brass jewsharps, beads, blue cloth trowsers, blue cloth capotes, beaver shot, balls, black wampum, barrel salt, colored ribbon, colored gartering, crimson bed-lace, cartouche knives, colored cock feathers, cod lines, colored worsted thread, cotton-wick balls, cow bells, covered copper kettles, common needles, cotton bandanna handkerchiefs, duck shot, darning needles, embossed serge, English playing cards, embossed brooches, ear wheels, furniture cotton, fox tail feathers, flour, fire steels, gun flints, girls' worsted hose, gorgets, gunpowder, gurrahs, highland striped gartering, hawk's bills, hair trunks, half axes, highwines, hose, hand sleds, Irish linen, Indian calico handkerchiefs, ingrain ribbon, ivory combs, ingrain worsted thread, ink powder, japanned quart jacks, kettle chains, knee straps, London scots gartering, large round ear bobs, looking-glasses, mock garnets, *maitre de rets*, men's shirts, men's imitation beaver hats, moon paper, narrow cord, nuns' thread, nails, northwest guns, printed cotton shawls, plain bath rings, pen knives, pierced brooches, portage collars, pepper, pins, pipes, pork, scarlet cloth, shoes, spotted swan skin, silk ferrets, scarlet milled caps, scalping knives, St. Lawrence shells, stone rings, sturgeon twine, stitching thread, snuff, snuff boxes, snaffle bridles, stirrup irons, tow sheeting, therick, tomahawks, tobacco, vermillion, white crash brushes, white molton, waist straps, white wampum, whiskey.

FIRST WHITE CHILD BORN IN CHICAGO.

[In undertaking this series of historical pamphlets, one object was, to place in a convenient form, for reference, the facts in relation to various events in the early history of Chicago, some of which have been so diversely, and yet so confidently, stated that an unwonted traveler through those historical jungles and forests, might have great difficulty in getting out of the woods. It is true, that it is not always easy or possible to get at the exact and reliable facts, so barren may be the evidence, or yet so numerous and varied the convergent channels through which it reaches us, tinted or discolored perhaps on its way. "Tradition is a careless story teller," and our memories are often defective; our wishes, while they strengthen our faith, also build up our prejudices, warp our thoughts, and mislead our tongues; so, honestly, perhaps, we go on uttering untruths, it may be, for a lifetime. It is only by diligent search, or by the collation of the numerous and oftentimes contradictory accounts, statements and data, that satisfactory results

can be arrived at; indeed, it has been said that written histories, ordinarily, are at the best only an approximation to the truth. It is to this approximation that we would at least strive to attain.]

In the *Weekly Democratic Press* of March 18, 1854, appeared a historical sketch of Chicago, written by Lieut.-Gov. Bross, one of the editors, embodying the results of considerable research; we make an extract as follows:

"So far as we have been able to learn, the oldest inhabitant born in Chicago, and now living here, is a lady—we beg pardon for saying it—she is an *unmarried lady*. Be not amazed, ye spruce, anxious bachelors, and if you count your gray hairs by scores, stand aside, for we are quite sure there is no chance for you. She is not only an unmarried lady, but a *young lady*, only twenty-two years of age, as she was born in Fort Dearborn in the early part of 1832. We have not the pleasure of her acquaintance, and, at the peril of incurring her displeasure, we venture to state that the oldest native inhabitant of Chicago, a city of more than sixty thousand people, is Miss Ellen Hamilton, the daughter of our good friend, Col. R. J. Hamilton."

In a communication concerning David McKee, an old Chicago resident, appears this:

"His oldest son, Stephen J. McKee, was born Sept. 18, 1830, and was the first white male child born in Chicago."

In the *Republican* of Feb. 12, 1866, is an article from which we take the following:

"A daughter of the late Mr. Russell E. Heacock, born in Fort Dearborn, 1828, was the first white child born in Chicago. The honor has been claimed by a very respectable lady, daughter of the late Col. R. J. Hamilton, but the facts will not bear out the claim. Mrs. Serena R. Noble, now a resident of California, is the person who has the birthright."

Alexander Beaubien, son of the late Col. John B. Beaubien, was born in Chicago, Jan. 28, 1822, and lives here still.

Mr. Wentworth, in a late lecture, said:

"Gen. John McNeil, one of the heroes at the battle of Lundy's Lane, Canada, in 1814, was stationed here soon after the reconstruction of the Fort (men arrived to rebuild it in 1816), and he claimed that one of his daughters was the first person ever born in the Fort. A few years since, I met her on Michigan Avenue, and she said she had been trying to find the place upon which she was born, claiming the honor of being the first person born in the Fort. As she was unmarried, I disliked to ask her when it was. There are several persons now living in Chicago who claim the distinction of being the first white person born here."

The late Col. Robert A. Kinzie was born at Chicago, Feb. 8, 1810.

Maria Kinzie (since Mrs. Gen. David Hunter) was born at Chicago, previous to the month of October in 1807.

John Harrison Whistler (son of Lieut. Wm. Whistler) was born in Fort Dearborn, Oct. 7, 1807. [This gentleman died in Burlington, Kan., Oct. 23, 1873.]

Merriweather Lewis Whistler, brother of the above-named John H. W., was also born in the Fort in the fall of the year 1805, and was, without doubt, the first white boy baby that "blew his horn" anywhere in this region, since the waters of the Great Lakes discharged their surplus into the Gulf of Mexico, instead of the St. Lawrence, as geologists tell us was formerly the case. But the young lad was drowned in Newport, Ky., when some seven years old.

The first person, however, born at Chicago of white parentage, was a sister of the above named Maria and Robert A. Kinzie, and daughter of John and Eleanor Kinzie. The event happened, in what was afterward known as the Kinzie House on the north side, (so Mrs. Whistler tells us,) and the little lady first saw the light upon the shore of the Divine River, (a name sometimes applied to the creek here in former days, though scarcely *divine* at present, if purity is an essential attribute,) on one of the days of December, 1804. [Her published obituary, gave the date of her birth as Dec. 1805; yet Mrs. Whistler assures us that it occurred earlier by some months, than that of her son Lewis, and that it was in winter or cold weather. Allowing the month to have been December, agreeable to the obituary referred to, the conclusion must be, that the year was that of 1804.] In due time, she was given the christian name of Ellen Marion, and her playmates in early childhood were often the Indian children, with whom she gathered the summer flowers along the sedgy banks of the quiet stream. But the war came, the Fort was abandoned, and then occurred an exhibition of brutal carnage which savages so delight in; it was the massacre at Chicago. But the household of Mr. Kinzie, after various perils and escapes, under the care of friendly captors, were taken to St. Joseph, and thence to Detroit. The re-building of Fort Dearborn brought back the Kinzies to their old home.

It will be sufficient here to say that Miss Kinzie received her education at Middletown, Ct., and was married at the age sixteen to Dr. Alexander Wolcott, Indian agent at Chicago. [It was, we believe in 1821, that John Hamlin, a Justice of the Peace, living in Fulton county before that county was organized, was sent for, and officiated in tying the knot.] Doctor Wolcott died in 1830, and his widow subsequently married Hon. George C. Bates, an early resident of Chicago, now (1875) living in Salt Lake City. We have been unable to procure a "counterfeit presentment" of the features of Mrs.

Bates, and possibly there is none in existence; if so, it is certainly a matter of regret. She died in Detroit, 1 Aug., 1860.

THE PIONEER LAWYER OF CHICAGO.

[In a historical article in a late number of the Chicago *Times*, it is asserted that "the first lawyer who came to Chicago to make his living by his profession and nothing else, was Judge Giles Spring; there had been other lawyers here before, but they came as circuit riders, accompanying the Court, etc." The drift of this seems to be, to ignore a plain fact in our local history. Now we suggest that the *Times* writer, for the lack of a knowledge of the case, has innocently made a blunder in the matter. It would certainly confer honor upon no one, to attempt to hide a palpable truth in the annals of early Chicago. Twenty-five years before Judge Spring came here, possibly before he was born, Mr. Heacock was licensed to practise law. He then lived in Illinois, which at that time was part of the Territory of Indiana. That the mere circumstance of Mr. Heacock's learning in early life the carpenter's trade, or that he could and did, with true Yankee adaptability, turn his hand to whatever offered, that he farmed it, kept tavern, etc., as well as to practise law, for his support, should blot out of the record his title of the *earliest practising lawyer of Chicago*, seems a little strange. It was no fault of Mr. Heacock's, that Chicago did not, for several years after his arrival, afford business and a living for one of his calling. He came here nearly six years before Judge Spring; he helped to organize the County of Cook, and furthermore, brought the first suits in the Circuit Court here. If this does not confirm to the name of Mr. Heacock the title which we have placed at the head of this article, we must ask what would?

From an author, writing in 1866, (understood to have been an early Chicago settler,) in whose candor, intelligence, and accuracy we have confidence, the

greater part of the items, and much of the language which follow, are taken. Nov. 18, 1875.]

Russell E. Heacock was born in Litchfield, Ct., in 1781; lost his father at the age of seven; learned the trade of a carpenter; subsequently traveled westward, and in 1806, was studying law in St. Louis. Mr. H. was licensed in Indiana

Territory, Dec. 29, 1808, to practise law, and lived mostly in the counties of Jackson and Union in Illinois, until 1823, when he returned to the east as far as Buffalo, N. Y. He resided there until 1827, when he again came west, and arrived here on a sail-vessel, July 4th, of that year. In the spring and summer of 1828, Mr. Heacock and family were living inside Fort Dearborn. (We should have said before, that he married his wife in Illinois, during his earlier residence.) He subsequently lived several miles up the South branch, occupying a ranche or small farm at what was called "Heacock's Point," and coming in to the village as occasion required. In 1831, he received a license to keep tavern; in 1833, he was Justice of the Peace; in 1835, his law office was opposite the Exchange Coffee House, corner of Lake and Franklin streets.

It will serve perhaps to indicate a marked trait in Mr. Heacock's composition, (that of following the guidance of his own views, independent of, or in opposition to, as it might be, those of all others,) to say, that at a meeting of the citizens, to consider the expediency of proceeding agreeable to the statute to incorporate the Town, twelve votes were cast for incorporation, and one (Mr. Heacock's) against it. Yet with his peculiarities, it is believed to have been truthfully said of Mr. Heacock "as a public speaker he was pleasing, instructive, and often eloquent; his earnest and straightforward out-spokenness, his fine conversational powers, his generosity and frankness of character, and his inexhaustible fund of narrative and anecdote, made him most companionable." Besides as-

sisting at Vandalia (the former State Capital) to organize the County of Cook and bringing the first suits in the Circuit Court of this County, many of the provisions of our State Constitution, were originated and advocated by him, long before the convention by whom it was framed was assembled. [His son Reuben B. Heacock was a delegate in the convention of 1847, from Cook County.] All questions of a public nature interested him, but the Illinois and Michigan Canal, and its completion, was to him a great question on which hinged the welfare of Chicago and the State of Illinois. His clear and practical mind saw the financial inhability of the State to complete the work as proposed by the authorities in their bill for its construction, passed by the Legislature. He immediately predicted its failure, for which it is said he was assailed by every public man in the State. The plan upon which the Illinois and Michigan canal was proposed to be constructed, was literally a ship canal from the lakes to the Mississippi River, then characterized by him and known as "the deep cut." He then originated and proposed a plan upon which to construct a canal, which would cost the State less than two millions of dollars, called by him the "shallow cut." For his persistent advocacy of this plan, he was censured and ridiculed by tongue and types, and the satire showered upon him from all quarters, found aid in caricatures. But if this derision was popular, if with the public approval Mr. Heacock was given the *sobriquet* of "shallow cut," it was the humor of the hour and the season; yet that was halted at length, and the clamor came to an end. Mr. Heacock had his triumph at last; for after the State became bankrupt, its resources were placed in the hands of the Trustees, who adopted Mr. Heacock's plan, and completed the work in the spring of 1848, less than three years. Mr. H. was a democrat of the Jackson school of politics, but he was also an abolitionist, when it was a reproach to be known as such. His writings and speeches on the subject, used principally to refer to the overwhelming influence of the slave-power upon the general government. This was the subject, then but little

thought of, and he used to demonstrate its effects, in the distribution of official patronage by the federal executive.

The magnitude of the great west, its undeveloped resources, and its future greatness, were as clearly seen by him then, as by others since. He predicted the great future of Chicago, and invested in the real estate of City and County, but which the financial crash of 1837, involved mostly beyond redemption. It is believed that those vexations and embarrassments impaired his health beyond recovery. In 1843, he had an attack of paralysis, which confined him helpless to his room until 1849, when he died of cholera. Mrs. Heacock survived her husband but a few months.

Squire Heacock, as he was commonly called, we can say was physically and intellectually a tall man; the Indians, who were numerous here in those days, feared and respected him, and they called his eyes "the two full moons." He was self-made and self-educated, far in advance of his time, in all his views of public matters, and having little sympathy from the public generally. Yet those who well knew him, have since appreciated his far-seeing sagacity.

CHICAGO IN THE OLDEN TIME.

BY KNEE-BUCKLES.

By the side of this sea of fresh waters, by the beach-pebbles skirting the land, where the waves had long rolled and tumbled, in fringes and foam on the sand; where the ice-spray long had sparkled, in the light of the sun or the stars, dashing wildly against winter's barrier, by the ridges and dunes and sand-bars; by the lawn that spread out by the river, where savages led the war dance, where Marquette once lifted the cross, where were planted the Lilies of France; a city has grown up on the marshes, like Venice, that mistress of old, but a greater than Venice here flourishes, by the Adriatic

of this western world. Renowned was the plat by the creek side, where the stockade was afterward reared, where old time and the weary stranger, stopped to "shake dust from their beard;" and by side of this prairie stream, stood the wigwams of a dusky race, of frames made of poles tied at top, or bent over in arches of grace; spread with bark of linden or elm, or hide of the elk or wild ox, with mats inside made of rushes, or of bear skin, or wolf, or of fox. Lifted out on the bank of this bayou, not a gondola, shallop, or ark, but the bark of the Indian, was a canoe, and this famed canoe was of bark. It is said that the leek or wild onion, once found in abundance just here, with a vagrant of bad habits and manners, joined in a league that was queer; 'twas a *rank* conspiracy to foist, upon the shore of a harmless bayou, the odor of a similar name, as that called by the red men, *Chicago*. We think though, the tale was mere slander, and that Chicago was named from a *chief*, so we acquit the *Mephitis Americana*, and the little wild onion leaf. The sluggish, small stream or lagoon, that by lake-side meandered south, was, in summer, a narrow, green pond, when the sand-bars had choked up its mouth; for 'twas only when floods and high water, pushing out with a fortunate tide, bore the creek on to meeting its sweet-heart, and made the lake beauty its bride. In spring time, with thaws and with freshet, the river ran full in its bed, and the natives they cast their bone hooks, catching red-fin and perch and bull-head; here was a clump of green willows, and a few scattering oaks might be seen, but aside from the spots of dry prairie, there were many wet places between. The wild ducks lit down in the slough, foreshadowing a city park lake, where the cygnets now come at the call, of tiny maidens with nuts and with cake; and where Beaubien since paddled his ferry, the bears and the deer swam o'er, and where the tunnels step down 'neath the river, the otter long tunnelled before. In the former moist days of early spring, by river, bog-channel and slough, from the Lake to Des Plaines passed the Indian, without stepping from his craft, his canoe; and so 'twas in days long passed, 'twixt the basin

of Lakes and Mississippi, the dividing ridge was paddled across, where would spread out a wonderful city.

A SUGGESTION.

"A few copyists in a twelvemonth, would have preserved to Chicago and earthly immortality, names and events which now exist only in ashes."

As a text embodying both a precept and an example, we extract the above, from an article referring to the then recently burned Library of The Chicago Historical Society. Yet, if the Historical Society's collections, were eminently the most important loss sustained by history in America, they were not by any means all the documents which have met destruction, with (as to numerous manuscripts,) no duplicate copies existing elsewhere. Many of the ancient town records in New England, as well as in other parts of the country, have been destroyed by fire, or else are decayed, illegible, or departed altogether from other causes; and we might cite numerous other cases. All our records are perishable, whether upon metal, stone, wood, parchment, paper, or other material. Damp and drouth, heat and cold, the attrition of force, disintegration by chemical contact, indeed, all the elements which are constantly working changes in the natural world, make it a mere question of time how soon any record not re-created or renewed, shall be effaced. We have in remembrance, numerous instances, where the value of single copies of important documents stowed away, have scarcely been appreciated until the fact has transpired, of their irrecoverable loss; that our ideas hitherto, of fire proof protection have been fallacious; and that it cannot be expected, that every library or association, that all public archives or private curators will have provided, ready at one's elbow, a "Fidelity" safety vault. Yet, it must be conceded, that the acquisition of any treasures to be heaped up or pigeon-holed, can hardly be commended, unless means are taken, for their use as well as preservation. Where is the

way then, or upon what can we build a reasonable hope of *perpetuity* and service, for valuable historical writings, which exist in but a single copy? The answer is a brief one, yet the remedy, in the range of probabilities, would be effective; it is, to multiply the copies, in types or otherwise, and distribute far and near.

LATITUDE AND LONGITUDE.

Taken in 1858, at the dome of the Court House in Chicago. By Lt.-Col. J. D. Graham, U. S. A.

Latitude.—41° 53 min., 06.2 sec., north.

Longitude.—West of meridian of Greenwich; 87° 38 min., 01.2 sec., *or* 5 hours 50 min., 32.08 sec.

FIRST THINGS IN CHICAGO.

THE first negro slave in Chicago, of which we have heard, was "Black Jim," owned by John Kinzie, and brought here by him in 1804.

THE first coroner's inquest was over the body of a dead Indian.

THE first civil execution among the whites, here, was that of John Stone, who was hanged July 10, 1840, for the murder of Mrs. Thompson. The place of execution was the race-course, some three miles south from the river, near the lake shore, back of Myrick's tavern. A portion of Col. Beaubien's 60th Regiment was improvised as a guard for the occasion, the command of which Col. B. transferred to Lieut. Col. Seth Johnson. The return of the procession brought back the body of Stone, which was given by the sheriff to the doctors for dissection. [We will here refer to what was probably the *last* execution at this place of an Indian by his comrades. It occurred in the fall of 1832, or the ensuing winter, after a council, or their form of a trial. Being adjudged worthy of death, the man was taken outside, into the brush, south of

Randolph street, near where Market street is now, and executed, probably by shooting. Our informant, who was an early settler here, says such was the statement confidently told at the time, though he had no personal knowledge of the matter beyond the assurance of others.]

THE first map of Chicago was by James Thompson, the surveyor employed by the State Canal Commissioners to lay out the town, or rather, village. This map bore date August 4, 1830, and the original was in the Recorder's Office, and was probably burned. It is understood that the first plat of the village gave to Chicago a public levee upon the plan of the western river towns. Our levee, accordingly, was located on the south side, from South Water street to the river. But the lake vessels could not find it expedient to conform to the ways of the shallow craft of the Mississippi valley waters, and so the Chicago levee was abandoned, and the ground was sold, docked, and built upon.

THE first street leading to Lake Michigan, was laid out April 25, 1832; it commenced at where was called the east end of Water street, and is described by Jedediah Wooley, surveyor, as follows: "from the east end of Water street" (at the west line of the Reservation, or State street?) "in the town of Chicago, to Lake Michigan; direction of said road is south 88½ degrees east, from the street to the lake, 18 chains 50 links. Said street was laid out 50 feet wide. The viewers on this occasion also believe that said road is of public utility and a convenient passage from the town to the lake."

THE first extended highway regularly laid out in Chicago, was "The Green Bay Road," in 1835, under the direction of Gen. Scott, U. S. A.

THE first white man's tannery, was that of John Miller. It stood (1831) near to and on the north side of, his brother Samuel Miller's tavern, near the Junction.

THE first regularly appointed auctioneer was James Kinzie.

THE first debating Society formed here, was organized during the winter 1831-2 comprising nearly all the male

population, mostly within the Fort. Col. J. B. Beaubien was chosen President.

THE first Druggist was Philo Carpenter, who arrived in Chicago in the month of July, 1832; his store was a small log-building, near where is now the east end of Lake Street Bridge. Mr. C. next occupied a log-building, just vacated by Geo. W. Dole, who had removed into his new store.

THE first steamboat fuel furnished by Chicago, was in 1832, when Captain Walker of the "Sheldon Thompson" bought an old log-cabin and took it on board for his return down the Lake.

THE first printed list of Advertised Letters was in number seven of Mr. Calhoun's paper, the *Chicago Democrat*, Jan. 7, 1834. The list comprised *one letter*, namely, for Erastus Bowen.

THE first Fair was held by "the ladies of the Protestant Episcopal Church of this Town," on the 18th June, 1835, and is referred to in the village newspaper, as "a novelty in Chicago."

NOT in 1835, (as stated Dec. 5, 1875 in one of the Chicago *Times* articles, headed "By-Gone Days," those pleasantly told stories, even though occasionally marred with typographical, accidental, or sensational errors, which we shall notice hereafter,) but July 4, 1836, was the first spadeful of earth thrown out in the digging of the Illinois and Michigan Canal.

THE first ferryman was Mark Beaubien.

THE first rock for the harbor piers was furnished by John K. Boyer.

THE first dray in Chicago was shipped from the Hudson, by Philo Carpenter; we think, also, that the first specimen of that renowned pleasure-vehicle of New England, "the one-horse shay," which appeared here, was when that gentleman and his bride rode into the village in one, in the spring of 1834.

THE first two-wheeled pleasure carriage seen here was that

owned by Col. J. B. Beaubien, and brought from the East. It is said that the villagers, upon its arrival, paid it distinguished honor, "turning out in procession and parading the streets."

THE first engraver on wood or metal was S. D. Childs, senr.

THE first church bell was placed upon the Unitarian Church edifice, 87–93 Washington Street, January, 1845.

THE first vessel larger than a "shell" built here was the "Clarissa" launched May, 1836.

THE first public edifice erected by the County of Cook, was an Estray Pen.

THE first "balloon" built in Chicago or elsewhere, (a popular style of spike-fastened light frame buildings, which astonished by their firmness the old-fashioned mortise and tenon builders,) was erected in the fall of 1832 by Geo. W. Snow, and stood near the Lake shore. It was but a slight affair, yet served for the while, as his place of business, and to protect his goods or freight received by vessel. The greater share of said freight, we may here add, was made up of whisky or other kinds of the *ardent*.

THE first steam engine built in Chicago, was made and put up by Ira Miltimore. It was used to run a saw-mill located on the north branch, near the residence of the late Archibald Clybourn.

THE first suggestion we think on record (or off) by a Chicagoan or indeed "any other man" for the establishment, in each of our Collegiate Institutions, of a Professorship to occupy "a Chair of Integrity," for the teaching of that ancient and important accomplishment *honesty*, now so rare in our public men or officials, (not to speak of others,) was contained in an address by the late Hon. Wm. B. Ogden, not long since, before the Board of Trustees of the Chicago University.

THE first book printed in Chicago was consumed by fire, in the bindery, late in 1840. Scammon's Reports, vol. I. Four incomplete copies were not in that fire.

WILDERNESS LETTERS OF WILLIAM BURNETT, THE FUR TRADER.— 1786–1803.

We have in our possession a manuscript copy of the letter-book of a gentleman who, for many years, was engaged in the Indian trade in the neighborhood of Lake Michigan. Though these letters pertain to business matters almost entirely, we have yet supposed that, independent of their dry details, they possess considerable interest to the historical student as well as others of the lake region of to-day. They will, if but in a slight measure, assist to answer the questions as to *what* was doing, *who* did it, and *how* was it done, in those transition years, here in the old Northwestern Territory, more than three-fourths of a century ago.

As William Burnett has identified himself with this locality, for he was a house-owner at Chicago, for occasional occupation, for storage or trade, as early as 1798, we are particularly led to say something of him and his letter-book. The letters, we may state, include a term of eighteen years of Mr. Burnett's residence in the wilderness; but according to the information we are favored with, from a relative of the family, he abandoned a civilized abode for the wildwoods and prairies long before that; the year 1769 is given as the one in which he arrived in Michigan.

Though he had sojourned for some time previously at Mackinaw, Mr. Burnett's headquarters, during some of the early years of the period embraced within the dates of these letters, were, it is believed, where now is the village of Bertrand, Mich. We have thought so from various indications, within as well as outside of these letters, though lacking positive evidence. From there, after crossing the river, was reached, by a portage of no great extent, the headwaters of the Kankakee, which at certain times of the year afforded canoe navigation leading to the Illinois and Mississippi. The explorer, LaSalle, and his party, after building a fort at the mouth of the St. Joseph River, passed by this route down to Lake Peoria in December, 1679; but the same path had

doubtless been a familiar one to the Indians long before LaSalle appeared thereabout.

Mr. Burnett's residence, upon the banks of the St. Joseph however, was mostly a few hundred yards above its mouth. In this article, we shall present a number of the letters in full, and various extracts from others, taken from the letter-book referred to, and to which we have appended a few occasional notes. Here follows the first communication recorded therein:

ST. JOSEPHS, May the 14th, 1786.

DR. SIR—I take this opportunity, by Mr. Tabeau, to acquaint you that I have here two hundred and twenty bushels of corn; and as I have no canoe nor Batteau to send the corn to Makina, you will please endeavor to get what I have here put into the vessel if she is to come back again. Or, if she is to come to Chicago, you can very likely get her to stop at the mouth of the river. However, I leave it entirely to you, as you will best know how to act in this case. Mr. Ducharme leaves this in a few days, and will write you more fully by him, and remain, in the meantime, Dr. Sir, your humble servant.

WM. BURNETT.

To Mr. GEORGE MELDRUM,
Merch't, Michilmakina,
fav'r Mr. Tabeau.

In 1785, the year previous to the above first letter of the series, the writer, Mr. Burnett, was arrested by British soldiers upon American soil (at Mackinaw), and sent, a prisoner, to Montreal. Though released soon after his arrival there, he was not allowed *a pass* to go up again *via* the lakes. But British forces, notwithstanding the treaty, held possession of the military posts, and virtually of a good portion of the country and waters along the northern frontier, eleven years after that, for the posts were not surrendered until the summer of 1796.

Below we give further extracts from the letter-book, the first of which describes his interview with General St. Leger, etc.:

ST. JOSEPHS, May the 25th, 1786.

DR. SIR—My last to you is per Mr. Tabeau, for Michilmakina, in which I promised to write you more fully for Detroit. I will now begin to let you know how I was received at Montreal when I went

down as prisoner last fall. When I arrived there, I waited upon General St. Ledger,* who was then commander-in-chief, to let him know that I was the person that was sent down by Captain Robertson, from Michilmakina. "What," says he, "is your name Burnett?" I answered him it was. He then asked me in what manner I came down as a prisoner; if it was with soldiers and fixed Bayonets. I told him no soldiers came down as a guard over me, But was delivered at every Post as a prisoner, from one Commanding officer to another, to be forwarded down to Montreal. He then said, "By G—d, sir, I now release you from being a prisoner; but you shall not have my permission to go up to Makina again, as Captain Robertson has wrote me you are a dangerous man in exciting sedition amongst the Indians." I told him it was a false and malicious accusation, and endeavored to represent everything in its true light to him. But the fellow, or rather the Tyrant, being drunk and mad together, would not hearken to me, as he said there was a sufficient number of witnesses against me to support every complaint made against me by Capt. Robertson. He then told me as he had nothing to say with the Civil line, I must go down to Quebec if I wanted a pass and get one from the Lieut. Governor, Mr. Hamilton,† and would write down at the same time the complaint made

* Col. Barry St. Leger, a British officer, was with Wolfe at Quebec, and afterward commanded the expedition in 1777, *via* Lake Ontario, Oswego River, and Oneida Lake, intending, after victoriously sweeping the Mohawk Valley, to join Burgoyne at Albany. But Gansevoort, Willett, and Fort Stanwix stood in his path, and the militia of the Mohawk, too, gathered to oppose his progress. St. Leger's white force, however, was too meagre for the undertaking, and his savage allies became demoralized and inconstant from the determined bravery of General Herkimer and his militia at the battle of Oriskany. These circumstances led to the abandonment of the siege of Fort Stanwix, and St. Leger's inglorious retreat. St. L. died in 1789.—H.

† Col. Henry Hamilton was an officer of the British army, and was Lieut.-Governor at Detroit early in the Revolution. In December, 1778, we may say, he laid siege to Fort Vincennes, for he arrived before that post with a large force and demanded its surrender. The fortress was then occupied by a force of *two men only*, a Captain Helm, from Virginia, and one private. Their single cannon, however, was hastily loaded, and with linstock at hand the gun was ready for destruction to the foe. Capt. Helm met the invader with a stern order to stand, and in reply to the summons, suggested to Hamilton that he should state the terms to be granted in case of surrender. The Governor, it is said, agreed to grant to the garrison the usual honors of war, and Captain H. thought it prudent to give up the post; it was one of the most ludicrous incidents of the war. To extend this note a little farther, we add that Col. Geo. Rogers Clarke, in the month of February ensuing, recaptured the post, (then called Fort Sackville) and sent Hamilton, a prisoner, to Virginia. Col. Hamilton left the British army in 1783, but was Lieut.-Governor of Quebec in 1785, and afterwards Governor of Dominica; he died 1796.—H.

by Captain Robertson. Accordingly I went down and waited upon Hamilton, who received me very politely, and told me he had received a letter from General St. Ledger in consequence of giving me a pass for Detroit. He said he did not see the least difficulty of granting me a pass for that place provided I would give the usual security, and that he would write to General St. Ledger in consequence of granting me one upon those conditions. This was all that passed between him and me upon this subject, and now asked what I was sent down for. Relying upon what he had told me, I comes up to Montreal again and waits upon General St. Ledger. "Well," says he, "has the Governor given you a pass?" I told him he had not, but was to have wrote him to grant me one upon those conditions of giving him proper security. "The Governor has wrote me," says he; "but since he has not given you a pass, I may be d——d if I do, and you may get along, sir." Finding no satisfaction amongst these Tyrants and hell-hounds, I left h—ll and ascended round to heaven—I mean New York and Philadelphia—from whence I arrived here the 26th of last month only.

With respect of what I wrote you in my first letter, which was for an assortment of goods for this season, I have, in consequence, inclosed to you a memorandum of what things I may want, and which, if you think it convenient, and lays in your power to compleat, let me know your answer by the bearer of this, Ducharme. Should the above take place, I would have all the dry goods brought by pack-Horses, and as for the heavy articles, I would wish to have them sent round by Mackina, such as the rum, powder, and ball. You can easily have them sent in a vessell to Mackina, and from that sent in a boat to Chicago in your name, as the little Bashaw at Mackina would not grant anything to come here in my name; and as you will be at Mackina, I suppose you will endeavor to get me four Winterers, which you will send per the boat. As I have an opportunity of making a good deal of Indian corn, I would wish you could contract with somebody at Mackina to furnish them two or three hundred bushels. Or, otherwise, if you should want it yourself, I will deliver it at the bottom of the river as reasonable as possible; and let me know your price at the same time. Meldrum and Parke has not used me well this last year in my absence, I mean last fall. This is the only reason that I would not wish to have any more business with them.

I remain, Dr. Sir, your humble servant,

WM. BURNETT.

N. B. You will see per the memorandum what things there is to be sent per the boat. Should there be a probability of those things coming late by water, I would have some of them brought by land.

To Mr. Wm. Hands,
Merch't, Detroit, per
Ducharme.

Extract from a letter to John Sayers, Michilmakina, dated St. Josephs, June 26th, 1786:

A few days ago, five unhappy Americans were taken by the Miamis, four of which was killed upon the Spott, and one brought to their town, where they burnt him at the stake. This happened about thirty leagues from this.

The following is a postscript to a letter dated June 30, 1786, to William Hands, Detroit:

About an hour ago, arrived here an Indian from Saguina with a Belt to this nation. The purport of it is to let them know that the road between this and their town is neat and clean, and would be glad to see them. My opinion of it is, it is an invitation of them to mischief. However I may be mistaken.

ST. JOSEPHS, Jan. 20th, 1787.

* * * * * *.

Last spring, on my way home from Fort Pitt, I stopped at St. Tuskey*; was three days there at one Elliott† and McDonald's; they charged me seven pounds for lodgings, for which I gave them an order upon Meldrum and Park; and as I have reason to suppose it is not paid, I have sent you five otters, which you will please pay them with. If they are not at Detroit at present, they will be there in the spring, and do not forget to pay them. For I would much sooner owe anybody else as many hundreds. With this goes at the same time another otter, which you will send me tea for. I must here be under the necessity of troubling you with a particular favor: that is to send me some garden seeds, and particular turnip seed and cabbage. I enjoy a very pleasant winter in one respect, and a very lazy one in another, not having anything to do. While I was writing this letter, I have been informed with a bad piece of news by a Frenchman just arrived from the Kaskaski. He says when he left,

* Sandusky.—H.

† We have not positive proof, yet we believe the senior member of this firm was the notorious Matthew Elliott, who years before that date, as well as afterward, exerted an evil influence with the Indians toward their American white neighbors. Matthew Elliott was one of that trio of wretches, Girty, McKee, and Elliott, yet he held a captain's commission from the British authorities. In 1793, he was living on the Canada side, at the mouth of Detroit River, in trade as well as farming. In a list of the inhabitants of Detroit in 1806, (collections Pioneer Society of Mich., vol. I.) we notice the names of both Alexander McKee and Captain Matthew Elliott. After Perry's victory in September, 1813, a force of a hundred Kentucky soldiers, on their way to Detroit, (so we are told in Luther Harvey's Memoirs in Collections Pioneer Society, Mich.) landed near Malden, and destroyed the house and furniture of Col. Matthew Elliott, British Indian Agent, who, together with Simon Girty, was considered the main instigators of the massacre, by the savages, at River Raisin in January of that year.—H.

that an Indian arrived there which told him that there had an Englishman with his (*a word missing*) had been killed at Lafourche* on the Illinois River, on his way from Illinois to Detroit, but cannot learn who it is. Please make my humble respects to Mr. and Mrs. May, and hope they are very well; and am, with regard,

Dr. Sir, your obdt. servant,

WM. BURNETT.

Mr. W. HANDS,
Detroit.

ST. JOSEPHS, February 19th, 1787.

D'R HANDS:

I had the pleasure yesterday of receiving your favor of the 6th inst. with the tea and paper, for which I am very much obliged to you. I am happy having so early an opportunity of answering. * * * * I am now to confirm that bad piece of news mentioned in my first letter, I mean with respect to the Englishman that was killed at the river of the Illinois. It appears not to be an Englishman, but a Frenchman; the difference in the name is immaterial. It seems there were three of them together, on their way for Detroit. All that we can learn by the villain that done the act (which is only within fifteen leagues of †au Pi), that he happened to meet at their Campment and spoke with the master, who told him he was going to Detroit to see the *Big Swan*, meaning Meldrum; that he left them, and came at midnight and shot one of the three, but says not the Trader, and that the other two fled. However, let it be as it is, they had the misfortune to have a bag of money with them containing, nearly as I can learn, four hundred dollars, and between two and three hundred guineas. This, with five horses and several other things, is now in the possession of the monster, which he keeps in defiance of all those that will attempt to take anything from him. He says he intends to go and see his English father and tell him what he has done, and that he is sorry for it, and expects he will give him a little of his wealth, as he is a brave man. *Is it possible that England, so famed for justice and humanity, can bear such murder committed without ever demanding any kind of satisfaction.*‡ The dollars and guineas are flying about among the cormorants as if a Spanish Galleon had been taken. However, between you and me, they are no less d——d rascals for doing so, as it only encourages the Indians to do the like again on some poor unfortunate traveller.

* *Lafourche*, it is believed, was situated at junction of the Kankakee and Desplaines.—H.

† Name indistinct and not recognized; possibly it is an abreviation, and intended for *our Portage*.—H.

‡ The italics are ours; the crime was committed in the Illinois, yet none other than British jurisdiction appears to have been recognized here in those days.—H.

I hope against this time you have got the Garden seeds, which I beg you will send me by the bearer of this letter. If there is any such things as wire seives at Detroit, do send me one. In your next, let me know if Mr. Williams is at St. Tuskey.* I thank you for your kind offer for my commands on you for Montreal. I have none but one; that is, when I left Montreal, I owed a balance of one halifax shilling to Campbell, the tavern-keeper. If you remember it, I beg you will pay it. As he is a prattling fellow, he may make a noise about it. I offered him payment, but he had no change. No more. A prosperous voyage to you. I am sincerely yours,

WM. BURNETT.

WM. HANDS, at Detroit.

N. B. The fellow has delivered up the papers to Mr. Tabeau, amongst which I had a letter from Arundel, wherein he recommends to me one Mr. Janise. By this it appears that Mr. Janise was one of the three.

ST. JOSEPHS, August 22, 1787.

SIR—When Mr. Lalime was in Detroit last, you was pleased to tell him verbally, that if I should want anything at your house, it should be at my service. Upon which I take the liberty of addressing you this letter, to acquaint you with my desire of having an assortment of Indian goods this fall (if convenient to you) to the amount of a thousand pounds' worth. If this should meet your approbation, please to let me know by the bearer of this. As I have horses of my own, I would have everything brought by land. And at the same time, would wish to have made up calico and linen shirts: twelve dozen of calico shirts, twelve dozen of men's linen shirts of twelve-penny linen, and six dozen of women's and children's shirts. If you have any powder, please to send me a hundred weight by the bearer, and remain,

Sir, your humble servant,

WM. BURNETT.

To Mr. JOHN CASITY,
Merchant, Detroit.

ST. JOSEPHS, April 3, 1788.

SIR—Understanding you being at Makina, and desirous to venture once on the wheels of fortune, has thought proper to enclose to you a memorandum for an assortment of Indian goods for this place. * * * * *

As Mr. Graham is acquainted with your trade of this country, I have given him directions to settle with you as to the price of the goods. * * * * * *

You will endeavor to expedite the whole off in two canoes, soon as possible, for reasons which Mr. Graham will tell you of. Three men in each canoe will be enough; let them be indebted as little as pos-

* Sandusky.—H.

sible. Another thing I am to observe: as I am a stranger at present to the prices of peltries, you will note down the prices you will give for them, as it will be at the same time a guide to me how to dispose of the goods. The peltries here, in general, are all very good, and in particular the raccoon and otter, and of course deserves a better price than those that comes from any other country. Very possibly it may lay in your way to want Indian corn, Grease, and Sugar. Should you want any of those articles, let me know the prices you will give for any of them delivered at the entrance of the river. I am, Sir,

Your humble servant,

WM. BURNETT.

To Mr. CHARLES PATTERSON,
Merch't, Michilmackina.

From letter dated St. Josephs, April 11th, 1788:

I had a very fine harvest last fall, among which I had a hundred bushels of wheat. I leave this to-morrow for Detroit, with an expectation of getting a mill; for further particulars I refer you to our friend Graham.

ST. JOSEPHS, Feb. 2, 1790.

D'R HANDS: My last to you is dated 10th of December. * * * * I must now give you an account of my departure from this to the Kinkeki. I left the source the 11th December, and with a good deal of trouble breaking the ice now and then, (as the river is very narrow) got down to my wintering quarters the 16th of the same month. Upon my arrival, we sat about building a small house, and notwithstanding the bad weather, we got it up in eight days with two men and myself. So that upon the whole, considering my bad luck in getting my goods so late, have been very fortunate in getting into the Kinkeki, as the season of the year being so very far advanced. As to the trade of y^e^ the Kinkeki, it goes on but very slowly as yet owing to the mild winter we have here. But am still in hopes what I have taken with me there will dispose of against the spring. * * * * * * The day before my departure from source of the Kinkeki, one of my men left me in the night, and has made his way to the Oahiya.* I have wrote to Mr. J. Abbott, at the Aumies,† that should he see the fellow there to have him sent to Detroit directed to your care. His name is Jems, and owes me four hundred and fifty livres. I hired him at Makina to winter and return back again, so that it is needless to explain to you how much the rascal is out of my way.

If possible, I must desire you will get me made a plough shear, as the French calls it *en bardeau*, about five and twenty pounds weight. Should I not send to Detroit, you will send above to the Mies.† As to the wheat, you will send it to Makina.

* *Ohio*, doubtless.

† The Maumee.

Chevelleur of the Teppeconno was pillaged of a bale of dry goods by the Indians of the place, which is the Poutwatamies. The only reason for their behavior is this, that he would not give some of them credit. I saw him the other day, and told him he would wish that the above should be made known to Mr. Robinson, of Detroit, as he is equiped by him. There ought to be some example made of those rascals, as it is a matter that concerns all in this country. For if there is no notice taken of this, it will be a matter of fact that they will do the same again, if not to him to some other poor devil.

My respects to Mr. and Mrs. Graham, Mr. May and family, and am sincerely yours,

WM. BURNETT.

P. S. I leave this to-morrow for my house in the Kinkeki.

Ducharme that has been here lately, says that some of the Traders from Makina, going down the Illinois river last fall, was pillaged by a band of Poutwatamies.

Let me know if you have had any news of the prices of Peltries, and what appearance there is of sales.

Mr. WM. HANDS,
Merch't, Detroit.

ST. JOSEPHS, May 6th, 1790.

D'R HANDS:

This is the third letter since I saw you last fall, at LaGlaize, and has not been favored with any from you. I have nothing to write you in particular at present, but only to let you know that I am safe arrived from my wintering quarters, and all very well. I have missed a very great opportunity of doing well for the want of goods this spring. About ten days ago, I sent a canoe off for Makina loaded with corn for Mr. Todd. Should not the canoe find Todd there, I have wrote Mr. Barthe to receive it for him. I wrote to you about getting a plough share made; send it Makina with three bushels of fall wheat, provided you have not sent it to the Aumies already. Let me hear from you by the first opportunity, and what appearance there will be of the sale of peltries.

I received a letter yesterday from Chicago, wherein it is said that nothing is made in the Mississippi this year.

I remain sincerely yours,

WM. BURNETT.

Mr. WM. HANDS,
Detroit.

To the same at Detroit:

MICHILMAKINA, Aug. 14, 1790.

DEAR HANDS:

I had the pleasure of receiving your favor by the vessel, dated Detroit, July 10th, the contents of which I have paid particular attention to.

I brought here fifty-six packs, which I sold Mr. Todd for 25,400 livres.* I have settled with him for his last year's amount, which is 13,592 livres, and for yours also amounting to 3900 livres, the whole of which comes to 19,492 livres, for which amount I have paid him and has his receipt for the same. * * *

MAKINA, Aug. 25, 1790.

SIR: A few days after your departure from this, the schooner Nancy arrived here. * * *
Lafromboir† arrived here the 22nd inst. His canoe goes off this evening, and as it is the last canoe that goes off from this for Montreal this year, I have enclosed to you my order for the ensuing year. As Mr. McTavish does not come in here this year, will have no other opportunity to write you but by the way of Detroit. I propose to leave this in four days. I have got all my men and every thing else but blankets and strouds.

I am sir your humble
servant, WM. BURNETT.

Mr. ANDREW TODD,
Montreal.

MAKINA, Aug. 30, 1790.

GENTLEMEN:

Since my last, of the 25th inst., I have purchased from Mr. Charles Morrison blankets and strouds at 100 per cent, for the amount of which I have given him a draft on you for sixty-three pounds, one shilling and six pence, New York currency, which you will please place to my account. Fear of any accident that might happen to the order, I sent down by the Grand river by Lafromboir's canoe. I have enclosed a copy of the same, in this, with some small additions to it. As Mr. Barthe is selling rum here at nine livres per gallon, I have taken four kegs more. The two kegs of nails mentioned in the inclosed memorandum you will endeavor to send up by the way of Detroit. Should any thing occur with respect to the change of peltries before the winter express to Detroit, be kind enough to write me. I go off from this in the evening. I remain, gentlemen,
your most obedient, humble servant,
WM. BURNETT.

Messrs. TODD,
McGILL & Co.,
Montreal.

* The dealings between Mr. Burnett and the merchants appear to have been reckoned and kept, generally, in the French money of account—*livres* and *sous;* a livre was 18½ cents, or 20 sous.—H.

† Probably *Lafromboise*, from Milwaukee.—H.

ST. JOSEPHS, February 6th, 1791.

D'R HANDS:

My last letter to you is dated at Makina, since which I have not been favored with any from you.

I received a letter the 2nd inst. from Mr. Wm. Todd at the Illinois, and under cover for his brother Andrew Todd at Montreal. It is his desire to me, that upon the receipt of his letter, I should hire an Indian and send off, immediately, the letter that is for his brother. According to desire, I have enclosed to you the above letters, with several others, which you will forward by the first opportunity. I received a letter last fall from Mr. Graiter, with one enclosed from you, which you have here with the rest. I believe it is for Todd.

There is no appearance of doing any thing here this year, as fear keeps the Indians from hunting. They continually imagine that the Americans are coming upon them. Add to this, we have more traders here this year than what we had last. I wintered in the Kinkeki this year myself, again, and came here only a few days ago.

* * * * *

This cursed war that subsists between the Americans and Indians does us more hurt in this country than what is generally imagined. The Indians say here that they beat the Americans that came against them last fall at the Aumies.* How far they are in the right I cannot tell, but they behave in such a manner as to confirm it. For I never saw them so impertinent as they are at present. Those that has any property in the country are in a very precarious situation, and will be until times take a change, which I hope will be soon. The Pouwatamies, at Chicago, has killed a frenchman about twenty days ago. They say that there is plenty of frenchmen. If you tell them that their father will be angry with them, they will tell you, for answer, what will he gain by that. It is surprising with what disdain they do talk of the English; language too insulting. This the thanks for the millions squandered away upon these rascals; and if things was to take a change, they will be the first to fall upon you.

Let me know if provisions will be scarce this year at Detroit, and in particular if Indian corn will be worth anything. When I left Makina, last fall, there was no great appearance of any great crop at Larbroroche.

* * * * *

The bearer of this letter is Mr. Lapence, one of the principal senators† of this province. Give him plenty of provisions for him and another young man that is with him when they are to come off. As I do not intend to sow any wheat this year, as very likely others

* Referring, no doubt, to Harmer's defeat.—H.

† A playful compliment, probably, to the gentleman-half-breed, as well as a recognization of an important branch of the new American government.—H.

might reap for me, for fear of such an accident, you will be good enough to send me a thousand weight of flour, in the spring, to Makina. Send me, by the bearer, a three gallon keg of good white wine, half-pound of Hyson tea, and 5 lbs good loaf sugar.

I am, with the utmost regards,

Yours sincerely,

WM. BURNETT.

N. B. Todd writes me in his letters that the letter that is for his brother is of consequence, and to have it sent to Montreal soon as possible. There is one for Levy Solomon, which came with the above, which you will likewise forward. Send me two dozen black ostrich feathers, and one gross of small metal buttons. Send me, to Makina, as much black silk as to make me two black cravats, and small black edging, and five yards of Blue cassimere.

Mr. HANDS,
Merch't, Detroit.

To same, dated

ST. JOSEPHS, April 11, 1791.

* * * * *

I am at present moving down to the Lake; fear of any accident, as the Indians report here that the Americans are coming again against them. If you have any newspapers or magazines by you send me some, if you can spare any. I hope there is a good prospect of the sale of peltries. No packs here this year. I am sincerely yours,

WM. BURNETT.

Mr. WM. HANDS,
Detroit.

Give the young lads some Bisquet for their voyage.

MAKINA, Aug. 15, 1792.

GENTS: You will please complete the inclosed memorandum as soon as possible upon the arrival of your spring goods.

The rum you will have put up in nine gallon kegs, and the salt likewise, which you will have sent up by the way of the Lakes, for this place, by the first spring navigation. Also, you will have sent up, by the same conveyance, some part of the ball and shot, or any other heavy article that may mar the loading of the canoe.

As it may happen very possibly that there may be more bales than what a canoe may hold, you will therefore have the remainder sent up in some canoe upon freight. I am, Gents,

your humble servant,

WM. BURNETT.

McTAVISH & FROBISHER,
Merch'ts, Montreal.

ST. JOSEPHS, Oct. 7, 1792.

D'R YOUNG:

With pleasure I received your letter per the Speedwell, and has given particular attention to the contents thereof. The things that Mr. Potier sent by the vessel have likewise arrived in good order. I am sorry it is out of my power to procure you the racine of Grand River, as all the Indians are gone out to winter; and another thing, would not have time to dry the roots against the time the vessel would be ready; therefore, will endeavor to get what you want against the spring. McKenzie was telling me you had a pleasant dance before he left Makina. All I am sorry for is, that I was not one of the party. I have twenty packs here at present, and would have sent them by the vessel but were not made up. If not too much trouble, I beg you will have the enclosed memorandum added to the first. I am sorry you did not send me a keg of good wine, as I soon will be out. I am happy to hear that Sayer has settled with the gentlemen you make mention of. With this goes a letter for Sayer, which you will send with the first opportunity. Do me the favor to give Patt McGulphin sixty livres for me.

No certain news to write you. We hear nothing of the Americans advancing as yet. The Indians are in hopes they will not come this year. If not, it certainly will be better for trade; but be it as it will, there is but poor hopes owing to the too many traders here this year; but all for the best. Wish you would write to some friend for a good spy-glass. Give my respects to Miss Peggy, and to John Reid. I am, in wishing you a pleasant and happy winter, yours sincerely,

WM. BURNETT.

Mr. G. ED'RD YOUNG,
Michilmakina.

ST. JOSEPHS, March 25, 1794.

GENTS: I received your letters, with invoice and other papers, etc., the 27th of December last. But I am very sorry to inform you that I received all the goods in very bad order; all damaged, and some entirely lost. The vessel, by the misconduct of the master, was drove on shore on the point of Mosquigon River. When the vessel struck she filled full of water, and the goods remained ten days after in the hold, from which you must judge in what situation the goods must have been. In the goods arriving so late, left it entirely out of my power to send out; will, therefore, have ⅔ of my goods remaining on hand, the best part of which much damaged. As I do not know rightly what time I will go to Michilmakina this spring, I have enclosed to you two notes, which you will endeavor to get paid. You will remember that I left one with Mr. Pothier last fall belonging to Reaume, which he is to pay on his arrival, answered by him for Caltos, which last you have his note here for the balance of what he owes me. I am surprised I received no

letter from Mr. Young, since he went down to Montreal, with respect to the sale of my peltries.

The bearer of this letter is the Reverend Mr. Ledrue, missioner, formerly at the Illinois. He wintered here with me, and beg you will assist him he gets settled at Makina, which I believe he intends to do if there is good business for his trade.

I am, dear sir,
your humble servant,
WM. BURNETT.

Messrs. CHABOILLIER & YOUNG,
Makina.

OLD FORT,* August 2, 1794.

D'R YOUNG:

I am sorry, before I came away, we forgot to settle about the corn. However, by the first opportunity, let me know the price you will give per bushel, taking it at the entrance of St. Josephs river, next spring.

In the precarious situation we are all in at present, with respect to this country, makes me a little dubious how to act in regard to ordering up any goods for next year. * * * * * * It strikes me that there will come a vessel to St. Josephs this fall. Should this be the case, I beg you will send the following articles: a box of window-glass, four hundred weight of flour, and two barrels of white lime. If you can procure me a piece of white scarlet without paying too dear for it, I beg you will send me a piece by the same opportunity, or by Mr. Durocher, who is to pass our way this fall. If any thing else occurs to my memory on the way, will write you if any opportunity affords. I remain, in the meantime, with esteem,

Gentlemen,
Your humble servant,
WM. BURNETT.

Messrs. CHABOILLIER & YOUNG,
Merch'ts, Makina.

OLD MAKINA, Aug. 3, 1794.

DEAR SIR: Since I came away, I have taken into consideration the subject we were talking about the other day with respect to getting me a house built. If you can get the half of Mr. Meldrum's lot for five or six hundred livres, at most, you will then have a house built upon it on the following plan: The House to be thirty foot in front, and twenty-five foot wide. Between the two floors within to be eight foot. The front door to be in the middle, and one on the back right opposite the front door. Two windows to be in the front, one to be on each side of the door, and two windows to be on the back, one on each side of the door, the same as the front. A window to be on each gable end of the house, to be in each front-room.

* The locality "Old fort" was probably at or near old Mackinaw.—H.

You will have the house covered with bark. The window-lights to be on the same model of those of Mr. Young's house.

Should the above take place, I expect you will, according to promise, have it built on the cheapest terms as possible.

When I came away, I forgot the kettle, the roll of Bark, and the Cod line which the men brought from St. Josephs, which I beg you will have put up in some safe place till the Spring. The men eat eighty pounds of flour on their way to St. Josephs, which I think they have a right to pay, as they refused to take corn from Mr. Augustin Chabollier when he met them on their way. You forgot to charge the 2 M weight of flour. Inclosed you have Thomas' account, at least the amount, including the skins he lost when he deserted. He is not charged with the lost time.

I am, sir, your humble serv't,

WM. BURNETT.

Mr. POTHIER,
Makina.

ST. JOSEPHS, Nov. 15, 1794.

DEAR SIR: When at Makina, I did not determine whether I would order up any goods or not, owing to the news then circulating at Makina, that the Americans were to take possession of the posts.

* * * * *

The two first Canoes I received from your House, that is last year, was very well satisfied with, as everything was very well assorted. But upon the whole, I was a loser of ten thousand livres upon those two Canoes, owing upon the extraordinary advance upon the goods at Montreal; the rise of the woolens, add to this the receiving the goods so late in the season, put it out of my power to send out. And another extraordinary thing, not a single winterer in the two Canoes, a circumstance of the kind I never saw before at Makina. I will want six this year, that is, three in each Canoe. I do not doubt but what they may be had with a little trouble, as the men in general give preference to this Post, more so than any other part of the upper country. * *

I am, sir, your humble servant,

WM. BURNETT.

Mr. JOHN GREGORY & Co.,
Montreal.

Complete the loading of the Canoe with spirits.

MICHILMAKINA, July 21, 1797.

DEAR SIR: Upon my arrival, which was the 5th inst., *

* * * * * *

Arrived some canoes yesterday from the Illinois which says that the Spaniards are all very quiet at St. Louis.

W. BURNETT.

JAMES MAY, Esq.,
Detroit.

MAKINA, July 20th, (?) 1797.

As I am under the necessity of leaving this to-morrow for St. Josephs, and cannot wait the arrival of the vessel any longer, I have delivered my packs, which is eighty-four in number, to Mr. Porteous, and he has promised me to see them safe shipped, which I hope will arrive safe at Montreal. Upon their arrival, I make not the least doubt that you will dispose of them to the best advantage. As the peltries are good, and every appearance of their selling well, I make not the least dispute but what they will fetch between forty-seven and forty-eight thousand livres. If they should fall much shorter than what is said above, then you will have them shipped to London. However, I mean at the same time that you will act according to the circumstances of the times, that is you will do for the best. Inclosed you have an invoice of the whole. * *

* * Therefore, I have concluded to inclose you one for the ensuing spring which I hope will be in your power to accomplish, which in part you will have sent up in one canoe by the Grand River,* and the next in a Batteau by the way of the Lakes. The heavy articles that cannot lightly be put into a Canoe, must, of course, be put into the Batteau. As the Canoe cannot bring all the Blankets and Strouds mentioned in the memorandum, you will have a few bales of these articles put into the batteau. You will endeavor to send three winterers in the Canoe and three in the batteau. I need not urge the necessity of making choice of a good guide, as you know very well that accidents happen at the Grand River very often for want of such. *

* * * * * *

I am, Gents, your humble servant,

W. BURNETT.

Messrs. JOHN OGILVY & Co.,
Detroit.

N.B. You will have the loading of the boat; whatever may be wanting for the completing of it, you will have put up in rum.

* * * * * *

AT THE MOUTH OF ST. JOSEPHS RIVER, NOV. 2, 1797.

GENTLEMEN:

My last to you is dated at Michilmakina, the 21st July. *

* * * * * *

Inclosed you have a small memorandum of sundries, which I beg

* The *Grand River* referred to is what is now known as the *Ottawa*. We are indebted to C. C. Baldwin, Esq., of the Historical Society at Cleveland, for an examination of the valuable collection of ancient maps in possession of that Society confirming our idea of the identity of those rivers. The route was a common one, with the early French traders and others, from the St. Lawrence, by the "Grande Riviere" and Lake Nepissing and French River, to Lake Huron.

you will add to the first. It is a doubt to me whether every thing can be put into the canoe and batteau, which should it be the case, you will endeavor to have some pieces put on freight, either by the Grand river or by the way of the Lakes to Makina. At all events, you will have fifteen barrels of spirits put into the batteau, with the wine, salt, and tobacco, * * *

* None of the people that went down to Montreal this summer has passed here as yet, and, from the lateness of the season, I do not expect they will.

* * * * * *

I am, gentlemen,
your humble servant,
WM. BURNETT.

Messrs. PARKER, GERARD & Co.,
Montreal.

ST. JOSEPHS, Feb. 11, 1798.

GENTLEMEN:

* * * * * *

The two letters for Mr. Franks and Legothrie is safe come to hand, and according to your directions I have hired a trusty hand, and will send off with the letters as far as Milwaukie. I have directed them to the care of Mr. Francis Lafromboise, to whom I have written to send them off as soon as possible. I expect that in eight days the letters will be at Lebay.* * *

As I would wish that my assortment should be complete as possible, I have here added a few more articles to my order, which I hope you will put up with the rest. As I imagine that this will be the last opportunity of writing you by the way of Detroit, I will write early in the spring by the way of Makina.

* * * * * *

I am, Gent'n, your most humble servant,
WM. BURNETT.

Messrs. PARKER, GIRARD and OGILVY,
Montreal.

ST. JOSEPHS, May 17, 1798.

DEAR SIR: As I do not expect to go to Makina this summer, and as I would wish to dispose of my peltries at Makina, I would wish to know, by the very first opportunity, what prices you will give for peltries. From what I owe you, and for the high advances I gave you last year for your goods, I have every reason to think that you can afford to give generous prices. Therefore, from what is said above, you will not fail to let me know your opinion by the very first canoe. I am, sir, your humble servant,
WM. BURNETT.

Mr. P. GABRIEL COTE,
Michilmakina.

* Green Bay.—H.

P.S. You may be assured that the different sorts of peltries are good; and should your prices suit me, I will let you know my answer as soon as possible. This is the different sort of peltries I have: Deer Skins, Raccoons, Beavers, Otter, Musk-rats, Mink, Cat & Foxes, Bear.

ST. JOSEPHS, June 16, 1798.

D'R SIR:

* * * * * *

I now send off two canoes loaded with eighty packs of furs. Inclosed you have an invoice, * * *

* * * * * *

If this comes to hand before Coursolle goes down to Montreal, order me up twelve large silver crosses, some a foot long, and some to be smaller. * * *

Your humble servant,

WM. BURNETT.

Mr. JOHN OGILVY,
Makina.

ST. JOSEPHS, July 20, 1798.

DEAR SIR: Yesterday I received your most esteemed favor by St. Jean, covering some newspapers, which were very acceptable, and for which I am very much obliged to you.

I examined your inclosed account, which I believe is very right, and by the return of my next Canoe, I will send you an order for the amount upon J. Ogilvy & Co., as against that time I expect that Mr. Ogilvy will have arrived from the Grand Portage.

* * * * * *

Your humble servant,

WM. BURNETT.

Mr. TOUSSAINT POTHIER,
Michilmakina.

ST. JOSEPHS, August 24, 1798.

GENTLEMEN:

* * * * * *

The method of putting the liquor into kegs is certainly much preferable than having it in large barrels, as it will be much easier for the men to unload.

For the dry goods, you will have them sent by the way of the Grand River. You will endeavor to procure me seven winterers, amongst which, if possible, get me a blacksmith; get him for two years.

* * * * * *

In the course of last winter, I wrote you that it is expected that there will be a garrison at Chicago, this summer, and from late accounts, I have reason to expect that they will be over there this fall; and should it be the case, and as I have a house there already, and a promise of assistance from head quarters, I will have occasion for a good deal of liquors, and some other articles, for that post. There-

fore, should there be a garrison at Chicago this fall, I will write for an addition of articles to my order. I am, gentlemen, your humble servant, WM. BURNETT.

Messrs. PARKER, GIRARD & OGILVY,
Montreal.

MOUTH OF ST. JOSEPHS RIVER,
Dec. 20, 1798.

D'R SIR:

* * * * * *

You make mention in your letter that you had not received your goods which you expected from England. McKenzie, of this place, tells me that when he left Detroit that you had stored them at his brother's for the winter.

As I learn that there is actually no goods at the Illinois, and no appearance of any being there until next summer, and as I think a few Indian goods will sell there in the spring, if you are inclined to sell me those you have in Detroit at a living price, I will take them for the above purpose. I will have them taken up, by the first open navigation, to fort Wayne; from that overland to this. From this I can run down in a few days to the Illinois. As it appears to me that I can sell these goods either for cash or peltries, I imagine I will be at Makina with the returns against August. * *

* I would not wish to take any rum, tobacco, or ball, as these articles are of no consequence in that country. I am, with much esteem, D'r Sir, yours sincerely,

WM. BURNETT.

Mr. ROBERT MCKENZIE,
Montreal.

ST. JOSEPHS, Oct. 21, 1799.

SIR: The sloop Russell, Capt. Ruff, master, sailed from this yesterday in the evening, on board of which I have shipped twenty-four packs of Deerskins, containing 1220 skins, all marked I. O., for Mr. J. Ogilvy, at Montreal, which I have addressed to your care.

* * * * * *

With this, I have sent in four horses to get a small assortment, which I hope will be in your power to complete. *

* * * * You will have the Bales made up of eighty pounds each, as they will be more convenient for the horses. * *

You will please give the men a little pork and bread for their return.

I am, sir, your humble
servant, WM. BURNETT.

P.S. You will oblige me very much if you can possibly procure me a few quarts of Timothy seed. * *

You will give a gun-lock to one of the Indians I send in.

Mr. ROBERT INNES,
Detroit.

ST. JOSEPHS, Oct. 21,* 1799.

GENTLEMEN:

* * * * * *

I wrote for 15,000 of wampum and only 1500 was sent up. I wrote for Rifles, in place of which Guns were sent up, an article very seldom made use of at present in this quarter. The former is only in demand. The Gunpowder sent up is very good of its kind, but the grain is rather too large for rifles. That which is called the double F is the most preferable. With respect to the Iron work, it will be necessary to get good axes made, for what has heretofore come up is nothing more than patch up. When an Indian buys an axe, and should it break shortly after—which commonly is the case —he insists upon having another in its place. Therefore, it will be much cheaper to pay a few more pence upon each axe in order that they may be good. The tomahawks are rather too large towards the edge; two inches and a quarter will be sufficient, and six inches long. You will have the musk rat spear made with a socket, which the French call *en dorville.* * * *

Should the goods arrive early in the spring to Montreal, and sent off by way of the Lakes, so that they might get to Detroit before or against the latter end of August, it will then be time enough for them to come here, provided a small vessel like the Russel could be chartered to bring them; which I imagine there will be no difficulty to get one, as there is at present a great plenty of vessels upon these Lakes. Should there not be enough to load one of these small craft, there will always be freight enough at that time of the year from Detroit to Makina; and from her return, from this or Makina, cannot fail of getting freight back again, which will nearly pay the hire of the vessel. This method of conveyance will certainly answer me much better, as it will be so much safer and much cheaper than getting goods by the way of the Grand River.

* * * * * *

I am, gentlemen, your humble servant, WM. BURNETT.

Messrs. PARKER, GERARD & OGILVY,
Montreal.

ST. JOSEPH, March 27, 1801.

D'R SIR:

* * * * *

Kinzie told me, some time ago, that he received a letter from his correspondent at Detroit, wherein they inform him that there is a possibility that all those that took goods from Detroit last fall for this place, which had not paid the duties, will be obliged to pay for them this spring. If any thing of this kind is in contemplation, please let me know it.

* This date should probably be in November.—H.

You will send me by the bearer of this (an Indian,) five carrots of good tobacco, and three pounds of good tea. An order was sent to me some time ago, by the Indian agent at fort Wayne, to tell the Indians to seize the property of those that had no license to trade. What will be the consequence I cannot say.

I remain, D'r Sir, your
humble servant,
WM. BURNETT.

Mr. JOHN MCGREGOR,
Detroit.

ST. JOSEPHS, [no date.]

GENTLEMEN:

Yours of the 8th February last per Mr. Patterson came to hand, and was glad to hear that a general peace has taken place in Europe; but on the other hand, I am sorry to understand that peace will hurt the sale of peltries, and what is still worse, it will fall upon those that comes from this country.

You say that the Montreal people prognosticate the downfall of peltries. I never knew them to be otherwise; for this has been the language when peltries were selling at the highest rates in England, and that for five or six years running. Had I any advice to give the Montrealers, I would advise them to keep their goods and not send them to the Indian country, for I am pretty sure it will take a ship load of our peltries to pay a batteau load of their Indian goods.

I received a note from Mr. Patterson, wherein he mentions that it is your desire that I should get me some juniper berries. If they can be got, you may rely upon my endeavors to procure you all I can get.

* * * * * *

I am, with esteem, gentlemen, your humble
serv't, WM. BURNETT.

Messrs. JOHN & JAMES MCGREGOR,
Merchants, Sandwich.

ST. JOSEPHS, June 24, 1803.

GENTLEMEN:

* * * * *

Could I have sold all my goods, I make no doubt but what I might have cleared off my account with you. But I cannot think of throwing away my goods to a loss as some people has done in this country. Blankets and strouds has been given all winter for two skins; and even fine cloth has been given for three skins which cost seven shillings a yard. You are very well convinced that it was not in my power to sell at these prices. It might be said that the loss upon those articles might be made upon some others, but I assure you it is not the case at present, for these very articles that was usually sold to the greatest advantage to the Indians, is now given away to sell the blankets and strouds.

However, from the new arrangements that is to take place, it is to be hoped we will not have so many peddling traders in the country as formerly, which were the very people that ruined all the trade; and I am sorry to say that some of the principal traders were as guilty of this, as those I have above described. * *

* * * * * *

And another thing which was against me last fall, was my not getting the liquor I depended upon. For mostly all the skins that was made at this post, was in part for rum. Consequently had I mine, I might have got my share of what was going, and that for the best peltries.

I am, gentlemen,
your humble servant,

Wm Burnett

Messrs. J. & J. McGregor,
Sandwich.

The following letter to Governor Wm. H. Harrison is the last one we give, and is the last one in the letter-book. It details some attempts to regulate the Indian trade, but the final course which the Governor's action took, whether voluntary or a necessity on his part, aroused the indignation of Mr. Burnett; the communication is tart, and rather interesting. We will add, that the letter speaks not only of *our* historic characters—Captain Wells and John Kinzie—but of *Harrison at Tippecanoe*, though the battle there, where he fought and repulsed the savages, did not happen till eight years later; and it was twenty-nine years after *that* when, with the rallying cry of "Tippecanoe," he was elected president of the nation.

St. Josephs, Sept. 10, 1803.

Sir: Upon the receipt of your Excellency's letter, dated at the mouth of the Tepeconno this last spring, requesting my attendance at fort wayne, I then could not immediately attend, owing to some business in trade I then had on hand at the time. However, shortly after I repaired to fort Wayne in expectation of finding you there, but was told upon my arrival that you had left for Detroit, but soon expected back again.

The next day of my arrival, Messrs. Lafontaine and Abbott came to my lodgings and told me that your Excellency had been pleased to appoint them, with myself, as a kind of Committee to fall upon

some expedient in order to put the Indian trade upon some respectable footing to what it had been heretofore. And, that whatever was agreed upon by us to that end, if agreeable to your wishes, should be supported by your authority.

When at first these gentlemen had opened this business to me, I was, for my part, at a loss what expedient to fall upon, well knowing that the trade of this country was equally free, and open to all citizens and foreigners alike, and according to law, good and bad had a right to a licence, provided good securities were given for the same to conform to the laws laid down for the Indian trade, which I believe has been pretty much the case since the laws at first has been published, down to the present time. And further, thought there was no meliorating the trade from the state it actually existing in. But Messrs. Lafontaine and Abbott told me they had the out lines from your Excellency, in what manner you thought the trade might be carried on to the advantage of the fair trader, in excluding at the same time all bad characters out of the country. And in order to accomplish this, that your Excellency had appointed these gentlemen with myself to examine what number of packs each post, place, and river, might produce in this territory. And that, according to the number that each place might furnish, only a certain number of traders should be permitted to trade at those places.

These proposals of your Excellency met with our approbation, which we thought the most eligible of putting the trade on a respectable footing, to what it had been. Accordingly it was proposed and agreed upon amongst us, that every place that produced between forty and fifty packs, that one trader was sufficient for such a place. And next it was proposed to know what number of packs was made at each post. To ascertain this, it was agreed that each of us should take such parts of the country as we were best acquainted with, to particularize the number of packs that was generally made at each river and place. Lake Michigan, upon this side of the Lake, and the Illinois river was allotted to me. The Wabash, and the country about fort Wayne, was allotted to Messrs. Lafontaine and Abbott. When each had finished his report, it was put down upon paper, at the same time inclosing a few lines to your Excellency, making you acquainted with what we had done.

Two or three days after this, you had all the traders called together at your quarters. When met, you told us that some traders had most willfully violated the laws by acting contrary to those made for the Indian trade. For which crime, your Excellency said you had shown a great deal of lenity; and finding that some persons still persisted in committing the same over again, that you was resolved for the future to put a stop to it; and more effectually to prevent any encroachments of the kind, that only a certain number of licences should be granted for each post. To facilitate the convenience of traders for procuring licences, you had, you told us,

appointed three different places to get them at, and that each place was to have a certain space of country allotted to each district. These districts were as follows: Detroit to be one where an agent was residing, and his district was to extend round the limits and dependencies of Detroit as far as the straits between Lakes Michigan and Huron; one at fort Wayne, the limits of which was to extend around that country and Lake Michigan as far as the straits of the said Lake; one at Vincennes, which district was to comprehend the greatest part of the Wabash and Illinois rivers. That the Agents of one district was not to give licences to any individual to trade in the district of another. That in whatever district any person wished to trade in, that the person was to apply to the Agent of said district. This, sir, I believe was something near to what you told us. And I can assure you the greatest part of the auditors were happy to hear what you had announced to them, thinking you was really in earnest, and apparently to us that you was resolved to support what you had said at that time; at least for my part, I firmly believed it.

In consequence of these arrangements, and upon the faith of which, I took such measures as a private individual in trade, to make a large demand of goods, sufficiently to supply the places I had demanded licences for. Which places I then thought, (at least some of them,) I had an exclusive right to. However, my faith in the above arrangement has not been long lived, as will appear from what I am going to relate.

About the 10th of last month, arrrived here one Mr. Coursolle, from Makina, on his way to the Illinois river. Mr. Coursolle inquired if the attorney General (Mr. Jones) had sent licences for him according to request. I told Mr. Coursolle that I believed licences were granted for him, but only for four months. When I told him this, he began to smile, and produce me four permits which he got at Makina from Mr. Whiley. I told Mr. Coursolle that I thought that these permits were not to be depended upon, by reason of the late arrangements which took place at fort wayne this spring. Mr. Coursolle said that Mr. Whiley had no contradictory orders to what he had received last year from your Excellency. In this case, I told him Mr. Whiley's permits were very good, and as good as any licence whatever. But, added Mr. Coursolle, you will be more surprised when I tell you that a quantity of licences were sent, by the Agent of Detroit, to one Mr. Henry, of Makina. That this Mr. Henry will give licences to any body that asks for them, that is to say, either to good or bad characters, no matter who they are, provided they can give two dollars and security which is required by law. I then inquired of Mr. Coursolle, if Mr. Henry gave licences to any body for the east side of Lake Michigan. Mr. Coursolle answered, upon any side that any body wished to have them.

This piece of news surprised me not a little. But what added

more to it, was a letter I received, a few days ago, from a merchant at Sandwich, wherein he says, "In my answer to yours dated at fort wayne, I then told you to be on your guard against the late arrangements your governor had made; that they were not to be depended upon, as it is not in his power to make any other regulations than those made by congress. You said that there was to be only a certain number of traders at each trading place, and no more. This, as I have said before, was not in your Governor's power to do. Nor can he hinder any body from going into the Indian country, nor refuse any body any number of licences he may want. All (I predicted to you,) relating to this business, you do now find, against this time, I expect, to be nothing more than mere bombast."

This Sir, I must confess, is a very severe reflection against your Excellency. Yet, notwithstanding these severe remarks against you, I could not altogether give to them in my own mind, until convinced by better authority. This happened to be the case within these two days, which was by the arrival of Captain Wells, from Fort Wayne, on his way to Chicago. I inquired of Captain Wells if he gave more licences than what was agreed upon at the late arrangements. Captain Wells gave for answer, that he gave licences as usual to everybody that asked for them, adding that your Excellency had not given him any orders to the contrary.

When I had received this answer, comparing it with other circumstances, I was more fully convinced that your Excellency was not sincere in those pretended arrangements which you made mention of to the body of traders at fort wayne this spring. And Sir, give me leave to say, that you have deceived some people, not a great many, for the greatest many had no confidence in what you said. As for my part, I had rather too much confidence in what you told me and others; and what confirmed me more in my duplicity, was, your telling of us Sir, that no man should have more than four licences. This, Sir, you told Mr. Kinzie before me, and Mr. Kinzie, at the same time, did not seem to be pleased that he would not get more than four licenses. But after a little reflection, Mr. Kinzie told me that he was perfectly satisfied of getting four licences, by reason of the late arrangements taking place, which he said would tend to a general good to the Indian trade. This was the opinion of a great many. But now what a sudden change. Mr. Kinzie, which had twenty licences last year, and which your Excellency thought was too many for one trader, can now have a cart load of them, provided he pays two dollars apiece for them. It was hinted in a letter I received some time ago from Vincennes, that your Excellency would not give licences to anybody without first being very well informed of his character. What a mighty difference in this quarter of the Territory. For a man, or any man, goes and gets a licence, and no questions is asked about his character. Indeed, if Tripolitans, which is the only enemies the United States has at present, were to come to Detroit and Makina, I make not the least

doubt of their getting licences to winter amongst the Indians, though absolutely against the interest of the United States for granting such.

This, Sir, is a large field laid open to the enemies of our country, in which they find matter enough at this present time to set their invention at work. And when they do begin, they seem to have very little mercy. They go as far as to say, that the Officers of the Civil department of this Territory, has neither resolution nor fortitude to execute the duties of their office. Others say again, that all species of crimes is committed in the Territory, and that the Guardian of the laws has not courage to punish the culprits. This, Sir, is the language held out against the Government of our Territory, for which I am heartily sorry that its enemies has had such an opportunity of displaying their enmity. And what is most unfortunate, that nothing can be said in its defence.

Some time ago, a peddling trader came to my house with a view to banter me with respect to the arrangements that was to have taken place this spring. I told this peddler, upon my return from Fort Wayne, what good regulations was to take place respecting the Indian trade, and how much it would attend to the advantage of the trade in general, etc. But since, things has taken another turn, and the peddler being very well acquainted with the circumstances of the change, asked me, in an ironical manner, where was the Governor and his fine regulations which he made this spring. All the answer I made the fellow, and indeed all that was in my power to make, was, that your Excellency was at Vincennes, and as for the regulations, they were carried over our heads by a strong southerly wind.

I have thought proper here to introduce these different circumstances, which has occurred to me rather late, in order to show your Excellency with what contempt these different characters has for the laws and regulations of our Territory, and even for the officers of the civil department. This disrespect (if I am not mistaken in opinion,) arises from too much lenity shown by the officers of the different departments, and very likely the want of firmness in persevering to enforce the laws and regulations so necessary to make a government respected, particularly with respect to this part of our Territory, where its principal inhabitants is chiefly composed of foreigners.

Sir, not wishing to serve any more in the capacity of a justice of the peace, I therefore enclose herein the commission that you had been pleased to honor me with.

I am, with great respect,
Your Excellency's most obedient
and most humble servant,
WM. BURNETT.

His Excellency WM. H. HARRISON,
Vincennes.

We will add that our informant, previously referred to, has understood that Mr. Burnett came from New Jersey originally, but does not know the date or place of his birth, or where his youth was passed. Indeed, he admits that there is a mystery enveloping the history of his early years, and little is known of the matter beyond what is given above. Yet, without positive knowledge, we are inclined to believe that Mr. Burnett came from Scotland rather than New Jersey; we have heard him spoken of, by an individual whose home more than seventy-five years since was on the shore of Lake Michigan, as "William Burnett, the Scotchman." He had a sister, possibly an invalid, at a hospital in Montreal in 1793. The wife of Mr. Burnett (we are not aware that he ever had but one,) was *Kaw-kee-me;* she was of the red race, and whom he wedded, according to the Indian mode, not long after he became a denizen of the Michigan woods. She was the sister of the Pottawatomie chief *To-pay-nah-bay,** of the St. Jo' branch or band. She was "my Indian woman," of whom he speaks in one of his letters, complimenting her business capacity. Of this marriage there were two daughters, Nancy and Rebecca, and three sons, John, James, and Abraham. The father, in one of his letters, speaks of "a fine little boy;" and again, of "the boys," whom he hopes "will in time make good members of society." The children were sent away early for education, at Detroit or Montreal, and we conclude that the daughters, at least, never returned to the wigwam. Of the sons, John, the eldest, lived in Detroit in 1806, and we have heard he was at Chicago at the time of the evacuation and massacre; probably he was the "Mr. Burnett, a trader from St. Josephs," referred to in Mrs. Kinzie's "Waubun," who, after the action of August 15th, was looked for at the boat, in which were a part of the Kinzie family, by a furious Indian with dire intent from some former grudge. John was here at the time of the Indian treaty, in 1821, and by it he was to receive two sections of land. James and

* We write this name as it was *pronounced* to us by a chief of the Pottawatomies. To-pay-*nah*-bay had a brother "Chee-bass."

Abraham Burnett, by same treaty, were to receive each one section, and the daughters, also, a reservation of land.

John Burnett, we have heard, at one time officiated as sheriff of Wayne County, when that county extended from Detroit to Lake Michigan. As for James Burnett, he, like the sons of many other parents, hardly filled the schedule of hopes written down by his father. Says my informant, "I was personally acquainted with James; he was the only son living at the time I went to St. Joseph, in 1829. He was very much of a gentleman when sober, but it was seldom you found him in that condition; he preferred the whiskey and Indian." James was the owner, at one time, of much land upon the Wabash River and elsewhere, but which, we are assured, "he had but little trouble to spend before his death; he died in 1831 or '32, near Niles, Mich."

[Near thirty years since, the compiler met in a town upon the Wabash, a Miss Burnett, an intelligent young woman of lady-like manners, and evidently of Indian extraction. She had come from her home in Kentucky or Missouri, to consult legal counsel for the purpose of recovering some lands formerly in possession of her family. It has occurred to us, that she was probably a granddaughter of William Burnett. What was the result of her mission, we never heard.]

William Burnett, it would appear, had been educated for business—probably as a merchant—and his dispatches indicate, perhaps, the discipline of good training as well as natural ability. His orthography is generally correct, though his sentences are sometimes otherwise faulty in grammatical construction. Occasionally, names written in the letter-book (hastily, as it would seem, and probably intended for the convenience of no eyes but his own,) appear indistinct and uncertain. We have endeavored to follow the originals, but now and then are left in doubt whether a word means one thing or another, or possibly not either. He was familiar with the French language, and of necessity in his business and social intercourse, must have acquired various Indian dialects. How much wealth Mr. Burnett had amassed by the

Indian traffic, at any time, we are not informed; but it is quite evident that he encountered, at various periods, the not unfrequent vicissitudes and embarrassments of men in trade. He complains, now and then, of paying too high prices for goods. He speaks of damaged freights, of dull sales, of poor hunts, of short corn crops, of low water, and of war and its threats. He encountered competition in the field, tricky agents or servants, hard-faced creditors, and small prices for peltries in the market. We may, perhaps, reasonably infer, that in some of the years of *those days* the Indian trade was rather overdone; more traders and more goods found their way to the shores of Lake Michigan than always met with profitable sales.

Mr. Burnett owned, occupied, or claimed a large amount of land at his home, near the outlet of the St. Joseph River. After the action following the abandonment of Fort Dearborn, in 1812, Captain Heald, who was taken to St. Joseph, found a temporary home at the house of Mr. B. The relative before named informed us that both Mr. Burnett and his wife died there in 1814, she having survived him but about two weeks. They were buried a few feet north of where was since the "Hoyt House," upon the bluff overlooking the lake; the spot, a beautiful one for a burial-place, was selected by the Indians, vainly trusting that it would remain without desecration. He says that Mr. B., a short time before his death, had been preparing to build a large storehouse near the mouth of the river; and that the ground in the woods thereabout was to seen, when he was at St. Joseph fifteen years afterward, (in 1829,) strewed with the timber, "moss-covered, decayed, and decaying," once designed for that structure. "In the woods and marshes around St. Joseph, at that day, (1829,) were many wild ponies, mules, hogs, etc., the last remnant of the Burnett estate." We may add, that this wild *game* disappeared very quickly after the tide of emigration set in.

Something over a hundred letters appear in the book from which we have here copied. We learn, however, that there

was another book of like size containing copies, probably, of the later letters of Mr. B., but of its whereabouts, if now in existence, we are not advised.

EARLY SHOW.

A writer in the *Chicago Tribune*, August, 1877, gives some account of what he supposes, for this locality, was "the first exhibition of professional actors." It was a circus, and believed to have been called "The Grand Equestrian Arena." This was in September or October, 1836, and their single tent was located on a vacant lot on Lake Street, where now, 1877, stands the store of William Blair & Co., Nos. 172, 4, 6. The New York House, (afterward bearing the number 180 Lake Street,) said to be the third hotel in importance here, stood just west, and its barn in the rear, accommodated the nags of the circus, when they retired at the various changes in the performance. One rider is referred to, whose name was Stone, and who was "put forward by the management, as the greatest living equestrian."

[It is a very common weakness of humanity, to love to quote our early and intimate acquaintance with great men; so the compiler of this book desires to say, that *he* knew Oscar Stone a half dozen years before he astonished the juveniles of Chicago. Stone was then a tailor boy and a good workman, in a little village in Rensselaer County, N.Y.; but his aspirations were of a loftier cast than those of making button-holes and stitching upon the broadfalls unmentionables of that age; it was before the day of sewing-machines. So he left the shop-board, and mounted Bucephalus in a ride for fame. Erecting a rustic tent, and gathering about him some kindred spirits and a few docile steeds of the valley, they, for days, and weeks, and months, without music or an audience, labored and practised the "ground and lofty." We believe Stone became what was called a good rider, but whether he was "greatest," or whether the term *great*, when applied to him, was not rather a sarcasm, we

will not attempt to decide. In person, Stone was not bigger than "a pint of cider," but he was lithe and wiry, all muscle and whip-cord; he would have wriggled out of the clutch of the devil-fish. So, though not a very huge giant, he still had a perfect right to be famous.]

INCIDENTS IN THE EARLY HISTORY OF ST. JOSEPH, MICH.

The following is related by Mr. D. A. Winslow, in his historical sketch of Berrian County.

"During the war of 1812, and in that year, John B. Chandonia was in the service of the United States, and was engaged in carrying dispatches from Detroit to Chicago. On one of his trips from Chicago, in company with the elder Robert Forsythe, he stopped near the mouth of St. Joseph River, and camped near the upper end of the Burnett orchard. His uncle, of the same name, then stationed at Mackinaw, that place being in the possession of the British, was sent by the commandant of that post, with a force of some thirty Indians in canoes, to intercept John B. with the dispatches, and to take him prisoner to Mackinaw. This force arrived in the night, and early in the morning his uncle called on John B., and made known his business. John B. had a double-barrel gun in his hands, and told his uncle he should not go with him or be taken prisoner. He then drew a line on the ground, and told his uncle he must not cross it; but the uncle, determined on his victim, drew his sword and advanced. As he stept over the line, he was shot dead by the nephew.

The report of the gun aroused the Indians, who went to John's camp. He met them as he did his uncle, and speaking their language, pointed to his uncle's dead body and to the dead line; said he had shot his uncle to save his own life; that he was sorry he had to do it, but if taken prisoner, he himself would be killed; that he would not be taken alive, and the first one that attempted to cross the line was a dead

Indian. The Indians held a council, and terms were agreed upon. The Indians were to have ten gallons of whiskey the next morning,—were to help John B. bury his uncle immediately,—he and his traveling companion were to be allowed to depart in peace. Arrangements were made with Mr. Burnett, by which the Indians were to have the whiskey as agreed upon. John B. buried his uncle on the hill back of his camp, and, after raising a cross over his grave, he and Mr. Forsythe immediately departed for Detroit. The next morning, Mr. Burnett gave the Indians the ten gallons of whiskey, and they started for Mackinaw."

NAUTICAL.

Upon the walls of the library of a private dwelling, in the West Division of the City, there hangs a picture frame which embodies a history, could it now be recited, of more than usual interest. But the vicissitudes and fateful untowardness attending the conservation of its story are at least noticeable. We may briefly say, that something over thirty years ago, there came to the West from the Empire State, considerably advanced in the journey of life, a physician, a man of science, with tastes literary and antiquarian, in short a good deal of a virtuoso. Among his household paraphernalia, or furniture equipments brought hither, were curious and beautiful articles of old furniture, rare and valuable specimens of early engravings, etc., etc. The crowning article in age and association in his possession however, as the doctor said, was *a picture frame;* it was then filled, for the time, by a cheap, simple print, bearing no affinity to the frame. The frame, in size within, is some 16 by 20 inches, apparently made of oak, dark, massive, very heavy; it is fitted and dowelled in old-world style, with a front of stucco and gilt. From a sad bereavement in his family, and his own ill-health, the doctor concluded to return to New York, and he parted, by sale and gift, with the furniture and curious things referred to. Of the

frame, the doctor said he knew its genealogy, and had verified its history; he could furnish vouchers of every claim for validity in its story; and he added, "It is a rare piece of antiquity, once a part of an *old ship*, of no little celebrity in historic legend;" and just then the conversation was interrupted, and so the particulars about the very old frame, and of the old ship away back in the centuries, were not learned by the present possessor, for the matter for the time was forgotten. A few months only intervened, when it was told that the doctor had bid adieu to earth, and was therefore beyond all human questioning.

It will be sufficient to say, that since that "thirty years ago," an occasional rhymester, together with an amateur artist, having met the old relic, entered into a conspiracy regarding it. The outcome of this was the perpetration, on the part of the first-named, of nearly two dozen stanzas, which the amateur artist, in old English black letter, copied on a paper-board panel and placed within the frame. We give the lines below. Our artist, also, for his further contribution, decorated the margin of the panel, encircling the stanzas, with a representation of capstan, oars, compass, telescope, lead and line, etc. There is a picture, too, of Neptune and his trident, and the prow of an old Roman galley; a ship of the early Saxons; the ship of Columbus; a junk of the Celestials; a zebec of the Mediterranean; English ships of the 14th and 15th centuries; not to omit, of a later day, Fulton's "Clermont," or the still earlier "Perseverance" of Fitch, on the Delaware, the pioneer and first of all steamboats.

In one sense *a Chicago antiquity*, so we have been inclined to bring out the old relic, on which hobby-horse we will suppose the bard to be mounted for a short gallop. If the song hobbles considerably, it must be his own fault and not that of the steed.

CHICAGO, March, 1876.

"*THE ANCIENT SHIP.*"

"Moored safely in harbor, close by the mole,
By side of the sea, in some old world mart;
In some 'quaint old town of traffic and toil;'
In some 'quaint old town of song and of art;'

"Lay a maimed old ship, brigantine, or galliot,
Whatever they called her, so battered and worn;
All that was left her, whether argosy or shallop,
'Of larboard or starboard, stem, gunwale or stern.'

"A renowned old bark, was this ancient craft,
For many score years she had plowed the main;
She had braided the woof of a chapter bright,
In the nation's history, fadeless in fame.

"From far and from near, to look at the ship,
Came a crowd of the great, as well as the small;
For memory they begged a splinter or chip,
The stranger, the dweller, the burgher and all.

"An artisan came, with handsaw and axe,
And out of her sides, from a piece of brown oak,
From a dark, rusty section of one her planks,
He worked up and fashioned this storied *yoke.*

"It was moulded and gilt, as a border quite fitting
The head of some great man, some sailor of old,
Whose hair had been bleached, o'er the seas he had sailed in,
'A picture of silver in a casket of gold.'

"But who was that sailor, or which was that vessel,
In vain we may ask the wise ones to say;
Neptune's lieutenants, told of in chronicle,
Are many as the barks that are strewed by the way.

"We need not go back to the earlier days,
To the time of the simple Ionian tars,
When the seamen knew nothing of rudder or sails,
And guided their yawls by the course of the stars.

"We must not suppose this ship was the Argo,
Which Jason embarked in, for the Golden Fleece;
For whether that wool became a part of her cargo,
We 've little to look for in the myths of old Greece.

"The far-famed *Bucentaur*, State galley of Venice,
That pompous old row-barge, all sculptured and etched,
With gilding and blazon, with music and banners,
Out in the offing, once yearly she swept;

"One day in the year, for six centuries full,
They dropped in the Gulf a ring of fine gold;
'Twas a type of a marriage, the seal of espousal,
The 'City of Commerce' with Adriatic of old.

"We pass by the ships of Rome and Assyria,
Of Phenicia and Egypt, Carthage and the Moors;
Whether commerce or conquest, crusade or discovery,
Gave breeze to their sails, or strength to their oars.

"Of those Spanish caravols, world-wide is the fame,
Of the 'Nina' and the 'Pinta' with the admiral's own,
Which sailed from the Pillars bearing Hercules' name,
Into seas of the west, through an ocean unknown.

"'Land ho!' was the cry, from the Pinta's mast-head,
First blast for Columbus, fame's clarion blew;
In 'the course of empire,' it 's the watchword still sounded,
Faded hopes in the old world revived in the new.

"We might refer to the barks of those noted voyagers,
The Pinzons and Ojeda, and Velasco Nunez;
Amerigo Vespucci, Grijalva, and Velasquez,
Ponce de Leon, Nicuesa, de Soto, and Cortez.

"Nor should we forget the ships of the Cabots,
Or de Gama, or Raleigh, Gosnold or Cartier,
Cavendish or Behring, Magellan or the Gilberts,
Frobisher or Smith, Cortoreal or Dampier;

"Or that French bark, 'the Dolphin,' of John de Verrazano,
Or the yacht of old Lief, son of Eric the Red,
The 'Zoutberg' of Van Twiller, (Gov. Walter 'the doubter,')
Or the ship of famed Tromp, with a broom at mast-head.

"There was 'Great Harry,' of England, first ship of their navy,
Drake's 'Golden Hind' and Hudson's 'Half-Moon,'
Volckertsen's 'Nachtegael,' the 'Scheld,' and 'de Vriede,'
With stanch 'de Brand Van Trogen' from the city of Hoorn.

"The ships of the Indies, built of lasting teak boards,
And the junk and polacca, quinquereme and ark;
The craft of the red man, of American woods,
Whose bark 's a canoe, whose canoe is of bark.

"Last but not least were the emigrant ships,
With people of Old England to settle the New;
And history makes record, with a smile on her lips,
Of a long list of worthies, though we quote but a few:—

"The 'Mayflower' preceded, in the glorious aims,
The 'Fortune' and 'Ann,' the 'Susan and Ellen;'
With the 'Lion' and 'Pied Cow' led by 'Little James,'
Came 'Love' and 'Defence,' 'Increase,' and a 'Blessing.'

"But adieu, ancient ship, thine own secrets keep,
Long since were thy colors hauled down from the mast;
And the gales which around thee swept o'er the deep,
Have died away in echoes, on the shore of the past."

FORMER SPORTS OF THE PRAIRIE.

We copy below, from an old Maryland periodical, several letters written many years ago, giving some account of the out-door amusements here in those days. One of the communications, in the spirit of prophecy, refers to a future railway from Baltimore to Rock River, before there was any railroad west of the Alleghanies. Some names of localities will not, perhaps, be recognized at the present time; we do not know anything of the "Guilleroi," and we are unable to place the "little woods," or the "Big Wabiskokie." The "little woods," however, were some where on the south side, and the "Guilleroi" on the north. We have sometimes known the Desplaines River referred to as "the Kickapoo branch of the Illinois;" we are here told that the "Aux Pleins" means *soft maple*. One of the marshes near that river, it seems, was known as the "*Sa-gua-nash*." Possibly one of these letters presents the earliest known poetical effusion from Chicago; the quality of the stanzas we are not of course called to pass upon; but after presenting the relic, we have, it is supposed, done our part. In these letters we detect, from certain initials, various names familiar no doubt to the reader. The "Capt. S." was, we believe, the noted Martin Scott, who was afterward killed, at the head of his regiment, at the battle of El Molino del Rey, 8th Sept., 1847. We add the names of Dr. Clement A. Finley, Major Robert Kinzie, Dr. Philip Maxwell, and Hon. James Grant, now of Davenport, Iowa. The "Mr. B." and "Mr. C." may have been *Mr. Beaubien* and *Mr. Clybourn*, or possibly others. J. G. F., the writer of four of

these letters, was 2d Lt. John G. Furman, of the 5th Inf'y, U. S. A., who died at Fort Dearborn, that same year, Aug. 29, 1830. "J. F. G.," the writer of the last letter, we do not positively identify; but "*Suminecatha*, or Big Wood Wolf," who wrote the one preceding, we learn, by a communication from Judge Grant, was Lt. James Thompson, of the Army. The Judge says: "We hunted that winter, twice a week when the weather was favorable, and killed many wolves in the present city limits." "Thompson," he says, "had the fastest horse, except when Dr. Maxwell changed horses with me and allowed me to ride his big horse, '*Emperor*.'"

"FORT DEARBORN, CHICAGO, ILL., March 26th, 1830.

"MR. EDITOR: One fine morning in December last, while the dew drops were yet lingering on the faded foliage, we marshalled our forces, and sallied forth to the chase, in pretty respectable numbers for this wild, western region. We were in all nine huntsmen. A leash of greyhounds, owned by Capt. S., of the U. S. A., his excellent fox-hounds, and those of Dr. F. and Mr. C. formed a very efficient pack of five couples.

"The day was lovely—'the sky so cloudless, clear, and purely beautiful, that God alone was to be seen in heaven,'—the broad, blue face of the lake, (Michigan) unruffled by a breath of air, shone in the morning sun like one vast mirror of polished silver. And the woods were so silent, that the cheering cry of the huntsmen and the wild melody of the hounds were echoed from a thousand points. Every thing thus being propitious, we crossed the Chicago, and pursued our route through the thick woods on its north side. We had not proceeded quite a half mile, when the whole pack made a simultaneous burst, and went off eagerly on the track.

"'A wolf,' said one; but another, who had hunted more with the hounds, answered 'no—a deer'—clapped rowels into his horse's sides and dashed off for the prairie to head the animal. The hounds at first ran off toward the river, in a westerly direction, and went nearly out of hearing, but soon turned and took up a northeast course, the whole pack in full concert. Having ridden about two miles from the starting point, and hearing the quick, savage bark of the ground-hound slut (Cora) close by, I stopped. Mr. B. was about thirty yards in advance of me, and glancing my eye around, I caught glimpse of Capt. S., some little distance behind, urging his horse to the utmost. These observations were the work of an instant only, however, for scarcely had I alighted when a *spike buck* dashed through the thicket in full sight, and within shooting distance,—Cora within five or six rods of him. Mr. B. and myself both levelled. The first shot was his, by the courteous rules prevalent

among hunters on like occasions. He fired, but the buck did not fall; and I instantly followed his example. The shots struck on opposite sides, and were both mortal; but so rapid was the speed of the animal after we had fired, that a gentleman coming up the instant exclaimed, 'By heavens, he is not touched!' He darted for the thicket, but the black greyhound (Nero) got sight of him before he reached it, and the most beautiful chase I ever recollect to have witnessed took place. The trial of speed was nobly contested for about three or four hundred yards, the deer having about thirty yards start. The distance between them lessened by insensible degrees until the greyhound seized his prey, and sunk his fangs into his ham. After a severe struggle, the buck broke loose before Capt. S. and myself, who had dismounted, could get up to Nero's assistance. Another chase, not less beautiful than the first, took place; but Nero again seized the buck and held him till we got up. We knocked him on the head with a tomahawk, and drew the knife across his throat. As soon as the pack came up we started, and the hounds gave tongue again. Most of us went off to the prairie, to station ourselves along the points of the wood. The hounds went off to the west, and after running about a mile divided—some of them drove a deer toward the point almost at which they had taken up the trail. Mr. C. shot at it, but as no blood was found we presume it was not injured. The rest of the pack (with the exception of Dr. F.'s beautiful black tan pup Ringwood—and well he deserves the name—who drove three deer across the prairie to the lake,) followed a track leading along the Guilleroi, and did not return until late at night. On my return from the head of the prairie, I heard the report of a gun, and on inquiry, found that Mr. S. had killed a fine doe.

"Our sport for the day was now over; we called in skirmishers and took our way home rejoicing. At the garrison, our spoil was divided. We then retired to spend the evening with that flow of generous feelings which a fine day's sport never fails to inspire.

J. G. F."

"FORT DEARBORN, CHICAGO, ILL., June 7, 1830.

"MR. EDITOR: We principally hunt, in this section of the country, the 'prairie wolf,' the '*canis latrans*' of naturalists, sometimes also called the 'barking wolf' or 'wolverine.' Generally speaking, it is not larger than a common sized dog, and is more slim. Its eyes are very brilliant, its ears short, upright, and well set back. Its tail is long and bushy, and darker than the body, which is tawny grey. Its senses of sight and smell are remarkably acute. It is swift of foot and very long-winded. Wolves seldom approach the habitation of man, except when driven in by hunger. This happens oftenest during the winter, when the ground is covered with snow. They are then quite ferocious, and will attack calves, and sheep, and hogs. They have been known to lay waste 'fields of

corn,' which they are very fond of in a green state. In the summer, generally, they live on prairie mice, snakes, etc., in fact, whatever they can find, in their wanderings, like animal food. They are very destructive to deer in a hard winter, when a crust forms upon the snow, and I have been told that they will frequently drive deer into the lake, and sit down behind the sand-hills on shore watching until the exhausted animals return and fall an easy prey to their pursuers. The large black wolf is seldom seen here, but there is a kind intermediate between it and the 'prairie wolf' which is not unfrequently met with, A description of this kind has not been published by any naturalist that I know of. Whether it springs from the intercourse of the large wolf and the prairie wolf, or whether it is a distinct species, I do not know. Certain it is that they are much larger, more muscular and ferocious than the wolverine. I have never yet *seen a dog* that could *catch* and *kill* a wolf *without assistance*,* though I have *heard* of dogs that could—often. The wolf will seldom give battle of its own accord, but when stopped or overtaken, it fights with all the fury of a coward driven to despair.

"One day last December we mounted and took the field, three in number, accompanied by four couples of stag and a leash of greyhounds. We first drew the 'little woods,' on the east side of Chicago River, and started in it one of those midnight prowlers which I have just described. He was trailed up handsomely by the hounds, the woods echoing and re-echoing with their 'loud, deep notes.' After seeking safety in the wood for half an hour, but finding it an insecure retreat, he dashed out and attempted to cross the frozen stream. But before he could reach the friendly protection of the high grass on the opposite bank, 'old Nero,' the black greyhound, fastened his fangs in his haunch, and kept him in durance until the other dogs came up and completed the work. Nero was pretty well marked, though it would have been hard for a stranger to distinguish this scar among the many that seamed his 'iron visage,'—the honorable memorials of many a hard-fought conflict. Having ornamented one of the neighboring trees with the countenance of the vagrant, we continued to hunt up the river. The prairie is very level, and objects can be distinguished at a great distance upon its surface when it is, as it was then, covered with snow. About a mile and a half off, a small black object was seen upon the shining white. It was unanimously agreed to be a wolf, and our horses were urged to the utmost of their speed to cut him off from the wood, as he had smelt us and was making for cover. It was some time before the greyhounds saw him, but the stag-hounds were coming up radidly on his trail. As the wolf rose upon a gentle eminence in

* Perhaps the writer meant the *large*, not the *prairie* wolf; else his communication bearing date a few days later, describing the feats of the dog "Nero," would seem to contradict what is said here.

the prairie, Nero got a glimpse of him, and the 'levin in its wrath' is not quicker than he started and flew,—Rolla pushing hard after, and Cora a little further behind. After a severe run of a mile, Nero ran against the wolf and knocked him 'head over heels' in the snow, and ere he could recover his footing, seized him by the neck. Rolla and Cora soon came up to aid him. How they fought until I came up I do n't know, but when I arrived the common hounds had throttled the gentleman, and so—he died. Turning to the right, among some patches of grass, one of the old dogs (Sir Walter, a most famous wolf-dog I assure you, but he cannot kill a wolf alone!) stopped, and, after mature deliberation, gave notice that there was something ahead. It was a wolf's trail, and it grew warmer every instant. Having trailed about two or three miles, up jumped Barrabas a little distance before us. Hid from sight by the high grass, and favored by the difficulties of the ground, which was miry and full of holes, he gained on us a little. Eager to get up first, and, moreover, being somewhat too careless, I got pitched into the snow, but felt consoled on looking up to find that I had company. However, we were all there—up in time to see the fight and death. It was a bloody affair. Several of the dogs were well marked. Having 'done enough for glory in one day,' we set out on our return home. The dogs soon gave tongue again in a thicket beyond the river. We crossed, but the trail was too cold to be followed with profit. So we called them off. But we had gone only a short distance further before they went off in full cry, and, to our astonishment, stopped all of a sudden. On coming up, we found three 'coons,' as they are called here, in a tree. We shook them down to the dust, 'to herd with earth's meaner things,' and reached home safe in wind and limbs. Your obedient servant,

J. G. F."

"FORT DEARBORN, CHICAGO, ILL., June 13, 1830.

"MR. EDITOR: In the month of April, 1829, I was ordered to proceed from this post, to pursue several deserters, with a party of five men in a canoe. We passed up the left branch of the Chicago to its source, and thence, in a heavy snow-storm during a night 'as black as Erebus,' through 'Lac Marais' into the *riviere Aux Pleins* (Soft Maple River.)

"The prairie between these streams is at all times swampy; but during the spring floods, a considerable lake is formed, the waters of which flow simultaneously through the Chicago, the *Aux Pleins*, and Illinois Rivers, into the great northern lakes, and into the Mississippi. Here, after the waters have subsided, vast quantities of aquatic fowl congregate to feed upon the wild-rice, insects, etc., that abound in it. Swan, geese, and brant, passing to and fro in clouds, keep an incessant cackling; ducks of every kind, from the mallard and canvass-back, down to the tiny *water-witch* and *blue-winged teal*, add their mite to the 'discord dire,' while hundreds of gulls hover

gracefully over, ever and anon plunging their snowy bosoms into the circling waters. In April, myriads of plover and snipe take the place of the aforementioned; still later, great quantities of woodcock, grouse, and ortolans, make their appearance in its neighbourhood. Of these, we may hereafter send you some account; and when the *'railroad' is finished between Baltimore and Rock river*, perhaps you may be induced to come out and take a week's sport with us, or if you cannot spare time, we must try and pack up some of our good things in ice and send on a locomotive steam-propelled car. But my present object is not to speculate on what may happen, but to relate something that has occurred. *'Arma, virumque cano,'* 'be silent that you may hear.' One of the five men accompaning me in the trip mentioned above is named Harthaway. While descending the Aux Pleins river, I saw this man, on the 27th of April, *shoot six shots in succession*, off hand, with a smooth bored rifle, loaded each time with a single ball, standing in the canoe while it was descending with the current, the men stopping paddling only long enough to give him time to shoot. In the first five shots he killed five blue-winged teal,—one at each shot,—the ball striking either on the head or on the neck, not half an inch below the junction of the head with the neck; in the sixth shot he killed a plover flying, shooting it through the body. Of course, I cannot be accurate as to the distances, but as near as I recollect, he was not nearer at any time than thirty yards. This shooting I never saw equalled; and as it may appear almost 'too good' to some of your readers, I herewith forward the affidavit of the only two men now remaining at the post, who went with me, in confirmation of my statement.

"Respectfully, your obedient servant,

J. G. F."

"We certify, that having carefully perused the above account of Harthaway's shooting, we find it true and accurate in all its parts. Given under our hands, at Chicago, this 14th day of June, 1830.

DAVID VANDIGRIST,

Witness—A. B. FOSTER. JOHN VAN ALSTINE."

"FORT DEARBORN, CHICAGO, ILL., June 13, 1830.

"MR. EDITOR: Having been gratified with the perusal of the notices of one or two remarkable dogs in former numbers of the Sporting Magazine, I do not know how to return the obligation better than by sending you one of Capt. S.'s greyhound Nero.

"This dog was of English blood, and was pupped in the fall of 1823, near Nashville, Tennessee. Of his origin, we know nothing further. He came into Capt. S.'s possession when about a year old, and was, at that time, an exceedingly cowardly pup. His colour was a perfect black, with the exception of a small white spot in the middle of the breast. His limbs were remarkably clean and delicate, and his body well compacted, an uncommon but harmonious union of agility and strength. His eye was black and glazed, which

gave a peculiar air of savageness to his aspect; and he did not belie his looks to strangers and others against whom he had a grudge. The captain twice placed him under the care of other gentlemen, for short periods, and both times his keepers gave Nero some deep offence. Every time they approached him he growled and grumbled and straightened his tail. In spite of clogs, chains, and persuasion, he took up his line of march to the tune of 'over the hills and far away;' and, at one time remained absent above a year, on the Missouri, until his master came for him. But in spite of all this ill humour to others, there never was a creature more obedient and affectionate to his master than Nero.

"To relate all the feats of this noble animal would require a large volume; I must therefore content myself with relating a few anecdotes of him which have come under my immediate observation. In hunting wolves last winter and fall, it was not unusual for us to set the pack in at the northern extremity of the "little woods," so as to drive the animal through the southern point, and thus have a fair flight across the prairie. It was his constant practice, as soon as the hounds were heard in the woods, to hasten to station himself at the last point, and watch with the greatest interest and anxiety for the appearance of the wolf. If any did appear, the thread of his existence was soon cut short. I have often known him when running at wolves, deer, and foxes, instead of going directly at them, as is usual with greyhounds, to steer either to the right or left, as the case might have been, and place himself between the animal and the thicket, so as to cut him off from cover. One day last November, after a splendid chase, we drove a fine doe into the lake. The hounds, as soon as they saw the deer driven fairly in, returned to look for more game, and, of course, left the coast clear. We got to the spot just as the doe was approaching the shore, after being in the water a short time. None of us had guns. As soon as she got a footing, I urged Nero on. He went in, but the deer immediately made out, and outswam the dog. Nero perceived this, and attempted to swim round her, so as to drive her in shore, but could not accomplish it; so after using his best endeavors for some time, we called him back until the deer should return, hiding behind the sand-hills in the interim. Our vigil was a long one. This time I was more wary, and held my tongue, leaving the direction to others more skilled than myself. As soon as the animal reached the beach, we let loose the dogs and rushed from our concealment. The deer ran back into the water, all the dogs in full chase. Nero again swam round and met her, seizing her by the tail, two other dogs went ahead, and took each hold of an ear. Nero then left his former hold and seized her by the nose, which hold he did not relinquish until life was extinguished, ducking her head under water whenever she attempted to bleat. At another time, I saw Nero catch, and throw twice, a wounded buck, an exploit which few single

dogs can perform. In 1828, I am informed, he caught and killed four deer at Green Bay, neither of them being previously injured. The bones of the wolves which he has slaughtered are bleaching on the prairies about fort Crawford, Green Bay, and around us here in every direction.

"On the 14th May, the morning being fine, we rode out to enjoy it; and it was judged best to take the dogs along, as they had been languishing in the kennel for want of exercise for some time. Having gone as far as the Big Wabiskokie, we turned to the right and went up the 'long ridge' towards Blue Island, where we bounced a large grey wolf out of the brushwood and dry grass. We gave the war-whoop, and attempted to head him, but did not succeed. The wolf took to the open prairie, and ran for the upper point of Blue Island, the greyhounds being some distance in rear, and the hounds and horsemen hard after. It was miserable riding; the soil being as soft as mush. The grass was not very high, and we could see every step and turn that was taken. After a run of three miles, Nero came up to the wolf. 'Now,' thought we, 'he has him!' but in the next moment the wolf passed on, and Nero was seen no more; and he was doomed to rise no more, upon earth, poor fellow. We rode up and found him trying to get up, but he could not. The exertions he had made, and the heat, were too much for him. I took up the old veteran in my arms and carried him to Blue Island, where I endeavored to recover him, but it was all in vain;—he died, and we laid him down on the field which had so often beheld him in all the glory of his triumphs. After ruminating and ransacking my brains for about an hour, all that I got out, by way of an epitaph, is what follows. If you think it will not disgrace your pages, it may as well be tacked on here as elsewhere. If you think it is too much in the 'prose run mad' style, please consign it to the 'tomb of all the capulets,' and oblige your obedient servant.

J. G. F.

"Like a swift speeding bolt of thunder you flew,
Leaving scarce a trace of your path behind;
From the green bough you swept not the diamond dew,
But lightly passed by as the summer wind.

"In the prairie full oft in the pride of your speed,
I have seen thee press on like a hero;
Displaying your courage by many a deed,
Winning gallant green laurels old Nero.

"Thou wast light-footed, keen-sighted, gentle, and brave,
From the battle thou never didst turn aside;
And the wolves may rejoice that the dark willows wave
O'er the spot where now you are resting in pride.

"On the field of your glory, where you fought and fell,
Where your ashes repose in honour apart;

When the chase is all over the huntsman will tell,
How Nero ran on till he bursted his heart."

"FORT DEARBORN, CHICAGO, Dec. 9, 1835.

"MR. EDITOR: Reflecting upon our numerous excursions on the prairies in this neighborhood, last fall, in pursuit of wolves, one marked by some peculiarity of incident frequently occurs to me, though doubtless with much less *force* than to some of my brother sportmen of that day.

"The afternoon was fine, and party large and agreeable, forming a line of about two miles in extent, the intervals generally of a few hundred yards between files, but so regulated as to leave no part of the ground unsurveyed. Advancing in this order, three wolves bounced, almost at the same instant, in front of different parts of the line, and ran in various directions. It fell to my lot to pursue one, assisted only by a greyhound slut. After a run of about three miles, the slut, being rather fat, and overcome by heat, fagged, and fell to the rear. Seeing I was thrown upon my own resources, I made a desperate push to run over the wolf, when, just grazing his brush, my horse plunged both forefeet into a narrow, grass-covered ditch, and fell as suddenly as if he had been shot, and threw me some distance ahead. I fell at full length on my belly, and saved myself from the rolling of my horse by a brisk movement—between a scramble and a dog-trot. In an instant we were both up and under way. Scarcely conscious of what had happened, after a run of five miles, the wolf sought refuge in a dense cluster of juniper on the lake shore, but soon found their fragile branches a poor protection from old *hickory*. Anxious to learn the success of the other portion of the field, (the heaving sides and distended nostrils of my good horse plead in vain for a momentary respite,) bedecking his brow with his hard-won trophy, I sprung on and struck up a brisk canter to rejoin the party; and had proceeded but a short distance, when two figures appeared rising over a gentle swell of the prairie, about two miles distance, and as they approached more closely, I discovered they were at full speed and bearing down toward me. While viewing the apparent contest, one of them suddenly dropped below the horizon and disappeared, raising an immense cloud of dust to mark the spot; a badger's hole had received a foot and leg of Emperor, and hurled him and master, Dr. M., headlong to the earth. Mr. R. K., taking advantage of his fallen adversary, passed him sprawling on the ground, (fair play in a wolf-chase,) but he enjoyed only a momentary triumph. The noble Emperor, finding himself disencumbered of his 230 pounds rider, sprung to his feet and renewed the contest with redoubled vigor. He soon passed his competitors, and was closely pressing the wolf, with ears thrown back, when I, very unsportsmanlike, came in ahead of the game and turned its course. Emperor was momentarily thrown out, but soon regained his advantage, passing Mr. K. and myself, following the

wolf in his windings and doublings for a mile and a half, till he skulked in a ditch. Here Emperor drew up on the crest of the ditch, with head and tail elevated, ears pricked forward, repeatedly snorting, and fiercely gazing at the spot where the wolf lay concealed, till I abandoned my horse for the wonted use of old *hickory*, when, finding good company, both horses moved off toward home on a trot. Esq. G. (full of blood) fortunately arrived to the assistance of Mr. K. just as the game was routed from his lurking place, whence he pushed for the lake, where he was soon forced to lower his flag to the superior prowess of Esq. G., who plunged in on his foaming steed, and in a regular built sea-fight, closed the day's sport with the existence of the fifth wolf.

"It gives me pleasure to be able to add, in conclusion, that Dr. M., though severely injured by a contusion on the shoulder, escaped without the loss of life or limb; and although, for some weeks, deprived of the pleasure of participating in the chase, he has seldom failed to accompany the party to the field as a looker-on.

"The number of wolves taken by the party during the season, as taken from the journal, was 157,—19 wolves and a bear in one day; by straggling parties in the neighborhood, probably 50; in all not less than 200. The season was unusually dry and fine for running, and wolves abundant, probably attracted by the slaughter-houses in the suburbs; but from whatever cause, we never may see such days again.

SUMINECATHA, or BIG WOOD WOLF."

"CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, May 3, 1840.

"DEAR SIR: In looking over your valuable magazine, I observed your pages were not confined exclusively to reporting the sports of the Turf; and presuming you will be interested to hear from the 'wild west,' I have taken the liberty of giving you an account how we are getting along, and what we are doing.

"In December last, four of us started from this place in 'military array,' fully equipped for encampment, for the Sag, (an abreviation for the Sa-gua-nash, a low, marshy ground, made by the overflowing of the Des-Plaines River,) and arrived at 5 o'clock P. M. Next morning, as 'Aurora began to reflect her liquid fire,' we started in pursuit: our dogs were all 'in trim'; we had not been out but ten minutes, before we were told, by the note of a favorite bitch, that 'game was there.' After chasing a large buck about three miles, 'up hill and through the valley,' I shot him; and coming up to where he lay, I cut a gambrel and hung him up to a tree. About twenty rods further on we 'scared up' three more, two of which we killed in less than an hour. We then returned to camp, bearing the trophies of victory; and after partaking of the needful, to warm the inward man, we started again, and returned at 1 o'clock P. M. with five more. Thinking we had enough venison, we put up our hounds and went in search of grouse or prairie hens, taking along two favorite point-

ers. After traversing the prairie three hours, we killed sixty grouse; on the second day, we killed four deer and thirty-seven grouse; and on the third day, we killed two deer, eighteen grouse, and six ducks: making in all 14 deer, 115 grouse, and 6 ducks.

"There is no part of this country where game is so plentiful as on the Prairies of Illinois. During this last winter, the citizens of this place and the heighboring farmers, have killed 500 deer, besides grouse, ducks, geese, etc., 'too numerous to mention'; such are the sports of the West.

"The improvement of the breed of horses has received more attention for a few years past. Could I prevail upon the farmers to subscribe to your 'Register,' I should be glad; they then could detect 'counterfeit' from blood horses. Our country is inundated every season by the most worthless blood, which is passed off as genuine, hence the worthlessness of our stock.

"Col. James M. Strode, formerly of Kentucky, has this season brought a horse here, from the blood of old Rob Roy, of the John Randolph stock; he is a beauty, and I hope now we may have some good horses.

"You will observe that I use the phrases current among us Suckers. Unaccustomed to writing for public prints, I am also unacquainted with the language of the Turf.

"I am respectfully yours, J. F. G."

JOE BAIES; OR, A SABBATH-DAY INCIDENT IN CHICAGO, IN 1832.

Joseph Baies, or as the English call it, Bailly, a French or Canadian fur-trader, was living on Grand River, Mich., probably as long ago as the first year of the present century, for the late Col. J. B. Beaubien, of Chicago, it is said, when a young man, learned the rudiments of his education of him while at Grand River. Afterward, and possibly before also, Bailly lived some time at what is now Bertrand, Mich., and when, in sundry business adventures, he had the late Alex. Robinson as an employé or associate. Wm. Burnett, the fur-trader of St. Joseph River, in a letter dated January, 1787, speaks of a trader named Balie, perhaps the same gentleman of whom we are speaking. In 1821, when Mr. B. bought goods of the American Fur Company, at Mackinaw, he is called of Lake Michigan, without the designation of any par-

ticular point. In 1833, he was the proprietor of a house of entertainment, at the station called Baillytown, on the road from Michigan City to Chicago, and is well remembered by many travelers of that day, who were journeying around the head of the Lake. At that time he was considerably advanced in years, perhaps near seventy. His wife, (we have heard her called *Mau-ne*, probably for Mary) was of the Indian race, and they had two intelligent and fine-looking daughters, who had been educated at Detroit or Montreal. Esther, one of the daughters, married John H. Whistler, and Rozanne, the other, became the wife of Frank Howe, formerly a clerk in the Branch of the Illinois State Bank at Chicago.* But of the incident.

In the year 1832, a rather common custom at Chicago, was to make a holiday of the Sabbath, and to do more business, perhaps, on that day than on any other. Outsiders took occa-

* We did not succeed, as we hoped to, in getting particulars concerning Mr. Bailly's biography from a source which we made some attempt to reach, and to show how adversely very honest efforts after historical items regarding Chicago and its early residents sometimes result, we detail one case of decided though somewhat ludicrous failure.

Aware of the fact, that the two daughters of Mr. Bailly married Chicago gentlemen, we addressed a note to a niece of the husband of one of those ladies, for a reference to some one who might impart to us the information sought. The lady politely suggested that from Mrs. H. (a daughter of Mr. B.) we would be able to get all the facts desired, and that Mr. C., at the City Engineer's Office, would favor us with the address of Mrs. H. aforesaid. An application to Mr. C., however, only brought the response, that Hon. Mr. S. was attorney for Mrs. H., "and can perhaps give you her address." There seemed to be something of a doubt implied in the "perhaps" of Mr. C., yet we boldly confronted Mr. S. with a modest missive, requesting the address of the lady, just that and nothing more. Alas for the simplicity of those that essay the task to glean a few straws from the historic field, expecting to find some kernels of neglected grain; such artless individuals are scarcely fitted to encounter the mounted huzzars of worldly business strife, ready to ride down every pedestrian, as though tainted with complications, plots, intrigue, and fees. Mr. S. vouchsafed us an answer to the effect, that Mrs. H. resided in the State of Kentucky, but if we had any business with that lady, it must be by and through him as agent. It was no matter that we explained our humble aims, devoid of covetousness and the like, for no words came back; if, therefore, any names and facts shall in consequence here fail to be immortalized, it is certainly not our fault.

sion then to come to the village to look about and make purchases, and many shopkeepers were quite ready to accommodate them. But our informant, then a merchant here, held sentiments somewhat at variance with this, and when the old trader, Joe Baies, who was frequently at Chicago, in looking about the settlement, saw the door open at the store of our informant, who sat reading therein, he stepped inside and began to inspect some portions of the stock, inquiring prices, etc. The merchant explained to him the condition of affairs, telling him that he sold no goods on Sunday, having been raised in the east, where the propriety of such observance was inculcated, but if he would call upon any other day, he would be happy to wait on him. Baies was taken by surprise, being quite unused to meeting persons of so strict a creed; in fact, he became suddenly disgusted, and disgust culminated in a fit of towering anger. Lavish with insulting language and profanity, calling our citizen *a fool:* he asked him if this was the way to make money, and what he came here for if it was *not* to make money. Yet, as often happened in the days of the patriarchs, "a soft answer turneth away wrath," and as there was on this occasion none else, Mr. B. came back to the store before many days, and made ample apologies for his hard words, his rudeness and ill-temper, allowing that our citizen had a perfect right to his opinions, as well as to follow the guidance of his own conscience. After this, he was one of his best customers. We will here add, that Mr. B. was an intelligent and keen business man, of good education, and usually of courteous and gentlemanly manners.

"LITTLE TURTLE" AND THE QUAKERS.

It is not of a late date merely, that that respectable class or religious body of citizens known as *Quakers*, have made earnest efforts to improve the condition, moral as well as physical, of the American Indians. That key-note from the voice of humanity, was sounded when William Penn met the natives

on the banks of the Delaware near two centuries since. It is the common impulse of our nature to be courteous to them that treat us kindly, and the trait is quite as marked in the savage as the civilized man.

The speech of Little Turtle given below, is copied from a manuscript found among the papers of Judge Jouett, formerly Indian Agent at Chicago, by whom it was preserved at the time of its delivery, something over three score years ago. It seems proper that this speech should not be lost; and though it may seem to the reader prolix and tame, lacking the fire and passion that we usually expect in the speech of an Indian orator, yet the subject matter was one of peace, and refers to the comparatively quiet and dull life of civilization. The speaker, however, believed it involved the best interests of his people.

Little Turtle frequently sojourned at Chicago, but whether this reply was made here or at some other point in the west, we cannot say.

Early in the year 1798, accompanied by Captain William Wells, (who, it has been said, was his adopted son,) he was visiting in Philadelphia,* and it is told by Volney, the French traveler, that the Chief made known his wishes to the "benevolent Society of Friends," as to "the necessity of turning the attention of his people from hunting and fishing to tillage."

Mechecunnaqua, or Little Turtle, was a *Miami*, and though but little is known of his early history, in his maturer years he was a brave and able warrior. He once said of the Miamis, "My forefather kindled the first fire at Detroit; from thence he extended his lines to the head waters of the Scioto; from thence to its mouth; from thence down the Ohio to the mouth of the Wabash; and from thence to Chicago over Lake Michigan. These are the boundaries within which the prints of my ancestors' houses are everywhere to be seen." Little Turtle

* It was during this visit to Philadelphia that Little Turtle paid his respects to Gen. Washington, as well as to our Polander patriot Kosciusko; the last named, presented to the Indian chief his elegant brace of battle pistols. Little Turtle again visited the seat of Government, then at Washington, in company with several other Indians, in 1802.

was the leader of the Indians at Harmer's defeat, on the Maumee, in October, 1790, as well also as that of St. Clair, the year following. It has been claimed by the family of Joseph Brant, that he (Brant) was the head and General of the Indian forces which destroyed St. Clair's army, but the main weight of evidence is to the contrary.

In June, 1794, at the head of a force of a thousand Indians or more, Little Turtle attacked Fort Recovery, (built by Gen. Wayne on the field of St. Clair's defeat,) but was repulsed; and the crushing blows given the Indians by "mad Anthony," in the autumn of that year, was followed by a peace and the Treaty of Greenville, (in June, 1795,) to which Treaty Little Turtle was a signer. It is believed that this Chief had received some education in Canada, and until the Treaty of Greenville, was attached to British interests, which interests seemed to find gratification in cultivating in the savages a hatred of the Americans. John Johnston, of Piqua, Ohio, who was well acquainted with Little Turtle, said of this "celebrated orator and chief," that he was "a man of great wit, humor, and vivacity, fond of the company of gentlemen, and delighted in good eating. When I knew him, he had two wives, living with him, under the same roof, in the greatest harmony. * * * * This distinguished chief died at Fort Wayne, of a confirmed case of the gout, brought on by high living, and was buried with military honors by the troops of the United States."

Mrs. Callis, daughter of Judge Jouett, tells us that her mother often spoke of the chief, for whose oratorical powers she had great admiration. She particularly referred to a speech of that chief which she heard delivered at some council held at Chicago. A sentence of that speech is remembered; speaking of an enemy upon whom he (Little Turtle) had taken deadly vengeance, he said, "*We met! I cut him down! and his shade, as it passes on the wind, shuns my walk.*"

The death of Little Turtle, it is understood, occurred, not "in the year 1804 or 1805," as stated in the Narrative of Major S. H. Long's Expedition of 1823, but on the 14th July,

1812, and he was buried on the west bank of the river at Fort Wayne.

SPEECH OF LITTLE TURTLE IN REPLY TO AN ADDRESS FROM THE QUAKERS—GEORGE ELLIOTT AND GERARD T. HOPKINS.

Brothers: It appears to me necessary that I should give you an immediate answer, as you are about to return to your families from whence you came.

Brothers and Friends: We are all pleased to see you here, and to take our Brothers, the Quakers, through you, by the hand. We rejoice that the Great Spirit has appointed that we should this day meet, for we believe this meeting will be of the utmost consequence to your Red Brethren.

Brothers: What you have said we have carefully gathered up; we have placed it in our hearts, in order that it may be communicated to our posterity. We are convinced that what you have said is for the good of your Red Brethren. We are also convinced that our Chiefs and Warriors, our women and children, will be all of our opinion, and will be glad when they hear what you have said.

Brothers: We take you by the hand, and through you take the people who sent you by the hand, and assure you that we are pleased that the Great Spirit has let us see each other, and converse together upon the subjects that have been communicated to us.

Brothers: You see that there are but few of us here; what you have said to us, will not remain with the few that are here alone; it will be communicated to all your Red Brethren in this country, and I again repeat that I am convinced that they will be glad to hear what you have said to us, to our women and children.

Brothers: When we saw you with the rest of your Brothers in Baltimore upwards of two years ago, I expect you recollect perfectly the conversation between us at that time and place. I then, with my Brother Chiefs, told you that we were glad to find you so much disposed to assist us, our women and children; we told you that your good wishes should be made

known to all your Red Brethren in this country, which has been done.

Brothers: Ever since that time, I, as well as some others of my Brother Chiefs, have been endeavoring to turn the minds of our people toward the cultivation of the earth, but am sorry to say we have not yet been able to effect anything.

Brothers: There are so few of us here present, we could not now undertake to give you any positive answer; we expect in a few moons, there will be many of our people together. At that time it will be proper that we should give you an answer to all the subjects you now mention to us.

Brothers: The things you have said to us require our greatest attention. It appears to be really necessary that we should deliberate upon them. In order to do so we must beg you to leave the paper on which they are written, that we may communicate them to the Chiefs when they assemble.

Brothers: All the words you said to-day, were certainly calculated for our good. You have enumerated to us the different kinds of grains and animals we ought to raise for our comfort. You have told us that if we all adopt the plan you have proposed, we shall want for nothing. This Brothers, myself and many of our people believe is true, and we hope we shall finally be able to convince our young men that this is the plan we should adopt to get our living.

Brothers: You have come a long distance to render service to us; we hope you will meet with the success you wish. You have been very particular in pointing out to us what will be for our good; you have been very particular in pointing out the duties of our women, and you have told us that in adopting your mode of living, our numbers would increase and not diminish. In all this I perfectly agree with you, and hope all the Chiefs will also agree with you.

Brothers: We are pleased to hear you say you are going to leave one of your Brothers with us, to show us in what manner you cultivate the earth. We shall endeavor, Brothers, to make his situation among us as agreeable to him as will be possible for us.

Brothers: We are convinced the plan you propose will be advantageous to your Red Brethren. We are convinced you have observed very justly, that we shall not then be so liable to sickness. We are certain we shall then be able to make a more comfortable living with less labor than at present, and hope this will be the opinion of us all.

Brothers: I again repeat, I am extremely glad to hear the things you have said, and that we will keep them in our hearts for the good of our young men, our women and our children. I have now delivered to you the sentiments of our people that are present.

(After a short pause he added),

Brothers: Assure your people who have sent you here, tell your old Chiefs we are obliged to them for their friendly offers to assist us in changing our present mode of living. Tell them it is a work which cannot be done immediately, that we are all that way disposed, and we hope it will take place gradually.

(Sitting down a short space, he rises again.)

Brothers: My heart is so overjoyed and warm with what you have said, that I forgot to mention one of the most important things. At the time we first met at this place, the Five Medals * and myself formed some idea of your business; we expected you had come to do for us the things you proposed to us when in Baltimore, and consulted each other upon the answer necessary to return to you in every respect, and now find our idea was right. Brothers, the sentiments which I have delivered to you, were his sentiments. You have now told us that your Brother has a mind to live among us, to show us how to cultivate the earth, and has desired us to show him the spot where to begin. We agreed then that he should be at neither of our villages, lest our younger Brothers should be jealous of our taking him to ourselves. We have determined to place him on the Wabash, where some of our families will follow him; where our young men, I hope, will flock to him, and where he will be able to instruct them as he wishes. This is all I have to say. I could all day repeat the senti-

* Name of a Chief.

UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA

ments I have already expressed; also, how much I have been gratified in seeing and hearing from our Brothers, but that is not necessary. I am sorry the Chiefs of our country are not all present, that they might all hear what you have said, and have an opportunity to talk with you.

CHARLES JOUETT, THE FIRST U.S. INDIAN AGENT RESIDING AT CHICAGO.

Charles Jouett (not "Jewett," as it is often written) was born in Louisa County, Virginia, in 1772, and was the youngest of a family of four boys and five girls. His father was John Jouett, of Charlottesville, Va., and the maiden name of his mother was Harris. The father was with the Virginians at Braddock's defeat, and John, Jr., and Robert fought the enemy in many of the battles of the Revolution. John, Jr., or Jack, as he was usually called, received a vote of thanks and a sword, it is said, from the Legislature of Virginia, for an exhibition

of daring and timely notice to that body, whose capture by Col. Tarleton was determined on. Jouett having knowledge of the plan, and being mounted in the guise of a British dragoon, passed (a necessity under the circumstances) through the enemy's camp without detection, and gave the alarm. Another story has been told of Jack Jouett; while with Gen. Greene, in North Carolina, in the vicinity of Guilford Court-House, on one occasion near a spring between the contending forces, he pounced upon an incautious Briton who had come for water, and easily carried him away under one arm a prisoner. It is proper here to say that John Jouett, Sen., and his four sons, were all of gigantic stature and strength. Charles Jouett is said to have been raised under the immediate notice and enjoyed the friendship of presidents Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe. He studied law and practiced a few years in Charlottesville, Va., but in 1802, he accepted from the Government the appointment of Indian agent at Detroit, Mich. Mr. J. ably filled this position, not only there, but after his transfer to the new and perhaps more important agency at Chicago. In 1804, while in Michigan, he took measures at the request of the Government, to learn the facts concerning the settlements at Detroit and vicinity, and submitted an extended report of the same, which appears in one of the printed volumes of American State Papers. Charles Jouett was the first Indian agent stationed at Chicago; and William Wells, (Captain Wells, subsequently killed at Chicago,) the Agent at Fort Wayne, had been advised by the Department, October 17, 1804, that the annuities of the Pottawatomie and Kickapoo Indians under his charge, would in future be sent to Chicago. Mr. Jouett under his new appointment removed here in 1805, and by instructions from the War Department, was informed, October 26, of that year, that there would be included in his agency here, the Sacs, Foxes, and Pottawatomies, as well as other tribes in the vicinity of Chicago.

Hon. John Wentworth, in a supplement to one of his lectures, gives the names of quite a number of Virginians who were early residents of Chicago; to those may be added that of

Charles Jouett. Mr. J. had married in 1803, Miss Eliza Dodomead; she died in 1805. From the time of his first arrival at Chicago, we are unable to state precisely how often or how long he was absent from this post, yet we are advised of one furlough at least, reaching along through the holidays it is understood, in the winter of 1808-9. The occasion was his (2d) marriage, the lady being Miss Susan Randolph Allen, of Clark County, Ky., and we must characterize it as something extraordinary, that their wedding-tour was made on horseback, in the month of January, through the jungles, over the snow-drifts, on the ice, and across the prairies, in the face of driving storms, and the frozen breath of the winds of the north. They had on their journey, a negro servant named Joe Battles, and an Indian guide whose name was Robinson, possibly the late chief Alex. Robinson. A team and wagon followed, conveying their baggage, and they marked their route for the benefit of any future traveler.

After some six years residence here, Mr. Jouett, probably from Indian difficulties and complications, which rendered a continuance in the office impracticable, resigned his position in 1811, and removed to Kentucky, and settled in Mercer County, near Harrodsburg. In 1812, he was made one of the Judges of that county. After the close of the war with England, and the rebuilding of Fort Dearborn, Judge Jouett again occupied the position of Indian Agent at Chicago, having been re-appointed in 1815, and made the journey to this place across the country, accompanied by his family.

The first Agency Building, or United States Factory, as sometimes called, Mrs. Whistler told us, was near the river on the south side, a short space above the Fort; and in Mrs. Kinzie's "Waubun," we are informed that "it was an old-fashioned log-building, with a hall running through the centre, and one large room on each side. Piazzas extended the whole length of the building in front and rear." This structure is understood to have been built soon after Mr. Jouett came; it did not of course survive the destruction of the first Fort Dearborn. The Agency House, during Judge Jouett's second

term as Indian Agent here, and the home of his family during the period, was on the north side of the river. It was a log-building of two large rooms, standing some "two or three hundred yards from the lake," and close by the river. "It was about twenty steps from the river bank," says a lady now living, a daughter of Judge Jouett, and who, coming with her parents in 1816, remained here several years. The log-domicile referred to, was one built previous to the evacuation of Fort Dearborn, in 1812, and we much believe that it was the same frequently spoken of in connexion with an earlier date as "the Burns house." It stood where is now a freight depot of the N. W. Railroad, at corner of North State and Water Streets. The future building of the Indian Agency, sometimes called "Cobweb Castle," was afterwards erected close by it; indeed it was already commenced, but never occupied or completed during Judge Jouett's sojourn here. We will here remark that the timbers of the old log-building were a stolid witness to a deed of blood, supplementary perhaps to the massacre on the south side. Says Mrs. Callis (the daughter of Judge Jouett before referred to), "The house in which my father lived, was built before the massacre of 1812; I know this from the fact that '*White Elk*,' an Indian chief, and the tallest Indian I ever saw, was frequently pointed out to me as the savage who had dashed out the brains of the children of Sukey Corbin (a camp-follower and washer-woman), against the side of this very house." We have reason to think that this savage was the same fiend that had previously tomahawked the dozen other children, after the action and surrender by the soldiers. Mrs. Jouett told her daughter of a frantic mother,* a former acquaintance of hers, who on that

* Perhaps the same Mrs. Corbin before referred to, and who is spoken of also in Mrs. Kinzie's "Waubun." In that work the name of Mrs. Corbin appears as part of the statement of Mrs. Helm, but in the earlier published account, from which much of the Waubun account is copied, Mrs. Corbin's name is not mentioned, nor is that part of the incident which is there, given as communicated by Mrs. Helm. This may possibly account for some little indefiniteness or confusion regarding the locality of the Corbin family murder. Yet the main facts of a horrid slaughter cannot be doubted.

occasion fought the monster all the while the butchery was being done, yet who in turn fell a victim herself. Says Mrs. C. "how I shuddered at the sight of this terrible savage." In Augustin Grignon's Recollections, (Wis. His. Soc. Colls. v. 3,) we find that he speaks of *Op-po-mish-shah* or the "White Elk" as a *Menomonie* chief of "considerable distinction." He may have been; yet if he was the same Indian before spoken of (of which, however, we are not sure, as we supposed the Menomonies did not take part in the attack at Chicago), his deeds of cowardly butchery here will ever *distinguish* this child murderer as eminent in brutality.* Mrs. C. remembers that Mr. Kinzie lived near the lake, opposite the Fort, at the old cabin or "Kinzie House," the picture of which is familiar to readers of Chicago history. She says, "between my father's house and Mr. Kinzie's was a house occupied by a gunsmith, a Mr. Bridges, who had been a silversmith. A man named Dean had a store near Mr. Kinzie's house; there may have been other houses which I do not remember. Just across the river from our house, and near the river bank, was a little space enclosed by a paling, where, on the surface of the ground, lay bleaching, the bones of *Non-no-ga*, an Indian who had befriended some of the whites in their peril, at the time of the massacre, but was pursued and killed at that spot, it was said. My father's interpreter was James Riley.† * * * My mother was respected and loved by the Indians; many

* The "White Elk" referred to by Grignon, joined Tecumseh the following year (1813), from which it seems probable that he was the same as the one at Chicago.

† James Riley, and his brothers Peter and John, were sons of Judge Riley, of Schenectady, who was at one time a trader with the Indians at Saginaw. The boys were half-breeds, the mother being of the Indian race. Judge Witherell says, "They were educated men. When with white people, they were gentlemanly, high-toned, honorable fellows; when with the Indians in the forest, they could be perfect Indians, in dress, language, hunting, trapping, and mode of living. * * * The three were thorough-going Americans in every thought and feeling." The British authorities, it is said, were so jealous of the active enmity of James Riley during the war of 1812, that they procured his capture, and sent him to Halifax for awhile. In what year we are not informed, but he finally lost his life by the explosion of a keg of gunpowder at Grand Rapids, Michigan.

were frequent visitors at her home, and were especially kind to her children, sister and myself. * * * Our nurse was an Indian girl, a faithful, devoted servant, who afterward married a soldier of the garrison."

We notice that the agents of the Indian Department, within the then Illinois Territory, were all in 1817, placed under the superintendence of this Territory. "The most strict and vigorous economy in the expenditures," was enjoined by the War Department, and "the whole amount of the expenditures for the Indian Department within the Illinois Territory, including rations, presents, contingencies of Agents," etc., etc., was "limited to $25,000 per annum."

Judge Jouett secured the confidence of the Indians by kind and honorable treatment; we add also that his commanding presence and physical strength doubtless added to his influence with them; his height was six feet and three inches; he was erect, broad-shouldered, and muscular. An incident is told of by Mrs. C. of a fearless encounter which her father had here with a drunken Indian chief named "Mar Pock," (so called from his face being badly disfigured by small-pox,) who was brandishing his scalping-knife with furious menaces, betokening bloody violence; but Jouett, confronting the savage sternly ordered him to give up his knife; we are told that Mr. Aborigine immediately quailed and surrendered.

The name given by the Indians to Judge Jouett was "The White Otter;" his negro servant they called "Blackmeat."

The following, relating to Judge J., written at the time of his decease, was not an unmerited tribute to his worth:

"Few men in the United States Indian Department ever showed more devotion to the interests of the Government, more unbending integrity of purpose or promptitude of action, or more impartiality and justice to the Indians; few had more the confidence of the Government. The management, finesse, and double-dealing, by which so many Indian Agents have enriched themselves from the spoils of the Indians, whose rights it was their duty to maintain, had no place in the school of honor where he was educated."

Judge Jouett finally resigned the Agency in Chicago in 1818 (or '19), and returned to Mercer County, Ky. He was soon appointed by Mr. Monroe to the position of Judge of the U. S. Court for Arkansas, where he removed, and assisted in the organization of that Territorial Government, etc.; but the unhealthiness of that region at the time obliged him to relinquish the position within a half year. In 1820, he removed to Trigg County, Ky., which was afterward his home. His death occurred while on his way to Lexington, at the house of a friend in Barren County, Ky., May 28, 1834, being in his 62d year. His widow, Mrs. Susan R. Jouett, died near Hopkinsville, Ky., in 1871. Judge Jouett's children were (1st m.) Jane Harris, born 1804, died in Christian County, Ky., 1839. (2d m.) Charles La Lime, born in Chicago, Oct., 1809, died 1810; Catharine, born in Mercer County, Ky., Feb. 8, 1811; Susan M., born in Mercer County, Ky., Nov. 1812; Mildred R., born in Mercer County, Ky., July, 1814; the two last named are living in Kentucky. Mr. William O. Callis, a grandson of Judge Jouett, now, 1876, resides in Chicago.

THE FIRST TEMPERANCE SOCIETY OF CHICAGO.

[The following, by the compiler of this book, appeared in the *Chicago Times*, perhaps we may as well insert it here, together with a few additional paragraphs:]

CHICAGO, June 20, 1876.

Ed. Chicago Times:—The efforts of the Hon. John Wentworth to place upon record the facts pertaining to early Chicago history, deserve much credit, and we wish many of our other early residents would do likewise, and write up their recollections of the rapidly receding past. For whether all such impressions may be strictly accurate or otherwise, it is better that they should be told now, when the statements may be examined and verified, or else corrected or denied, as the case may be. And just here, I wish to say, that the association referred to, called "The First Temperance Society" in "By-gone Days" of last *Sunday's Times*, is *not* entitled to such designation. The First Chicago Temperance Society *did not* date its

organization in "1835." It had existence, January 30, 1834, and *earlier*, for on that day it met at the Presbyterian church, and had a new election of officers, as follows: Dr. John T. Temple, Pres.; Dr. Josiah C. Goodhue, Vice-President; Philo Carpenter, Sec. and Treas.; Capt. D. Wilcox, (U. S. A.), M. D. Harmon, Dr. H. Van Der Bogert; Lt. J. L. Thompson, (U. S. A.), Executive Committee. In 1833, J. Watkins was secretary of the same Society. From time immemorial, since the red-man's early acquaintance here with the whites, the fire-water had tracked its serpent-like way without much restraint. Yet the Indians were not the only victims. In 1812, when Capt. Heald, on evacuating Fort Dearborn, endeavored secretly to destroy the liquors in the Fort, by emptying them into the river, the keen nostrils of the savages detected that effort to smother the spirit-devil. The Indians (from white men's teaching) had an insuperable weakness and hankering after the demon, and considered themselves on that occasion, at least, robbed and wronged; and hence, perhaps, an extra spur and edge to the tomahawk and scalping-knife on that luckless August morning.

But just a score of years later, for it was in Father Walker's log-cabin at Wolf Point, in the year 1832, there gathered the first temperance meeting at Chicago. This was the initiative, leading to the formation of the Chicago Temperance Society. The prime mover and originator of the enterprise, we need scarcely add, was Philo Carpenter, who had arrived here that season. Mr. C., by the distribution of various tracts and papers bearing on the subject, prepared the Chicago public mind for the innovation and shock of so unusual an occurrence as a temperance meeting in the scattered, unfledged, and "rough-and-tumble" settlement. Yet, Mr. C. had the aid of Col. R. J. Hamilton, Col. T. J. V. Owen, Mark Noble, and others, though at the meeting referred to, which was as large as the cabin could accommodate, the principal address devolved upon him. A pledge was also drawn up, which met with varied success, but not a few, alas, of those who signed it, went over soon or slowly, to the enemy. Among the names of the signers,* we may mention that of the Indian chief, *Chee-chee-bing-way*—Alexander Robinson. Robinson received the appeal to sign the pledge with hesitation, and pointing to his whiskey bottle, acknowledged his attachment to the syren; he afterwards, however, allowed that he believed he had better join the Society and leave strong drink alone. Signing the pledge, or authorizing his name to be placed thereon, it was not without an exhibition of humor, when he attacked his bottle with a hostile weapon, knocking it this way and that, until effectually demolished.

It may not be out of place here to recall a few facts relative to the early history of the mad waters with the American Indians.

* John Noble, an early settler and respected citizen, still living in the vicinity, it is remembered, signed the pledge with the proviso, "wine excepted."

In 1609, when Henry Hudson made discovery of, and passed into the river which has since borne his name, he, at his first interview with the natives of the shore, gave them to drink of their first bowl of the misnamed "*aqua-vitæ*." Indeed, according to a tradition of the Delawares, the Indian name of Manhattan Island (now New York), in its literal interpretation, was "*the place where we all got drunk*." Some three-fourths of a century later, Wm. Penn wrote to his friend, the Earl of Sunderland, and from which letter we extract the following:

PHILADELPHIA, 28, 5 mo.,* 1683.

MY NOBLE FRIEND:

* * * * *

"I have lay'd out the Province into Countys. Six are begun to be seated; they lye on the great River, and are Planted about six miles back, the town platt is a mile long, and two deep,—has a navigable river on each side; the least as Broad as the thames at Woolwych, from 3 to 8 fathom water; there is built about 80 houses, and I have settled at least 300 farms contiguous to it. * *
The country is in soyle good, aire Sereen (as in Languedock) and sweet from the Ceder Pine, and sassefrax; * *
For the people, they are savage to us; in their Persons and furniture all that is rude, but they have great shape, strength, agility; and in Councel, for they (tho in a kind of Community among themselves), observe Property and government, grave, Speak Seldom, inter spaces of Silence, short, elegant, fervent. The old sitt in a half moon upon the ground, the middle aged in a like figure, at a little distance behind them, and the young fry in the same manner behind them; none speak but the aged, they having consulted the rest before; thus in selling me their land, they ordered them selves; I must say that, their obscurity consider'd, wanting tradition, example, and instruction, they are an extraordinary People. Had not the dutch, Sweeds, and English, learn'd them drunkenness (in which condition they kill and burn one another), they had been very tractable, but Rum is so dear to them, that for 6 Penny worth of Rum, one may buy that fur from them that five shillings in any other commodity shall not Purchase. Yet many of the old men, and some of the young People, will not touch with such spirits; and because in those fitts they mischief both themselves and our folks too, I have forbid to sell them any. * *

WM. PENN."

We are told that the French king, having been informed

* July; the year beginning in March in those days.

of the ill effects upon the Indians of the west, from the sale of intoxicating drinks, issued, with the advice of the Catholic Bishops, and the court called *Sarbonne*, an edict forbidding the transportation of brandy to Michilimackinac, for the purpose of traffic.

Count Frontenac was governor of New France, in 1694, and that year M. de la Motte Cadillac (subsequently the founder of Detroit, governor of Louisiana, etc.) succeeded Louvigny in the command of the post of Michilimackinac and the surrounding region. We make the following extracts from a letter of Cadillac to a friend in Quebec. The language (evidently sincere) was written in behalf of sordid cupidity upon one side and of base abandonment in a degrading habit on the other, and constitutes a plea which will appear curious if not convincing :

"FORT BUADE, MICHILIMACKINAC, August 3, 1695.

MONSIEUR:— * * In regard to the decision of the Court concerning the transportation of liquors to this place, * * * It is important that you should know, in case you are not already informed, that this village is one of the largest in Canada. There is a garrison of well-disciplined, chosen soldiers, consisting of about two hundred men, the best formed and most athletic to be found in the New World; besides many other persons who are residents here during two or three months in the year. This being an indubitable fact, it seems to me that this place should not be deprived of the privilege, which His Majesty has accorded to all the other places and villages in Canada —the privilege of furnishing themselves with the necessary drinks for their own use. * * The situation of the place and the food also require it. The houses are arranged along the shore of this great Lake Huron, and fish and smoked meat, constitute the principal food of the inhabitants, *so that a drink of brandy after the repast, seems necessary to cook the bilious meats and the crudities which they leave in the stomach.* * * What reason can there be for the prohibition of intoxicating drinks, in regard to the French who are now here? * * What reason can one assign that the savages should not drink brandy bought with their own money.* * *

* It is not surprising that the selfishness of men of that day, coveting the silver crowns of the French realm, should be regardless of the welfare of others, since even now, near two centuries later, when the world claims to be much wiser, and when this scourge of intoxicating drinks, the greatest curse of America, surpassing

This prohibition has much discouraged the Frenchman here from trading in future. * * * It seems very strange that they should pretend that the savages would ruin themselves by drinking. The savage himself asks why they do not leave him in his beggary, his liberty, and his idleness; he was born in it, and he wishes to die in it,—it is a life to which he has been accustomed since Adam. Do they wish him to build palaces and ornament them with beautiful furniture? He would not exchange his wigwam, and the mat on which he camps like a monkey, for the *Louvre!*"

FIRST SUNDAY-SCHOOL IN CHICAGO.

It was in 1832, the year of the Black-Hawk war, the year that General Scott's army arrived, bringing with it that terrible scourge the Asiatic cholera, (its first year in America,) that occurred two notable events, which, though quiet and unobtrusive, yet not the less memorable, perhaps, as a portion of the history of the early town. We allude to the first *sabbath-school*, as well as the first *temperance meeting*, in Chicago. The last-named gathering has been already described, and the *school* we will speak of here.

It will be proper to say, that the spring of that year had not passed without finding Chicago in a condition of unusual excitement. Several murders had been committed by Indians (the Sauks, from the west side of the Mississippi,) among the whites of northern Illinois, and the scattering settlers had flocked in from various localities to Fort Dearborn, which they believed to be the only place of available security. No United States soldiers had occupied the Fort during the past winter, and Chicago, it is said, numbered then only about fifty residents. But the dangers and alarms referred to had sent in a crowd of refugees, and the forepart of the month of May found Fort Dearborn peopled with some six or seven hundred persons. But Illinois and Michigan troops, organized for protection against the foe, and General Scott, who

all war, debt, pestilence, and famine which our country has ever encountered, still seems *not apparent* to our rulers, our law-makers, and the majority who comprise their constituency.

arrived in the month of July with U. S. soldiers, though his force was more than decimated by the cholera, marched after the red-skins, and the settlers returned to their homes on the prairie. But the fatality which attended the fearful disease could not otherwise than awaken the minds of various individuals to the fact that death reigned in their midst.

We may say there were at least a few persons then here with decidedly religious proclivities, and hence, as may be supposed, there were prayer-meetings as well as sabbath gatherings, where, if there was no preacher to discourse to them, there were yet printed sermons frequently read to an audience.

Of the Sunday-school, we have been told, by one of the parties in the enterprise, that it was on a fine summer Sunday, the 19th of August, 1832, when a few individuals, including Luther Childs, Mrs. Capt. Seth Johnson, Mrs. Charles Taylor, the Misses Noble, (daughters of Mark Noble,) and Philo Carpenter, organized the first sabbath-school in Chicago. The school was first gotten together in a small frame building lately put up by Mark Beaubien on the Reservation, near Mr. Noble's house. The building was incomplete, there being no doors hung or windows in, but there was a floor laid, and the structure was sided up, and some boards were on the rafters. The school, we will add, was afterwards held in various places, as accommodation offered, namely: in the Fort, as well as at Rufus Brown's house, Father Walker's cabin at the Point, and also in the upper part of Mr. Peck's store. From that first school to the present time, each recurring sabbath in Chicago has brought the children together for Sunday-school instruction.

TOWN OF CHICAGO; TRUSTEES' LEASE, 1835.

STATE OF ILLINOIS, }
COUNTY OF COOK. } ss.

This Indenture, made and entered into on the twenty-third day of the month of November, in the year of our Lord one thousand

eight hundred and thirty-five, between Hiram Hugunin, George W. Dole, Samuel Jackson, Eli B. Williams, Francis C. Sherman, James Kinzie, Alexander Loyd, Walter Kimball, and Byram King, the Trustees of the Town of Chicago, being a body politic and corporate, duly elected, acting in their corporate name and capacity, of the first part, and Philo Carpenter, of the Town of Chicago in the County of Cook and the State of Illinois aforesaid, of the second part, Witnesseth, that for and in consideration of the sum of one thousand dollars, the sum of two hundred and fifty dollars parcel of the said sum is hereby acknowledged to have been received at and before the signing of these Presents, and the remaining three-fourths part of the first aforesaid sum is to be paid to the said Trustees of the Town of Chicago and their successors by whatever name, character, or title their said successors may be hereafter known and distinguished, as follows, namely: The sum of two hundred and fifty dollars in one year from the date of these Presents; a like sum of two hundred and fifty dollars in two years from the date of these Presents, and a like sum of two hundred and fifty dollars in three years from the date of these presents; each of the said payments to bear interest at the rate of six per centum per annum, until the full and perfect payment of the same, and in consideration of the yearly rent, covenants, conditions, provisos, and agreements, hereinafter expressed and contained, the said Trustees of the Town of Chicago, in their said corporate name and capacity, have let, leased, and demised unto the said Philo Carpenter, party of the second part, his heirs, executors, administrators, or assigns, the lot, or wharfing privilege, in the said Town of Chicago, opposite to lot number three in block number Nineteen in the said Town of Chicago, as the same was heretofore laid out and described by the Canal Commissioners of the said State of Illinois, being part and parcel of section nine, in Township thirty-nine North, Range fourteen East, of third principal Meridian in the said State of Illinois, the said lot or wharfing privilege more particularly described as follows: the West half of the lot numbered three in the block lettered U, having forty feet upon South Water Street, and a like number of feet upon the Chicago river, and being forty feet in depth from the street to the river, as the same is marked, defined, and designated on the plan or profile of the said lots, or wharfing privileges, as the same has been prepared by Edward B. Talcott, Town Surveyor, under the direction of the said Trustees of the Town of Chicago, and by them filed and deposited in the Recorder's Office for the said County of Cook for public record and for reference in all time to come; a copy of which said plan or profile is also deposited of record, with the Treasurer of the said Trustees of the Town of Chicago, with all the liberties and privilege belonging to the same not herein otherwise provided against, to have and to hold the said described lot or wharfing privilege, and every part and parcel thereof to him, the said Philo Car-

penter, party of the second part, his heirs, executors, administrators, or assigns, for, and during the full term and time of nine hundred and ninety-nine years from the date of these Presents, fully to be complete and ended, yielding and paying therefor, yearly and every year during said term, unto the said Trustees of the Town of Chicago, and their successors as aforesaid, the yearly rent of one barley corn at or upon the twenty-third day of the month of November in each and every year, if demanded,

Provided always, and upon condition that if it shall happen that the aforesaid sums of two hundred and fifty dollars, and the interest thereon as aforesaid, or any part thereof shall be behind and unpaid for the space of twenty days next after each of the said three payments shall become due, and ought to be paid as is herein mentioned, (being lawfully demanded,) that then it shall and may be lawful to, and for the said Trustees of the Town of Chicago, and their successors as aforesaid, to enter into and upon the said before described and hereby leased lot or wharfing privilege, and the same to retain and repossess.

And the said Philo Carpenter, party of the second part, for himself, his heirs, executors, administrators, and assigns, do hereby covenant, promise, and agree to and with the said Trustees of the Town of Chicago and their successors aforesaid, that he will, at his own proper costs and charges, erect and construct a good, sufficient, and permanent dock, five feet in width, along the whole length of the above described and hereby leased lot or wharfing privilege, upon the side thereof nearest the river, to be at all times properly and safely covered and left open at all times for the uses of the public as a tow and foot path; the top of said dock to be of an uniform heighth with the other docks along the whole length of the said river, the top or surface of the said dock to be three feet above ordinary high water mark, and to be completed and finished within two years from the date of these presents; and in default thereof this lease shall become null and void, and the said above described and hereby leased lot or wharfing privilege, shall revert to the said Trustees of the Town of Chicago and their successors aforesaid, who shall have full right and power to re-enter upon the same and take the entire and absolute possession thereof, and to re-let the same at their will and pleasure.

And the said Trustees of the Town of Chicago, do hereby covenant and agree to and with the said Philo Carpenter, party of the second part, that the said Trustees of the Town of Chicago, and their successors aforesaid, shall and will within four years from the date of these presents, dredge out or remove the earth or soil upon the margin and in the bed of said river, along the line of the said above described leased lot or wharfing privilege, so that the water in the said river shall be at the depth of ten feet at least.

And it is hereby further covenanted by and between the said Trus-

tees of the Town of Chicago, and their successors aforesaid, and the said Philo Carpenter party of the second part, that the said above described and hereby leased lot or wharfing privilege, shall be liable to all such dues, taxation and duties as other lands, tenements and premises of the said Town of Chicago shall be subject and liable to by law, to be paid by the said Philo Carpenter party of the second part his heirs, executors, administrators, or assigns.

And it is hereby covenanted and agreed by and between the said Trustees of the Town of Chicago, and their successors aforesaid, and the said Philo Carpenter party of the second part his heirs, executors, administrators, or assigns, that they, the said Trustees of the Town of Chicago, and their successors as aforesaid, shall not cause any building or buildings which the said Philo Carpenter party of the second part, his heirs, executors, administrators, or assigns, of the second part, may erect upon the said lot or wharfing privilege, for the greater benefit and better use of the said privilege, to be removed, destroyed, or demolished,

Provided Always, that every such building or buildings shall be subject to all laws and ordinances of the said Trustees of the Town of Chicago, and their successors aforesaid, in common with other buildings within the limits of the Town of Chicago.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, The parties to these Presents have interchangeably set their hands and seals in duplicate, the day and year above written, in presence of

E. PECK, Clerk.

[SEAL.]	HIRAM HUGUNIN, GEORGE W. DOLE, ELI B. WILLIAMS, SAMUEL JACKSON, FRANCIS C. SHERMAN, JAMES KINZIE, ALEXANDER LOYD, WALTER KIMBALL, BYRAM KING,	*Trustees of the Town of Chicago.*
	PHILO CARPENTER.	[SEAL.]

RECORDER'S OFFICE, COOK COUNTY, ILLINOIS.

THIS IS TO CERTIFY, That the foregoing Lease was left for Record on the 6th day of January, 1836, and recorded on the 8th day of January, 1836, in Book L of Deeds, page 100.

RICH'D J. HAMILTON,
Rec'r, Cook Co., Ill.

ORIGIN OF THE NAME CHICAGO.

Far back of any printed histories which we have, the locality of Chicago, the River and Portage to the Des Plaines, were well known to the nations of red men occupying the country of the Lakes and Upper Mississippi. The name *Chicago* has been variedly written by early travelers and historians, etc. Commonly, upon the old-time maps, it is printed *Chicagou*. LaHonton gives the name *Chekakou*. Marquette, the missionary, speaks of "*Chachagwessiou*," an Illinois, perhaps a chief, who evidently had a decided taste for trade. DuBuisson, of Detroit, in 1712, tells of a "grand chief" named "*Chachagonache*," of Illinois. In the Treaty of Greenville, the name was written "*Chikajo*;" Hon. John Wentworth said, in one of his Lectures, "Gen. Wayne spelled Chicago with a 'j'. The baby's name, in 1795, was 'jo'. He had not got the *go* then."

Some years since, in referring to this subject, we quoted what Mrs. Kinzie had gathered from the Indian tradition, that the place *Chicago* received its name from a chief who was drowned, a long time past, in the river here. It was perhaps a relief to some sensitive minds, who disliked the fame of a certain animal as well as the odor of a particular vegetable, when "Waubun" gave to the world that traditional account. But *whence* came the name of the *chief?* We suggested, when it was urged by some, that a great chief would hardly consent to wear the name of so unsavory an animal as the polecat, even though some of the tribes gave special honor to that quadruped, that possibly the claim of the wild onion might command more respect. Some early traveler we remembered had told that leeks or wild onions were numerous here by the stream. Now, the Chicago River was, in olden time, often called "the Divine River," and (we said) we may, perhaps, be pardoned if we cite a fact, with a feature possibly somewhat analogous, from the banks of the Nile, in Egypt. We have read that, at some former day, along the last-mentioned river, high respect was paid to the onion by the natives, who regarded that bulb as a kind of divinity.

But *Chicago* is an Indian name, and if the riddle—to get at its origin and signification—cannot be solved here, we scarcely need go to the banks of the Nile, or the Connecticut even, for that purpose. Certainly, we have those in Chicago who can *talk* Chippewa, *whoop* Dacotah, *sing* Winnebago, and *dance* Kickapoo; indeed, there are not a few here with Indian blood in their veins, yet if they cannot help us out of the dilemma, we will endeavor to aid the reader by quoting the following from the press:

(From H. R. Schoolcraft's "Oneota.")

"CHICAGO.—This name, in the lake Algonquin dialects, to preserve the same mode of orthography, is derived from *Chicagowunzh*—the wild onion, or leek. The orthography is French, as they were the discoverers, etc. *Kaug*, in those dialects, is a porcupine, and *Shekaug* a polecat. The analogies in these words are apparent; but whether the onion was named before or after the animal, must be judged, if the age of the derivation be sought for."

(From the Historical Mag., vol. 6, p. 258; J. G. Shea, Editor; August, 1862.)

"THE MEANING OF CHICAGO.—The following query and its reply appeared in the *National Banner*, Chicago. Can the position of its editor be sustained?

"'What is the signification of the name Chicago? Is it true that it means *skunk*, or something strong? Whence do we derive the name of our River and City—Chicago? R.'

"*Reply.*—'The name of Garden City is not, as has been represented by various writers, derived from the Indian word *Checaquc*, meaning leeks, or wild onions, which formerly grew profusely in this vicinity; nor is it derived from *Checague*, the Indian name for skunk or polecat, but from *Checaqua*, a name borne by a long line of chiefs of the Tamaroas, the principal tribe of the Illinois Indians, and signifying strong, mighty, powerful; appellations which the wonderful growth of Chicago in wealth, population, and commercial importance richly entitles her to.'—*Nat. Ban.*

"We fear not. No authorities are cited, and all that we know militate against it. In Chippewa, the skunk is *jikag*, as spelt by Baraga, in his dictionary, where he expressly says that the name of Chicago is derived from it. Garlic is *Jigagawani*. In a splendid old manuscript, belonging to a gentleman in Brooklyn, N. Y., and containing a very full Illinois dictionary, *skunk* is tchicac8o; *garlic*, 8anississia; though chicac8o is given as an improper word for it. If we might conjecture, the name Chicago might come from Chigaakwa or Jigaakwa—*the woods are thin;* but, as Indian tradition, the source

of Baraga's information, gives the derivation from chica8o, which means primarily *skunk*, and secondly *garlic*, it would seem to be most likely. The assertion that it is derived from the chief, Chicago, needs proof. Marquette, LaSalle, and his companions mention the River Chicago under the names Checagou, Chicagou; but, during all that time, there is no allusion to any chief of the Tamaroas by name Chicago; and the Tamaroas dwelt at a distance from Chicago. At a subsequent date, and after the commencement of the 18th century, Chicago (not Checaqua), an Illinois chief, went to France, and the name then first appears as the name of a chief. The next assertion, that in Illinois Chicago means strong, mighty, powerful, is unsupported by the Illinois dictionary, which gives,—*powerful*, metchikir8o; *I am strong*, nichin chira8e; *I am great*, mecha8i It seems, therefore, necessary to prove—1st, that there were chiefs of the name of Chicago prior to 1673; 2d, that the Tamaroas resided at Chicago; 3d, that it means strong, great, powerful. It should not be omitted that LeClercq mentions the Chicago as the *Divine* River. Whether this epithet was intended as an interpretation of the name, does not appear. J. G. S."

(From His. Mag., vol. 6, p. 358.)

"The Rev. Louis Lafleche, a good Cree scholar, in a list of Indian names, with definitions, in the *Rapport sur les Missions* for April, 1857, Quebec, p. 101, says: Chicago, *at the skunk* (Cree), from Chikak, *skunk;* which makes Shikakok in the locative case. B."

(From the Chicago Tribune, Aug. 10, 1879.)

CHICAGO: Origin and Meaning of the Name.

To the Editor of the Tribune.

In preparing an article on Chicago, I had occasion, recently, to investigate the original signification and use of the word *Chicago.*

We have had more than a score of lectures and historical sketches, in which the origin of this word has been given, with quotations from various authorities: but I found the discrepancies in these different statements so great that it was not easy to decide on the real meaning of the original words, without looking beyond them. I accordingly directed my inquiries to a master of the Indian tongues, and obtained from him the information I desired.

Before presenting his letter, I will first introduce some of the most important notices of the name *Chicago* that have been published, together with several statements which have been kindly furnished by those who have made this question a matter of special study:

The *Chicago Magazine* for May, 1857, has the following:

"Along the shores of the river, among the sedgy grass, the wild onions grew in great abundance. The Indian name for these peculiarly native productions is *Chi-ka-go.* It was very natural that the Indians should give to this locality that name which more than anything else to their minds gave it character; therefore they called

it *Chicago*. *Chi-ca-go-nauk*, in the Pottawatomie language, would mean *Chicago land*, or *place*."

The Hon. Sidney Breese, who settled in Kaskaskia in 1818, recently wrote the Hon. John Wentworth:

"I have a copy of a map, which I made from one in the Congressional Library, which I found among the papers of President Jefferson, made in 1685; in which is a place on the lake shore, about where your city now is, marked 'Chicagou'; and Father Louis Vivier, who was a priest at Kaskaskia in 1752, in a letter to his superior, says: 'Chikagou was a celebrated Indian Chief who went to Paris, and the Duchess of Orleans, at Versailles, gave him a splendid snuff-box, which he was proud to exhibit, on his return, to his brother-redskins.'"

Mrs. John H. Kinzie, who had peculiar facilities for studying the early history of Chicago, writes in *Wau-bun:*

"The origin of the name Chicago is a subject of discussion; some of the Indians deriving it from the fitch, or polecat, others from the wild onion, with which the woods formerly abounded; but all agree that the place received its name from an old Chief who was drowned in the stream in former times. That this event, although so carefully preserved by tradition, must have occurred in a very remote period, is evident from an old French manuscript brought by Gen. Cass from France.

"In this paper, which purports to be a letter from M. de Ligney, at Green Bay, to M. de Siette, among the Illinois, dated as early as 1726, the place is designated as 'Chicagoux.' This orthography is also found in old family letters of the beginning of the present century."

From "Discovery and Conquests of the Northwest, with the History of Chicago." By Rufus Blanchard:

"These unlettered lexicographers gave symbolic names to their rivers, lakes, islands, and to themselves, and in their vocabulary they had the name *Chicago*, which, in the language of the Illinois tribes, meant an onion. This is all it meant in a positive sense; and by this name the place where our city stands has been known from a period antedating its history. It is highly probable that it was thus named because wild onions grew in great profusion there."

Schoolcraft, in his "Thirty Years with the Indian Tribes," under date of 1834, says:

"The etymology of *Chicago* appears to be this:

"*Chi-cag*, Animal of the Leek, or Wild Onion.

"*Chi-cag-o-wunz*, The Wild Leek, or Polecat Plant.

"*Chi-ca-go*, Place of the Wild Leek."

From Chamberlin's "Chicago and Its Suburbs":

"A popular but superficial writer makes even the name *Chicago* an aboriginal memorial of the repulsive site. So the phrase of euchre-players, *sent to Chicago*, instead of the coarser word *skunked*, embodied the same error. But philologists recognize the word *Checaqua*, through various corruptions, as one of the Indian names of irate Deity,—the thunder god, much like the Scandinavian Thor. The dignity of the name is placed beyond dispute, not only by its etymology, but by the frequency with which, in the old French maps of 1684, 1687, 1688, 1696, etc., the great Mississippi himself is called 'Chacaqua or Divine River.'"

Statement of the Hon. William Bross:

"All my information gained from the early settlers of the city, and from an examination and comparison of historical records, leads me to believe that *Chicago* is the Indian name for *skunk*, and I am confirmed in this opinion by the fact that our Iowa neighbors have a considerable river which they call '*Chicagua or Skunk River*.' Mr. Lo and his family are by no means squeamish as to the words they use, as I learned on my recent trip up the Missouri River."

Mr. Gurdon S. Hubbard, who is still living, came to Chicago in 1818. He was perfectly familiar with the Indian language, and he now says:

"There can be no question as to the word Chicago being an Indian word; and the meaning is *skunk*, *onion*, or *smelling thing*."

Mr. A. D. Hager, Secretary of the Chicago Historical Society, says:

"I will give it as my opinion that the literal meaning of the word *Chicago* is *strength* or *strong*. *Chicago*, in its different spellings, meant, in the Indian language, *skunk*, *wild onion*, and was also a name applied to a powerful (strong) chief."

Dr. William Barry, first Secretary of the Chicago Historical Society, who has given much attention to this question, makes the following statement:

"Whatever may have been the etymological meaning of the word Chicago, in its practical use it probably denoted *strong* or *great*. The Indians applied this term to the Mississippi River, to thunder, or the voice of the Great Manitou; and, according to Bossu, there was a successive line of Illinois Chiefs bearing the name *Chicago*, one of whom went to France, and was there honored with a medal."

Mr. Edwin Hubbard, the genealogist, adopts a similar view, and says the word *Chicago*, in its applications, "signified *strong, mighty, powerful*."

After comparing these various opinions, and many others, I wrote to Dr. J. Hammond Trumbull, of Hartford, Conn., who is the highest authority in the country on all questions relating to the Indian tongues. His statement in regard to the etymological deri-

vation of the word *Chicago* leaves no further question on that point. He writes as follows:

"The meaning of the name *Chicago* is not doubtful. 'Chicagou' (as the French wrote the name) signifies 'The Skunk,'—and cannot be made to signify anything else. It has (with slight modifications of local dialects) this meaning in all Indian languages of that region.

"As the name comes to us through the French, the first syllable indicates the *French* pronunciation of the Indian name. Dr. James, in a note to Tanner's Narrative, 1830, observes that the common Indian pronunciation is '*Shig-gau-go*,' and, with the locative inflection '*Shiggaugo-ong*, at Chicago.' In the same dialect (Chippeway) James writes, '*Shegahg*, skunk'; '*Shiggaugawinje*, onion, *i. e.* skunk-weed.' Bishop Baraga, in his excellent 'Otchipwe Dictionary,' has '*Ĵikag*.' [French *j*=Engl. *zh*], polecat, fitchat, fitchew,' and notes: 'From this word is derived the name of the City of Chicago.' For garlic or wild onion, he gives *Ĵigaga-wanj*, and *kitchi-jigaga-wanj* [big skunk-weed], or the garden onion.

"Chicagou, as the French name for the river, may be traced back at least to 1679. (See 'Chicago from 1673 to 1725,' by Dr. J. G. Shea, in the *Historical Magazine*, v., 99—104.) The French learned it from the Miamis, the nearly-related Weas, or the Illinois. 'Chicagou,' who went to France, with other Indians, in 1725, is called 'Chief of the *Illinois*' (Shea's Charlevoix, vi., 76, note). In the Illinois language, *Chicagoua*, as Father Gravier wrote it, is the equivalent of the Chippeway *Ĵikag* of Baraga, 'bete puante.'

"I infer that the appellation of a chief or brave—'The Skunk'—was transferred by the French to the river, and passed from the river to the locality when a French post was established there.

"The Rev. James Evans, a Wesleyan Missionary to the Chippeways and Crees of Canada, and a master of both languages, in his Chippeway 'Speller and Interpreter,' printed in 1837, gives the same words (though in a different notation) for 'skunk' and 'onion, leek, skunk-weed,' that are given by Edwin James and Baraga, and in a foot-note to '*Seguug*' [=*Zhegahg*], a skunk, says: 'From this the City of Chicago derives its name.'"

In summing up the results, I find the main facts to be these:

1. The original meaning of the word *Chicago* is *skunk*.

2. In its uses, it became a synonym of *strong*, *mighty*, *great*, etc.

3. It was applied to the skunk, to the wild onion, to a line of Indian Chiefs, to the Mississippi River, and to thunder, or the voice of the Great Spirit.

4. The place was called *Chicago* from an Indian Chief of that name, who, at some remote period, was drowned in the river on which Chicago is situated.

W. H. WELLS.

AUG. 9, 1879.

(From the Chicago Tribune, August 15, 1879.)

Origin of the Name "Chicago."

CHICAGO, Aug. 13.—I am pleased to see the communication of Mr. W. H. Wells in *The Tribune* of the 10th inst., in relation to the origin and meaning of the name Chicago, and quoting various expressions of opinion in the matter from sundry individuals. It is well to bring together these views of intelligent persons; though, however learned any may be in Indian philology or etymological derivation, however ingenious may be their hypotheses and inferences, they can tell little to afford us material light beyond what we have had already.

Mr. Wells quotes what the Chicago Indians told Mrs. Kinzie; namely: that the place received its name from an old chief, who was drowned in the stream here in former time. This is a pretty story enough; yet Indian gossip called tradition is rather a feeble staff to lean upon, particularly where it reaches back for centuries; and we have "Chicago", with slightly varied orthography, upon the maps for near 200 years. The tale unquestionably has the popular belief, though the early explorers and travelers say nothing of it. The reasonable conclusion must be that the little quadruped, that courageous little rascal known to naturalists by the several names of *Viverra Mephitis*, *Stifling Weasel*, *Striated Weasel*, *Mustela Americana*, and *Mephitis Americana*, gave its aboriginal name to the locality, whether it passed directly or by inheritance, as the mantle, or rather blanket, of some big Indian. It is all one and the same name, we suppose, though we find it in old histories and maps in varied forms of orthography, as follows: "Chicagou," "Chicagoux," "Checagou," "Eschecagou," "Les Checagou," "Fort Chicagou," "Point Chicagou River," "Portage de Chegakou," "Chikajo," etc.

If, then, our city owes the great debt of its name for all time to that curious and peculiar weasel (thanks to the naturalists for that term; it is not so abrupt a word, and is certainly more poetical than skunk), then let us study up his good qualities; for our municipality may yet with great propriety place upon the city seal or coat-of-arms, as its crest, a portrait of his form. In 1654, New Amsterdam, now the City of New York, had a beaver represented on its seal. When our population reaches a million, it might be a sensible idea to drop that *totem* of the baby on our city seal. Perhaps I should here apologize to the Hon. John Wentworth, for I am aware of his tender recollections and fondness still for that same baby. Indeed, I remember hearing him speak its lullaby in the words of the old nursery song, beginning, "Hush, my dear, lie still and slumber." For a live, stirring, mighty city like Chicago, perhaps the quadruped would be more appropriate and preferable to the forever sleeping infant. You can seldom catch a weasel asleep. Should it happen that our wise suggestion may be adopted, it will be only a graceful

act to extend to those who believe in the garlic theory a braided wreath of the leaves of the leek, to surround the aforesaid city seal. Some, perhaps, claiming it to be more imposing, might prefer the *fleur de lis* in place of the leek; inasmuch as this plant also used to be abundant here by the stream, and regarding too the historical fact that it was the insignia of Louis the Grand, King of the French, the monarch who owned the soil here in the days when Marquette came. But the French lilies by the Chicago were at length trampled out by the British Lion; and that feline with the shaggy mane was in turn smothered and brushed away by the banner of stars. The leek was our own; and the skunk, or, rather weasel, was and is specially our own by memorable prescription; and we need scarcely recoil at the imaginary fragrance of a name while we have endured for years the literal perfumes of Bridgeport without a riot. The little animal of which I will speak further, I may say, is not an unworthy representative of Chicago in one respect; its enterprise and active arms extend all over the Continent; he is found from Labrador to Chili. His conquests are those of industrious enterprise. He is called a peaceful animal, and no doubt has very correct sentiments regarding justice; he never begins an attack; but we must believe that he might say to his enemies, "Please forbear, else you may get the worst of it, when pop goes the weasel." He makes little noise or bravado; yet he is a plucky fighter. Among the Sioux Indians, skunk skins are a badge of honor; only the tried braves are allowed to wear them on their heels.

As for the matter of strength, applied to the skunk, I am inclined to think the claim is not a happy one. Ordinarily, I do not think he is stronger than a woodchuck; and in the exceptional cases his strength is but weakness, causing, if not envy, at least dire animosity among all his neighbors. Therefore I will not make a boast of the strength of our peaceful little warrior.

HENRY H. HURLBUT.

CANE PRESENTATION, 1863.

Archibald Clybourn was born in Giles County, Virginia, August 28, 1802, and reached Chicago August 5, 1823. A party of the friends of Mr. C., mostly old settlers, on the fortieth anniversary of his arrival, and in commemoration of that event, were mindful of the day, and paid him their respects at his residence on Wednesday evening, August 5, 1863. Hon. John Wentworth was chosen Chairman, and Henry M. Hugunin, Esq., Secretary. There were speeches

and a supper; fine music was supplied by the Union Band; and the graceful testimonial of a cane was presented to Mr. Clybourn.

Mr. Wentworth, on taking the chair, referred to the early settlement and rapid growth of our City; and, with words highly complimentary to Mr. Clybourn, he added "that he had been called an old settler, and he was one; but, when he came to Chicago, Archibald Clybourn was as well known here as he is now. Last year, the City thought enough of Mr. Clybourn to come out and embrace him—his whole family—homestead and all; he was taken in by the City, and now the citizens had come out to let him take them in."

Mr. John H. Kinzie, being called for, spoke briefly, referring to the past of Chicago, and the gathering of our old citizens at this festival.

A committee was appointed to enroll the names of the old citizens present, and the presentation speech by Mr. Shuman, and the response by Mr. Clybourn, were as follows:

By Mr. Shuman: "Mr. Clybourn, a number of your old friends, desirous of testifying to you their appreciation and admiration of your earnest loyalty and plucky patriotism, as displayed on at least one *striking* occasion since this struggle for our national preservation commenced; and wishing, also, to possess you of a substantial testimonial of their friendship, which, during the many years of their acquaintance and intercourse with you, has ripened into a permanent and precious sentiment, have prepared for you this beautiful cane, which they have delegated me to present to you on this occasion. May it prove a prop to your declining years, as well as be a lasting testimonial from old friends and fellow-citizens who know you well, and who respect and esteem you heartily because they do know you so well. Permit me, sir, both in behalf of those for whom I speak and in my own behalf, to congratulate you upon the many years of life a good Providence has vouchsafed to you, and upon whatever good fortune has attended your forty years' residence here. You have seen Chicago rise and expand, from the nothing it was when you first came here, to be the great metropolis of the West; you have grown with its growth, prospered with its prosperity, rejoiced in its progress. Chicago must be to you like a pet child that has come up to manhood under your watchful eye, and the object of your jealous and honorable pride. May you live to see a continuance of its growth and progress for many years to come. May you live, sir, to celebrate forty more anniversaries here, and so see Chicago the

greatest city on the American continent—an event by no means impossible if the future may be judged by its past history. Accept this, sir, as a testimonial of the honest regard of old and true friends."

On receiving the cane, Mr. Clybourn said:

"MR. SHUMAN AND GENTLEMEN: I accept this cane as a present, and will endeavor to preserve it, and hand it down to my latest posterity. This is the happiest hour of my life. I am happy to see so many old and familiar faces at my own home, and to be so highly and unexpectedly complimented." After briefly referring to the happy days of the past, trying times though they were, he added: "Those who have lived through those days, and are now met together, have a sympathy and fellow-feeling which new-comers cannot understand or appreciate. I will accept this cane, and endeavor never to disgrace it, or incur the displeasure of the donors. I came here from the 'Old Dominion,' which until two years ago had never done a wicked thing. I have always been loyal to the core, and always will be. I cannot express my gratitude to my friends for this token of their remembrance—this magnificent present. I am happy to see every one who has come to see me; and I hope you will all do your best to make yourselves and those around you happy."

The cane, a beautiful specimen of manufacture, was of a dense and heavy species of California wood, with a sold gold head, made by the late Isaac Speer, of Chicago, and inscribed as follows:

"Presented to A. CLYBOURN, 'the oldest inhabitant,' and the true and fearless patriot, by his friends of Chicago, Aug. 5, 1863."

After a short and patriotic speech by Brig.-Gen. John McArthur, the company made a successful charge on the supper-table; and, in the words of Mr. Hugunin, who furnished the report of the proceedings to the *Journal*, "While it does honor to the giver of the feast, all fervently pray that when his half-century in Chicago is ended he may, in a green old age, again gather around him the many and sincere friends of his youth who may then survive to congratulate him."

We will here add, that Mr. Clybourn did not survive to quite reach "his half-century in Chicago," having died at his residence August 23, 1872.

We append a part of the names of those who comprised the gathering, omitting the dates of arrival, as given, as the list from which we copy contains various errors:

Mr. & Mrs. ARCHIBALD CLYBOURN.
" " JOHN H. KINZIE.
" " S. B. COBB.
" " PHILO CARPENTER.
" " WM. OSBORN.
" " JEROME BEECHER.
" " L. P. HILLIARD.
ALEXANDER WOLCOTT.
THOMAS CHURCH.
JOHN WENTWORTH.
J. J. RICHARDS.
CALVIN DEWOLF.
HENRY M. HUGUNIN.
D. C. THATCHER.
S. F. GALE.
ISAAC SPEER.
BENJ'N T. LEE.
R. M. HOUGH.
WM. H. CLARKE.
K. K. JONES.
J. W. STEELE.
JOEL ELLIS.
JOSEPH WILSON.
THOMAS SPEER.
J. H. FISHER.
JAMES LANE.
TIMOTHY WRIGHT.
WM. H. STOW.
JOHN BATES, Jr.
J. M. VAN OSDEL.
THOMAS M. DOWNING.
JOEL H. WICKER.
W. H. MORRIS.
C. P. ALBEE.
LUTHER NICHOLS.
FERNANDO JONES.
LEMUEL BROWN.
J. V. BUXTON.
Mrs. R. A. KINZIE.
" W. H. ADAMS.
" S. G. PITKIN.
" W. ROBINSON.
" MARIA ADAMS.
" EDW. SIMONS.

NARROW ESCAPE.

An early comer tells us of a cholera incident, of 1832, as related to him by a Sergeant in Fort Dearborn, whose name was Carpenter. It was after General Scott's arrival, and the stricken troops were fast dying with the dreadful disease; Serg't C. was on duty one morning, when two soldiers, apparently dead, were ordered to be taken out and thrown into the dead-pit. This grave or pit was a large excavation near Wabash avenue, not far from the river. The stretchers were brought and the bodies taken out to the hole, and one of them thrown in. When they moved toward the other, to put him in, the man turned his head and shoulders, showing plainly that he was alive. The Sergeant said he gave utterance to the sensible remark, "This man is not ready to be buried yet," and ordered him taken back. The fresh air had given him renewed animation, and extended to the supposed dead man a new lease of existence; for it is understood that he recovered.

THE OLD GUN; or, THE "MONS MEG" OF FORT DEARBORN.

The inquiry has been made, and which also appears on page 43 of this volume, relative to the whereabouts of a gun, "a part of the armament of Fort Dearborn thrown into the river at the evacuation of 1812." After not a little search, we have had the pleasure of meeting a gentleman whose knowledge of the matter is probably surpassed by none, and to whom we are mainly indebted for the details of this article. It will be proper, however, to say that, since our informant's first acquaintance with the gun, the mists of long years have intervened, which possibly may have dimmed his recollection regarding various particulars, and some of the names and dates may have been misplaced, and a little out of joint; yet it is our candid and unyielding belief that the greater part, or at least one-half of the story, is reliable, and perfectly true.

It has been supposed that there were two cannon sunk in the stream on the eve of the abandonment, in August, 1812; but we are able to tell of the finality of only one. Whether the other still rests in its bed of mud and ooze, just opposite where the sally-port, or rather the northern gate of the Fort, which looked out upon the natural, ample, and ever-flooded ditch that surrounded two sides of the fortress, where it was tumbled and unceremoniously pitched, or else gently lowered, into the water; or whether it has already been fished up; or whether there was really an "other" gun, is what we do not here propose to demonstrate or decide.

It was somewhere about the middle of the present century, when Hon. James Curtiss (or, if not he, some one else,) was Mayor of this even then city of lofty aspirations, that a dredge was busily at work scooping up the sand and clay, or whatever might obstruct navigation inside the harbor. Something too unwieldy for the mud-shovel, capacious as it was, to dip up and toss upon the scow, whether it was block, column, bowlder, or anything else that you might have been pleased

to suppose it, the dredge encountered. Yet the voluminous spoon scraped around it, and moreover caught on one end and half raised the thing upright in its pit. A pike was brought into requisition, and by that it was allowed that they had found something huge, hard, and heavy; then a chain was lowered, and by hook and coil, or noose, the lasso caught around it. The steam apparatus now began puffing away, and up, up rose the cable, and, dripping with dirt from the water, came also the object referred to, at the lower end of the chain. Avast heaving there that windlass! what have we now? Can it be that we have raised from the depths one of the antideluvians, a fossil sea-dog, perhaps, or a monstrous lizard or salamander? From its head it tapers gradually tailward, while two stumps of arms or flippers are plainly to be seen. Or, possibly, it is one of the famed dolphins, with its brilliancy still intact; for we perceive through the covering of mud a golden patch, glittering in the sunshine. Here on the dredge, though, we must remember that we are in classic waters; just ashore there was the *old* Fort Dearborn; its site was within the lines of the present enclosure; it was once the citadel as well as forum of this more-to-be-than-imperial Rome. Our thoughts turn back to the time of the older Whistler, the builder of the fortress, who was once a British soldier, captured with Burgoyne at Saratoga. Subsequently, in the U. S Army, he was wounded in St. Clair's conflict and defeat in November, '91. Yet afterward, no doubt, within the stockade of Fort Dearborn, he cordially received *Mechecunnaqua* the renowned Little Turtle, who had been the leader of the enemy in the disastrous field above named. Little Turtle was frequently at Chicago; after the Treaty at Greenville, he was ever the fast friend of our Government and the American people. There were other famed commandants and noted chiefs who met on that arena, yet we cannot here attempt an imperfect catalogue even, of the celebrities of our storied fortress; but may say that there have been giants here in past days.

Inanimate objects often acquire, from their human associa-

tions, distinguished and greatest value. Comprehending the situation, therefore, and the nature of the particular prize just fished up, we are forced to assert, that never before nor since in Chicago has there hung, suspended from a crane derrick, so remarkable a memento, so much embodied yet unwritten history. So lower away there! This was done, and the *find* was laid upon the deck, and washed without and within, showing a bright and beautiful piece of brass ordnance, understood to be a six-pounder, and bearing upon its face, our informant assures us, an etched representation of the British Crown. The news of the recovery of the gun soon reached the ears of the city authorities; and we beg to remark, that there is just here a most excellent opportunity to recite a homily, and that such an effort would be appropriate and expedient if the discouraging fact did not stare us in the face, that of the great mass of homilies delivered, but a small fraction of them are ever heeded or followed. Yet on the present occasion there were principles, good sense, and good manners involved, the same as in those of some greater events in the history of nations, of which we have some knowledge. There is often no occasion to distinguish between royalty or republicanism, between monarchical and aristocratical illiberality, or the tyranny of democratic and official despotism, whether attending the nations, states, or municipalities. These remarks are occasioned by the assurance which we have, that no thanks by the city government or any other government were given to those who lifted the cannon up from the river bed into daylight; no compliments were made through the press; no polite note written at the instance of the city or national authorities concerning the transfer of the piece; no public reception was suggested where every citizen should be invited, when the mounted gun, revered by the patriot, caressed by the children, arrayed with flowers and garlanded with speeches, might respond to the crowd in its own emphatic language.

It may be reasonably supposed, that the War Department or General Government had the best legal title to the cannon;

it was said that the City ordered that dredge work, which very likely it did, and possibly considered that its claim surpassed all others. At any rate, the City Marshal, Ambrose Burnam, suddenly appeared upon the dredge and took possession of the piece, and had it landed on the North Side; but, like any common plunder, he dumped it into the tool-house, a small, low, wooden building just below Scranton's rope-ferry, where Rush Street bridge is now.

It is not strange, that the individual most active in the resurrection of the piece was somewhat annoyed at the course matters had taken; and the sentiment did not slumber, but rankled in the heart that felt itself wronged. Whether or no partisanship or political animosities helped to bind the sheaf of conspirators from the outset, we will not say; though the political complexion of most of the band, subsequently, might seem to warrant that inference. Morgan L. Shapley, it is understood, was connected with the dredge, and was the one especially aggrieved, and was the one foremost in planning the scheme of attack and reprisal. He had no difficulty in presenting reasons sufficient to secure the sympathy and aid of a few enterprising and kindred spirits. Of these were Captain Fred. Wheeler, of one of the lake steamers, and David C. Thatcher, of Chicago, besides several others. We may say, that it was but an act of ordinary politeness to knock at the door of that shanty for admittance; but, as no answering word of welcome came, the door mysteriously swung upon its hinges, and the relief squad filed in. It was not a large yawl that Captain Wheeler furnished for the expedition that evening; and we will here refer to the fact, that before the cargo was quite in position on board, and the crew in place, the weighty cylinder slid or shifted upon a block beneath, and came near swamping or upsetting the craft and all on board, seriously jeopardizing life, limb, and the pleasant progress of the adventure. Yet an equilibrium was mastered at length; and, with oars in row-locks, and her prow turned westward, we will say that gently and steadily the boat moved up the stream. We have the best of evidence that

the evening was bright and calm; and it is not surprising, with mind pervaded by the fact that they had luckily escaped a damp and unpleasant, if not a more serious, accident, and with the peaceful and lovely surroundings of that beautiful night, that one of the party should begin the recital of the fine lines of Charles Wolf, namely: "The Burial of Sir John Moore," commencing,—

> "Not a drum was heard, not a funeral note,
> As his corse to the ramparts we hurried."

The rehearsal of the full eight stanzas was scarcely finished when they had arrived at Lake street, where, near the corner of Market (as many will remember), stood the old red warehouse, at that time occupied by Captain R. C. Bristol.* There, under the rather open wharf, the gun was settled down beneath the surface of the water.

Many, no doubt, will remember a peculiar-looking class of water craft which, more than thirty years ago, navigated our river. There were dozens of them, and generally manned by rough-looking, half-grown youngsters. Always guiltless of paint, they bore invariably a genuine mud tint, or rat color, indeed they were called "wharf rats;" and such was their construction, hollowed out of a small log in the form of a pirogue, (never more than ten feet long by fifteen inches in breadth), they could run their heads into almost any place which might receive their prototypes, the rodents. Numerous half-built and incompletely piled wharves gave them caves for shelter, and to hide their plunder. Whatever their masters may have claimed to follow as their occupation, it was generally understood to be that of freebooters and pirates, whose hands were given to the weakness of appropriating other folks' goods. Anything lying around loose, that was portable, had wonderful attraction for them: and the boats referred to, though crank as cockle-shells, yet, in their capacity for freight, it was wonderful how much they would carry.

* Robert C. Bristol, in 1834, in the Brig John Kinzie, of which vessel he was master (built the year previous under his direction), took from Grand River, Mich., the first cargo of wheat from Lake Michigan. The amount was about 2000 bushels.

Well, though covered when left there the evening before, the water had now fallen away, by a change in the wind perhaps, and left the gun uncovered, or at least partly exposed; and the pirates of the pirogues had discovered it, and what they judged would be a rare prize. A very good joke is told of Alexander the Great, that he shed tears, indeed that he audibly *boo-hoo-ed*, when, in one of his unusual or sober moments, he was given to understand that there were no more worlds to conquer. Rather covetous that, it seems to us, in Alexander; yet there is no limit to human or inhuman desire or ambition to acquire and accumulate; and it was an incident not devoid of the humorous, that those juvenile thugs spoken of were intending to carry off the cannon, maugre its heftiness, at an early opportunity, in one of their diminutive pirogues. Members of the "club" were on the alert, however, and claimed, or rather took, precedence, and secured the services of a dray, or stone-wagon, and at evening removed the piece to the hardware store of Jonas Clark (or, if it was not Clark, then possibly it was some other Jonas). This store was at or near the old Sauganash corner, where, sought to be hidden under a pile of axehelves, shovels, and tin-ware, it was temporarily deposited. It seemed, however, to Clark (or Jonas), and particularly to any of the league who might have ostensibly called in to buy a jack-knife or a cork-screw, that there was a strange and special desire among the customers generally to purchase or examine goods in that particular pile over the gun more than anywhere else about the store. So it was solemnly decided by the aforesaid league, in a whispered wayside conference, to remove the gun from this public place at least; and we are reminded, at this particular point of the gun's history, of the line,—

"Uneasy lies the head that wears a crown."

James D. Merritt owned some lots on the west side of the river not far from the cor. of Canal and west Adams Streets; and thence it was decided to take the cannon and bury it. This was done on the first favorable evening, a pit being dug; and there, some three feet below the surface, it was left and

covered, though without tablet or memorial stone to mark the spot where it was planted. For the movement just described, there seemed several cogent reasons, the principal one being that no city government, "nor any other man," should recapture the gun. The authorities, as may be supposed, were not remiss in efforts to learn its whereabouts and who the culprits were; yet it seemed that not a soul knew anything about it, and of course no one had aught to communicate. Still, the burthen of the matter was ill at rest; and, we may say, it bore down with leaden weight sometimes on the nervous organs of various members of the lodge or clique. But mutual sympathy acted the part of the good Samaritan, and poured oil into all imaginary gun wounds. It is proper to add that our club took into its companionship various others, who were gentlemen of similar tastes, frequently benevolent and kind to others' faults; but still it is believed their fun-loving proclivities were a marked trait, even to the immolation of their victims sometimes.* If it

* Endeavoring to illustrate a point or statement in the text, we will say that George Wandall kept a fruit stand on Randolph street, between Franklin and Market streets; but, like some others, he possessed an enterprising turn of mind, and it probably occurred to him that an institution something after the plan of the Zoological Garden at Regent's Park, London, was a desideratum in this city of the lakes, and not only would it be a public beneficence, but a paying affair for his own cash box. With this idea, George abandoned fruit and struck out for fur; that is, he made determined efforts to collect various specimens of wild animals, and for that purpose we believe he visited St. Louis, at any rate he returned here, after a month or so, with a consignment of wonders, the like whereof, George flattered himself, had rarely been seen in Chicago. There was a vacant lot on the S.-E. corner of Randolph and State streets, where the new Music Hall is (1879) being erected, and it was there where Wandall built his show-house. The structure was rather an indifferent one, its form octagonal perhaps, merely a rough board fence carried up six or eight feet, and above that a circular canvas, terminating at an apex or top of the pole in the centre of the arena. Here, we may say, was gathered the first resident menagerie of Chicago. The collection we are able to name only in part; but there was a wolf, and a bear, a deer, and a raccoon, a few squirrels, and a pair of guinea-pigs, a horned frog, and a horned owl, a few white mice, a small monkey, and a big anthered elk. It was something of an achievement for Chicago to have its own abiding collection in natural history, and the enterprise seemed to deserve support; so thought a knot of "the boys," a dozen or so, who were together that first evening the show was to be opened; among them, probably, were *Miner*, *Graves*, *Russell*, *Kennedy*, and *Rew*.

may be suggested that further names of those connected with the "club," if given, would make the reader any happier, we will say that we have a list of such persons, but cannot say that all of them were received into full membership. Among those names we observe Wilson, Smith, Harris, McIlroy, Edwards, Ballingal, Tracy, Meeker, Forest, Miner, Beers, Rew, Dean,* Russell, Graves. We may add that there

Thereupon the squad marched over to the menagerie, with amiable feelings toward all the animals; and it is to be supposed, perhaps, that they had ready a "how d'ye do" for the wolf, a shake of the paw for the bear, some nuts for the squirrels, a little cake for the monkey, and a few words of encouragement for the towering elk, hoping he might grow to be a giraffe. But the boys had a set-back when they came to the gateway. The payment of entrance money was not a part of their programme; they came to patronize, not to pay. Remonstrance was of no avail; with "the boys" it was *out* or *in*, and they decided it was *in*, and in they went. But they turned over the hurdy-gurdy, cuffed the ears of the owl, threw snuff in the wolf's nostrils, upset the squirrel cage, kicked the bear in the rear, twisted the monkey's tail, and dashed a bucket of water on the coon. Then one of the party (Doc. Norman Rew) mounted the elk's back, which animal they forthwith led into the street, and down State to Lake street. If there had been forty howling dervishes, or that number of yelling Comanche Indians in the procession, the noise would not have been greater. It will be sufficient to inform the reader that Rew rode the elk about until he at last brought up at the Washington Coffee-House, or some other coffee-house (which was anything else rather than a *coffee-house*), located in the second story of a building in the neighborhood, for the elk went up-stairs, whether voluntarily or otherwise, we may say, horns and all. Our informant gave us to understand that Wandall did not lose anything after all on this opening night; when the spree was over, a purse was made up for the pioneer menagerie man.

* Philip Dean was a street commissioner. To his name attaches the fame of a most decisive and happy expedient. We may here remark, that the *dog nuisance* in those days was a rather perplexing question to the city authorities. It was not without frequent disturbance when the properly commissioned agents, the police, aimed at their duty by rapping the *bow-wows* on the head with their *billy-thumpers*. The tie which bound the master to his canine friend would not, sometimes, be lightly severed; and hence quarrels and fights ensued. Then in place of the bludgeon came the revolver; but that mode of extermination, if less frightful to the dogs, was not so to the masters, and upon the whole was more unsatisfactory. It was Dean, however, that now suggested a mode of exit that seemed apparently causeless, noiseless, effectual, and speedy. Small but powerful doses, disguised in a pleasant and pretentious fraud of appearance, were placed here and there upon the highway; and it was quite as much a mistake with the dogs, when they seized and swallowed those inviting little parcels, as it often is with many of the human family, who partake of what is seemingly attractive, to their great and lasting detriment.

were prominent men, brilliant men, keen and skilful men; there were men of means,—enterprising and public-spirited, as well as some of a varied fabric,—men of great exuberance of good feelings, but yet of slight, or indeed, either present or prospective, of no pecuniary estate. We might reasonably, perhaps, add to these names those of the proprietors of the most prominent drinking places in town, such as the "*European Coffee-House*," "*Exchange*," "*Lafayette*," "*Washington*," etc., all coffee-houses. Those last-named gentlemen, perhaps we might say, were the honorary members of the club. If it is objected to by some that we are giving undue prominence to the drinking halls, we answer that those institutions bore an important part (though a melancholy one) in the history of the Town. They were the pioneers, the vanguard of the hydra-headed, the many thousands, indeed, of whiskey temples which since then have here reared their crests. In writing about the gun, there appeared relationships, and ties, and identities, which we deemed it proper to allude to, which cords held men together, of yet very different positions in society. We do not speak merely of those who took the cannon from the tool-house, but of various others, whether linked together by that particular secret of the gun, or by political affinity, or by the still broader bond of fun, conviviality, and drink.*

* In this connection we will speak of two individuals who might not improperly be classed with those "infinite wit and humor" gentlemen that we read of; and it is understood that they were so immensely entertaining, so takingly and desperately comic, that this pair of practical jokers were kept and furnished, supplied and provided for, by a ring of Chicago fun-lovers. The names of the pair were Timothy Wait and Jack Cox. The first-named was a bar-tender, and the other was a tailor; but the demands upon their time outside of their ordinary calling were so numerous, that they left their occupations and devoted their whole time (as though such employment was the main purpose in the life of a human being) to witticisms and jokes, to playing rigs and sells, and enjoying the boisterous approval of their audience, and the gratuitous stimulant of drink which invariably followed. We will here cite a little incident to show the drift of humor in which that pair traveled. Tim Wait was blessed (or cursed, which?) with the natural gift or ability of turning up and inside out the upper lids of his eyes, presenting a most comical and rather frightful appearance; not only that, but he could displace, or throw out of joint, his jawbone, and in such condition could,

It was perhaps three full years or more since the gun had been left on the West Side; and the question was frequently brought up, *what should they do with it?* Many suggestions were made; one of these was, that on the following 4th of July there should be a rousing celebration; that the gun should be brought out and presented to the people. Lisle Smith, the matchless orator, was to be applied to to address them on the occasion; indeed, we believe Smith was consulted on the subject, and to which he agreed. Yet, other counsels prevailed. What fear of *coup de main* from unknown quarter, what terror of possible ridicule to come, what bitter, lingering insult there may have been to avenge, or what other cause influenced each individual decision, cannot now be learned. It is enough to know that they concluded to sell the piece to be broken up; for that purpose, Charley Beers

it is said, play a tune to perfection on those *jaw*-vial castinets. Dr. Daniel Brainard, the distinguished surgeon of this City, had just returned from his first visit to Paris, where he had been to improve himself in the line of his profession. Not as many Chicagoans at that day visited Europe as now, and Brainard certainly was talked of as a notable individual. Wait was also a personage of some prominence; that might be inferred from the fact that a second-story drinking-room, with which Wait was or had been connected, presented a sign marked "*Tim Wait is up stairs;*" the information so conveyed was considered an important and thoughtful decoy. Seeing Brainard coming on the street one day soon after his return, Wait muttered to his associates the suggestion and determination to appeal to him at once (a fraud of course) for relief to his eyes. Followed by several of his admirers, Wait immediately started off to meet the Doctor, at the same time turning up his eyelids, and in the pitiable appearance peculiar to himself, with eyes blear and bloodshot, he stopt directly in fronf of him, which of necessity occasioned a halt, and in the supposed newly acquired pronunciation of the Doctor's name, he said: "Doctor Bre*nard*, bless yer soul, I'm glad yer back. Oh, me ailin' sick wife and seven childer cryin' for brid; an' Doctor, can yer do suthin' for me poor lids?" Brainard at once attempted a slight or superficial examination, and proceeded to manipulate and turn down one of the lids to its proper place, and then the other also; but, queerly enough, when he had turned down the second, up again went the other. This was repeated several times, but before the Doctor had expressed any opinion as to the case, the laughter of Wait's companions who had gathered around could no longer be suppressed; and as Tim beat off the beautiful old air known as "The Devil's Dream," in the music of his jawbone, the Doctor walked statelily away, thinking no doubt that he had returned to encounter those, occasionally, who were scarcely provided with French forbearance or Parisian good manners.

was authorized to ascertain what he could get for it. Beers applied not only to Nugent & Owens, but to Fred. Letz, a worker also in brass, etc.; but, as the ready cash funds of the latter did not enable him to swing it, the offer of N. & O. was accepted. Then a select number of the club had to be notified, a negro drayman (for certain legal and prudential reasons) was to be employed, all to meet on the first dark night, with suitable tools for excavation, near Adams street, a little west of the river; which plan was so far carried out. But those whose presence at the interment should have enabled them to point out the spot, seemed incompetent to do so; the grass and weeds had hidden it entirely. One spoke of having lately seen, at the "European" saloon, a quantity of unfinished or unused *pigeon-hole billiard*-cues of uncommon length. The rods were sent for, and each having received one they commenced prospecting, and after a long search they touched the metal, though we are assured that it had settled full two feet lower than where originally placed. Then the shovels and the ropes and considerable work brought it up and loaded it on the cart, where, covered with a quantity of burlaps, it began its final march across Randolph Street bridge, and thence to the brass foundery of N. & O., which was a brick building on the S.-E. corner of Washington and Market Streets. Charley Beers was awaiting its arrival on Market street to look after its reception, and with hushed steps the party moved off, but not one of the escort presumed to whistle "Over the river to Charley." The proceeds of the sale, for which Messrs. N. & O. gave their check on R. K. Swift, Banker, was a mere trifle, being in amount only between 35 and 40 dollars. It will be needless to say that the purchasers were not losers in the operation, inasmuch as the material was really worth many times what they paid. The gun was of superior metal; and it is understood that the bulk of it helped to form the structure of more than one church bell of the City; and in such shape, a dim, unrecognizable representative of the past, now in spirit tones did it hint, not so much of the past as to a coming future.

We are told that a meeting of the club was had for the purpose of dividing and distributing to the members the "thirty pieces of silver," more or less, received from the sale of the cannon. That proposition, however, failed, and it was at length agreed to have a gathering at the saloon under the Sherman House, and then and there settle and wipe out every vestige of a balance remaining in the hands of the treasurer. "That 'gathering' was had," said our informant; "and if the occasion could not have been properly denominated a '*blow-out*,' there were, in those days, scarcely any that could." Now here we may as well as anywhere say for ourself, looking to the result and culmination of the matter, in the destruction of a truly venerable relic, we must esteem the affair as (where human life was not involved) the most unfortunate and profitless piece of deviltry ever perpetrated within our borders.

Probably to the average loiterer and humorist there might have seemed something extremely ludicrous in that filibustering expedition, extending through several years, starting out with a corps of six or seven full-grown, athletic men, who tugged repeatedly with might and main at a dead weight of near half a ton, removing and hiding it again and again. However reliable masons they proved themselves in keeping a secret that year or two, and still on for more than a generation, they sometimes, and occasionally (until convinced that no open-mouthed and brazen-faced witness might appear against them), were followed by that "Will-o'-the-wisp" trepidation and nervousness, the same as *dogs the steps* of an escaped convict, or perhaps somewhat identical with the feelings of a burglar, who thinks it more difficult to hide than to steal. They felt, perhaps, impressed with the idea of—

"Cannon to the right of them,
"Cannon to the left of them,
"Cannon in front of them."

That abiding consciousness of mischief would not be *laid* any more than the gun, though *it* tarried several feet under ground, over there in the west division for two years or more.

And what a chase for that hidden deposit on the prairie; no seekers, with rod of witch-hazel or of steel, hunting for old Kidd's sunken chests of coin along the shores of the Sound, were ever more in doubt, whether or no they should touch the *chink*, than were our *stake-drivers* on that ebon night, punching and probing the mud up there by the South Branch. But the acme of the sublime as well as the ludicrous was when the cannon was carted down to the foundry, — that charnel-house of effaced identities, the place of chisel, sledge-hammer, and heated crucible,—on that chosen night, as dark as Erebus; the reins being held by an alien, a child of darkness, selected because unrecognized as a citizen, and whose oath, though his word was reliable, the laws of Illinois would not allow to convict a white man. What a solemn procession it was, following that dray through the blackness of that midnight hour, each still armed with his baton or ashen treasure-wand, and each ready to utter,—

"Take thy beak from out my heart, and take thy form from off my door."

Another phase attending the movements of the league or club, which we have already hinted at, was that of their convivial and bacchanalian proclivities. That the gentlemen comprising the club were of a generous nature, liberal and whole souled, cannot be questioned; but it has been sometimes suggested, that such natures are the least inclined to observe the restraints which repel the approaches of the siren strong drink. Be that as it may, Chicago then as now presented as ready facilities for a *dram*, or a *moderate carouse*, or a *decided drunk*, or, indeed, for a rapid and sure *down-grade track to ruin*, as any other town of its size. We were once told by a lawyer, an old-time resident of Chicago, that all the early lawyers here were *drinking men*; "and," said he, "I was one of them." While we know that this charge was too broad a one, for we are aware at least of some marked exceptions, yet the habit was sufficiently general with those professional worthies (not that it was peculiar to them only) as to give occasion to the

saying. As with some others, so with the club; suspicion was bearded and courage invoked in drinks; when friends met, they took a drink; if there was any important news, they must drink; if a neighbor was showing up the town to a stranger, his introduction was marked by the drinks; if a sale of real estate was made, then came the drinks; if success of any kind met a friend, why of course then followed the drinks; again, if misfortune touched him, there was sympathy and drinks. Political tastes were supposed to be confirmed and allies won by drinks. The political complexion of "the club," we may say, was, for a time at least, *whig* to a man; there were whig speeches, whig songs, whig toasts, "whig lies," also, the Democrats used to say, and whig whiskey. We will add that they were industrious workers in the whig cause, and that a fundamental pillar upon which rested their political creed was (then, *not to-day*,) a most lively and cordial hatred of John Wentworth. Sundry individuals not initiated or taken within the inner veil of the mysteries regarding the various and latter places of deposit of the *old arm*—yet to all appearance they were members of the ring, for they never missed roll-call, or rather intuitively happened around, whenever the drinks might be expected.

Abraham Lincoln, we will say, was frequently in Chicago on professional business in those days. He was then scarcely counted more than a second or third rate lawyer; but he was noted as a story-teller, and often on pleasant evenings he chose to sit out upon the sidewalk in front of the old wooden Tremont (sometimes he sojourned at the American Temperance House, but generally at the Tremont), where, surrounded by a knot of listeners, he dispensed numerous and amusing yarns, of which he seemed to possess an inexhaustible supply. He was seldom heard to tell the same story twice. But we are led to say, possibly it may have been one of the important underlying rock-strata which bore up the manliness of character and the greatness of Mr. Lincoln, that he never joined in that social error of tippling so common in Chicago as well as elsewhere.

It is time this extended article came to an end; we would much rather have placed on this page a drawn portrait of the living gun than to have written of its departure,—its extinction. It may be that we are singular in our ideas, and are, perhaps, rather a desperate and headlong rider of our hobby "*antiquities;*" but our native stock or catalogue of antiques is, we think, rather a limited one. Certainly we have little of the unchanged, the peculiar, and recognizable antiquities of early Chicago. What there are left, excepting the fleeting lives of a few remaining pioneers, are mostly but memories and pictures and shadows. We have, it is true, old Lake Michigan; but our river is not what it was; its debouchure is changed, its banks are clipped and cribbed, and its waters, though once drinkable, are not so to-day. And Fort Dearborn is no more. The Indian tribes, too, have departed; and none are with us, unless we except those stark and grinning plaster synonyms or abominations in the guise of a plea for a vile narcotic; our native groves are all gone; neither dwelling, workshop, storehouse, or temple built with hands, bearing earlier date than 1833, exists; not one of those memorable sloughs of the South Division remain; not even a fence-rail is now, as formerly, sometimes seen placed upright in the mire of Lake street, bearing a strip of board with the topographical suggestion "*No Bottom.*" Indeed, we claim to have hidden, under a depth of some six feet of earth, the whole original prairie and City surface.

Before we close, we take the opportunity to say that it was not true, as sometimes asserted, that this was the gun which was fired on the Court House Square, on the receipt of the news of the victory of Buena Vista, in the latter part of February, 1847, and seriously maimed the late Richard L. Wilson. It was also a mistake of an "old settler," referring to this cannon in the *Tribune*, August, 1877, when he said, "After being used firing salutes for awhile, it was probably carried off by some vessel." The evidence seems unquestionable that the gun fired no salutes after the month of August, 1812.

We do not propose to write the epitaph of the old field-piece, yet will conclude by saying that often, in after time, as the Sabbath-bells were ringing for church, when any members of the club happened to meet, it was quite usual for one or the other to exclaim: "Do you hear it? that is the voice of *our gun*."

P. O. EQUIPMENTS IN 1832.

It was on one of those primitive days in the fall of the year 1832, as we were told by an early settler, that he (our informant) was somewhat impressed by the peculiar customs of the Chicago Post-office, which was then located in a log building at the angle of Lake and South Water streets, and where John S. C. Hogan was then a merchant, as well as postmaster. The manner of keeping the letters and papers for delivery to their proper owners might have been characterized, perhaps, as a little loose, the whole stock (a mere handful, it is true,) being chucked into a corner upon a shelf. Our informant rallied the worthy office-holder upon the point of order, assuring him that he was sadly behind the times, saying, furthermore, that in the country from which he came, the postmasters usually provided boxes, sometimes called *pigeon-holes*, wherein might be placed the mail matter belonging to various individuals or firms, and having others alphabetically arranged, etc. This onslaught speedily produced a revolution; and, though there was not, perhaps, within the boundaries of Cook County, a professional cabinet-maker,—certainly not one at hand,—yet, the ingenuity of that government official improvised a substitute. We refer to the forcible conscription into the public service, and the utilizing, all the old boots readily to be found in the settlement. From those venerable mud-mixers, a part of the legs were taken off; and, nailing up the lower part at the back to a log (a portion of the main wall of the building), the improved institution was moving onward upon the tide of successful achievement when our informant again called for his mail.

SOCIAL PROFANITY; JUDICIAL PROPRIETY.

An early settler of Chicago, tells us about His Honor T. W. S., a former resident here, and one of the shining lights of the Illinois Bench some years ago. We are assured that the Judge was "rather a jovial sort of man, quite a political manager, and withal, to the unprofessional and common-sense crowd at least, a good judge." But eminent position, as we often see, is not exempt from human frailty; and so we are told that Judge S. had at least one besetting sin and folly. In his ordinary intercourse with men, his language too often savored of the sort known as the *very profane.* Upon the bench, however, he was a different individual. It is remembered that on one occasion at Chicago, a suit was being tried before him, between parties from the interior, concerning the ownership of some cattle. One witness described the different cattle, telling their various colors, etc.; then came on the stand another witness, whom our informant characterized as "a tall, lank, and lantern-jawed Hoosier, indeed the worst-looking Hoosier that I ever saw;" and the Judge, after some questions by one of the counsel, began asking the witness in relation to the color of the cattle, as given in the evidence of the previous witness. "*Wal,*" said the Hoosier, "*them cattle was so d—d poor, I reckon I could n't tell what color they was.*" "Clerk," said the Judge directly but dignifiedly, "enter a fine of ten dollars to this witness for profane swearing; and you, Mr. Sheriff, will commit him to jail till the fine shall be paid." The witness, however, passed over an X bearing the signature of N. Biddle, Pres., for it was in the old days of the U. S. Bank.

As already intimated above, Judge S. was a politician; and it will, perhaps, illustrate one of the ways of that enterprising class of citizens, to quote another incident of Chicago of long ago. An early Chicago resident, the late Archibald Clybourn, related that he once met Judge S. at Ike Cook's saloon, on an evening, together with quite a crowd, composed

mostly of that genial class of democrats known as Irishmen, and who were evidently great admirers of the Judge, and were eager listeners to all that fell from his lips. After a while Clybourn said to S.: "Come, Judge, it's time that you and I were at home." "Home!" replied the Judge, straightening himself up to his full height, "I have just ordered supper for my friends here;" and then, in a whisper close to Clybourn's ear, he added, "I shall have use for these cattle in November."

NOTICES OF CHICAGO AND ITS VICINITY.

BY EARLY TRAVELERS, ETC.

In the present chapter, we give various extracts relating to this locality, written by missionaries, sojourners, travelers, historians, etc., and reaching from the time when Joliet and Marquette passed through here in 1673, down to the year 1835, when the Indians danced here their last great dance, before their departure toward the setting sun.

Louis Joliet and James Marquette, on their return from the Mississippi, as we have elsewhere said, "came by way of the Illinois, the Desplaines, and Chicago. As far as satisfactorily proven, they were the first white men who placed foot upon the soil, or voyaged upon the stream, at Chicago. I am aware that Charlevoix tells that Nicholas Perot was here several years before them, but Dr. Shea, the editor of a late edition of Charlevoix, claims that the source of Charlevoix's information does not warrant the statement. I am inclined to think, however, that it would appear, could we arrive at the truth of the case, that more than one white man had been at Chicago before either Joliet, Marquette, or Perot, even if the latter may have been here in 1671. We are assured that Jean Nicolet, a Frenchman, an envoy from Canada, was at Green Bay in the year 1639, where he held a treaty with several thousand Indians. This council was held purposely to form a reciprocal and friendly acquaintance with the natives whose country bordered on the great upper lakes. It was designed to extend the dominion of the French King, Louis XIII., and specially and directly to aid and further the traffic of Canadian merchants, who wished to furnish their red brothers of the wilderness, in exchange for furs, the conveniences and luxuries, as well as the gauds and taints, of civilization. Nicolet, on this visit, crossed the portage to the Wisconsin, but we are

not advised that any of his party went further south. Yet I am loth to believe that thirty years passed away, after Nicolet's introduction at Green Bay, before any Canadian trader coasted along the Illinois shore of Lake Michigan, or, following a then old-time route, went up the Chicago River and down the Desplaines to the interior. Those early traders followed the thoroughfares to the Indian villages; but, ever greedy for furs which might bring lucrative prices and early gains, they preserved no note of their business tours; at least no record was left behind, that I am aware of, which has been kept to answer the inquiries of the present day."

Joliet* and Marquette, after leaving the Chicago in the fall of 1673, continued north, Joliet on his way to Quebec, and Marquette to go to the mission of St. Francis Xavier, near Green Bay, where he remained till the autumn of the following year. Joliet, it is known, lost all his papers, relating to his recent voyage, in passing the rapids above Montreal; yet, from a communication (*Historical Magazine*, vol. 5, p. 237,) purporting to be from Father Dablon,† Superior-General of the Missions of the Society of Jesus, and bearing date

* Louis Joliet, the son of a wheelwright, according to Mr. Shea, was born in Quebec, in 1745. He was educated at the Jesuit College of Quebec, but afterward engaged in the fur trade in the West, and was selected by the Government to lead the expedition in 1673, for the exploration of the Mississippi. We know the result of that journey; while the fatefulness of an accident has left a cloud which envelopes the deserved fame of Louis Joliet, the lovely character of Pere Marquette, his story of their tour to the Mississippi, his struggles and death, has also led us to forget that Joliet was *first* entitled to the laurel wreath for that *exploration and discovery*. The reward bestowed by the French sovereign upon Joliet for that distinguished service was rather a barren one, being the Island of *Anticosti*, in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. The gift proved an unlucky one; his island, in 1691, was captured, and himself and family made prisoners, by a British fleet under Sir Wm. Phipps, suffering the entire loss of his estate. Shea says: "He died apparently in the last year of the seventeenth century."

† Father Claudius Dablon, Mr. Shea informs us, came to Canada in 1655, and was sent directly to Onondaga, where he continued a few years; afterward made an attempt to reach Hudson's Bay by the Saguenay, but was stopped by Iroquois war-parties. "In 1668, he followed Father Marquette to Lake Superior, became superior of the Ottawa mission, founded Sault Ste. Marie, visited Green Bay, and reached the Wisconsin with Allouez; then returned to Quebec to assume his post as superior of all the Canada missions. This office he held, with intervals, for many years, certainly till 1693; and he was still alive, but not, apparently, superior in the following year. * * * The period of his death is unknown."

August 1, 1674, giving the verbal information received from Sieur Joliet, we extract as follows:

"The fourth remark concerns a very important advantage, and which some will, perhaps, find it hard to credit; it is, that we can quite easily go to Florida in boats, and by a very good navigation. There would be but one canal to make, by cutting only one-half a league of prairie, to pass from the Lake of the Illinois* into St. Louis River.† The route to be taken is this: the bark should be built on Lake Erie, which is near Lake Ontario; it would pass easily from Lake Erie to Lake Huron, from which it would enter the Lake of the Illinois. At the extremity of this lake would be the cut or canal of which I have spoken, to have a passage to St. Louis River, which empties into the Mississippi. The bark, having entered this river, would easily sail to the Gulf of Mexico. Fort Catarokoui, which the Count de Frontenac has erected on Lake Ontario, would greatly favor this enterprise, because it would facilitate the communication from Quebec to Lake Erie, from which this fort is not very far distant; and but for a waterfall, which separates Lake Erie from Lake Ontario, a bark built at Catarokoui could go to Florida by the routes of which I have spoken. The fifth remark regards the great advantages there would be in founding new colonies in such beautiful countries and such fertile soil. Hear what Sieur Joliet says: 'When they first spoke to us of these lands without trees, I figured to myself a burned-up country, where the soil was so wretched that it would produce nothing. But we have seen the reverse, and no better can be found either for wheat, or the vines, or any fruit whatever. The river to which we have given the name of St. Louis, and which has its source not far from the extremity of the Lake of the Illinois, seemed to me to offer on its banks very fine lands well suited to receive settlements. The place, by which after leaving the river you enter the lake, is a very convenient bay to hold vessels and protect them from the wind.'"

Extract from a letter written by Count De Frontenac to M. Colbert; dated Quebec, Nov. 14, 1674:

"Sieur Joliet, whom M. Talon advised me on my arrival from France to detach for the discovery of the South Sea, has returned three months ago, and discovered some new countries, and a navigation so easy through the beautiful rivers he has found, that a person can go from Lake Ontario and Fort Frontenac, in a bark canoe, to the Gulf of Mexico, there being only one carrying place, half a league in length,—where Lake Ontario communicates with Lake Erie. He has been within ten days of the Gulf of Mexico, and believes that water communication could be found leading to the

* Michigan. † Desplaines.

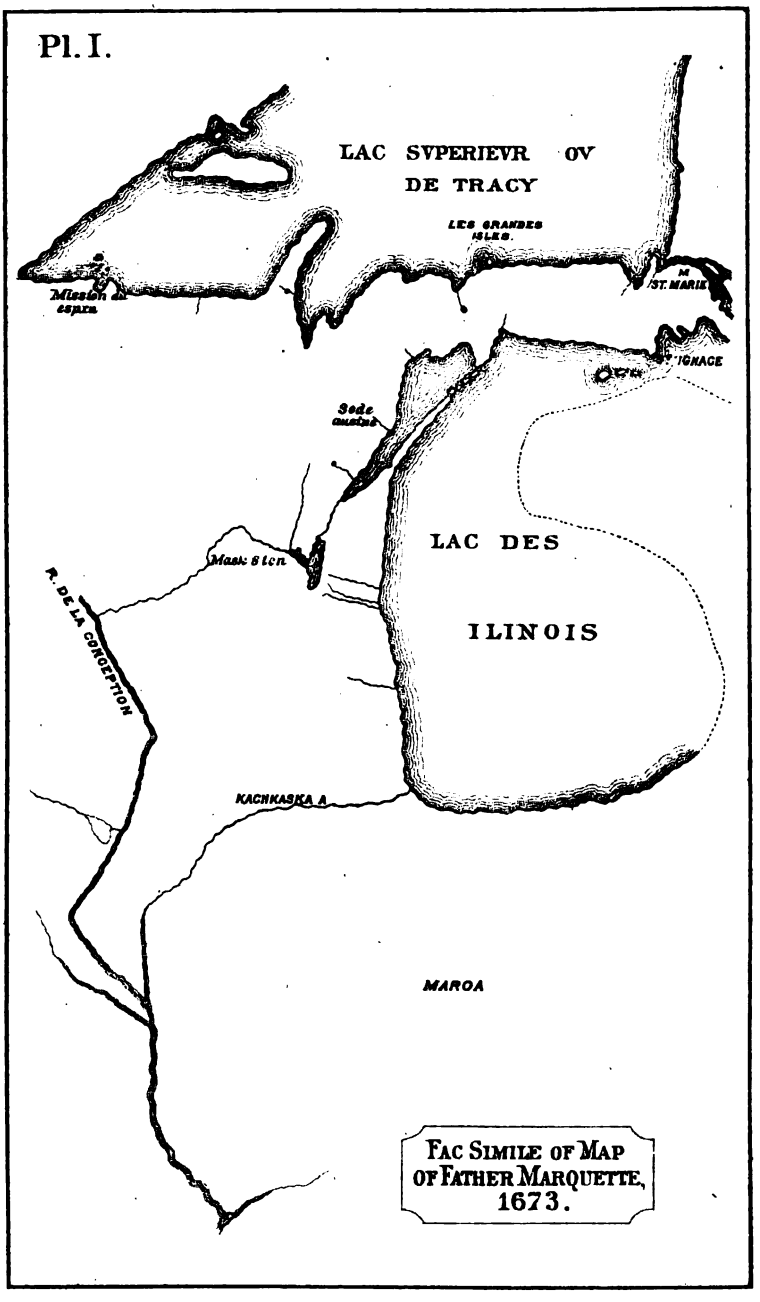
Vermillion and California seas (called by the Spaniards *Mar de Cortes*) by means of the river that flows from the west into the great river (Mississippi) that he discovered, which runs from north to south, and is as large as the St. Lawrence opposite Quebec. I send you, by my secretary, the map he has made of it, and the observations that he has been able to recollect, as he has lost all his minutes and journals in the shipwreck he met with within sight of Montreal, where, after having completed a voyage of fifteen hundred leagues, he was near being drowned, and lost all his papers, and a young Indian whom he brought from those countries. He left, with the fathers of the Sault St. Marie (Lake Superior), copies of his journals; these we cannot get before next year."

In Father Marquette's* account of his and Joliet's voyage of exploration, he says (*French's His. Coll.*, part 2, p. 296):

"We then ascended the Mississippi with great difficulty, against

* James Marquette was a descendant of a somewhat distinguished family, and was born in the City of Laon, France, in the year 1637. As we have said on a previous occasion, "he became a Jesuit at the age of seventeen, and twelve years afterward, in 1666, sailed for Canada as a missionary, landing at Quebec in September of that year. During the two succeeding years he was engaged in studying the Indian languages, and in the spring of 1668, he embarked, *via* the Ottawa and French Rivers and Lake Huron, for the River St. Mary, at the falls of which a mission was to be established, with Marquette at its head. There were, of the same religious faith, earlier missionaries than Marquette in the region of the great upper lakes who were brave and devoted men; but it was Marquette's tour to the Mississippi which has made his name pre-eminently famous. Pushing out as he did into the region of the yet undiscovered wonders of the great valley, details of which journey have been fortunately preserved to us by his faithful obedience to the instructions of his Superior, our admiration is enlisted by the charm of its romance. Yet it was the lofty aim of Marquette to be of enduring service to his fellow-men; it was his integrity, his unselfishness, his untiring zeal, his gentle and uncomplaining disposition, and his early self-sacrifice near akin to martyrdom, that command our sympathies, and these are what made him truly great. In the autumn of 1669, he was chosen to go to Lapoint, or Chegoimegon, near the west end of Lake Superior, to continue the labors begun some years before by Allouez, or still earlier by Menard. In the spring of 1671, Marquette accompanied the fleeing Hurons, who sought a refuge at the Straits of Mackinaw from the fierce Sioux warriors, who had taken the war-path against them; thence, in the spring of 1673, Joliet, the leader, having arrived, they departed on their expedition for the *great river.*" We have given in the text various extracts from his journal. "Marquette returned to Chicago, without doubt, after his visit to the Indian village on the Illinois, and in the month of May, 1675, he passed out of our river to the other side of the lake, and not only to the other side of it, but to

Pl. I.



FAC SIMILE OF MAP
OF FATHER MARQUETTE,
1673.

the current, and left it in latitude 38° north to enter another river,* which took us to the Lake of the Illinois,† which is a much shorter way than through the River Mesconsin,‡ by which we entered the Mississippi. I never saw a more beautiful country than we found on this river. The prairies are covered with buffaloes, stags, goats, and the rivers and lakes with swans, ducks, geese, parrots, and beavers. The river upon which we sailed was wide, deep, and placid for sixty-five leagues, and navigable most all the year round. There is a portage of only half a league into the Lake of the Illinois. We found on the banks of this river a village called Kuilka, consisting of seventy-four cabins. They received us very kindly, and we promised to return and instruct them. The chief, with most of the youth of this village, accompanied us to the lake, from whence we returned to the Bay of Puans."§

After this tour, and during his stay at the Mission of St. Francis Xavier, Marquette no doubt made the map, a small *fac-simile* of the greater part of which is herewith presented. A feature in this map will be observed, namely: the Chicago River appears a continuous stream from Lake Michigan to the waters of the Illinois. Marquette gave no name to this stream on his map, yet he refers to it in his last letter as "Portage River."

The following is an extract from Father Marquette's final letter; it was addressed to Father Claudius Dablon, Superior, but was never completed. We copy from a translation which appears in an article, by Hon. J. G. Shea, in *Historical Magazine*, vol. 5, p. 99:

Dec. 4. We started well to reach Portage River,‖ which was frozen half a foot thick. There was more snow there than anywhere

the eternal shores beyond. On his way to Mackinaw, by the eastern shore of the lake, accompanied, doubtless, by the faithful Peter and James, he went ashore at the mouth of a river, since known by his name, and retired by himself, having requested the men to leave him alone for a brief space. But the good father had died in a little time, and they buried him upon the bank of the stream. Such is the tradition. So much, certainly, is not unreasonable, without giving credence to the numerous, minute, and dramatic details, portrayed by imaginative and artistic limners, as attending the exit of that true gentleman and kind-hearted missionary. He is understood to have died on the 18th of May, 1675."

* Illinois. † Michigan. ‡ Wisconsin.

§ Green Bay. ‖ Meaning the Chicago.

else, and also more tracks of animals and turkeys. The navigation of the lake from one portage to the other* is quite fine, there being no traverse to make, and landing being quite feasible all along, providing you do not obstinately persist in traveling in the breakers and high winds. The land along the shore is good for nothing, except on the prairies. You meet eight or ten pretty fine rivers. Deer hunting is pretty good as you get away from the Pottawatomies."

"Dec. 12. As they began to draw to get to the portage,† the Illinois having left, the Pottawatomies arrived with much difficulty.‡ We could not say mass on the Feast of the Conception on account of the bad weather and the cold. During our stay at the mouth of the river, Pierre and Jacques killed three buffalo and four deer, one of which ran quite a distance with his heart cut in two. They contented themselves with killing three or four turkeys of the many which were around our cabin, because they were almost dying of hunger. Jacques brought in a partridge§ that he had killed, every way resembling those of France, except that it had like two little wings of three or four feathers, a finger long, near the head, with which they cover the two sides of the neck, where there are no feathers."

"Dec. 14. Being cabined near the portage, two leagues‖ up the river, we resolved to winter there, on my inability to go farther, being too much embarrassed, and my malady not permitting me to stand much fatigue. Several Illinois passed yesterday, going to carry their furs to Nawaskingwe. We gave them a buffalo and a deer that Jacques had killed the day before. I think I never saw Indians more greedy for French tobacco than these. They came and threw beaver skins at our feet to get a small piece; but we returned them, giving them some pipes, because we had not yet concluded whether we should go on."

"Dec. 15. Chachagwessiou and the other Illinois left us to go and find their people, and give them the merchandise which they had brought in order to get their furs, in which they act like traders and hardly give more than the French. I instructed them, before their departure, deferring the holding of a council till spring, when I should be at their village. They gave us for a fathom of tobacco three fine buffalo-robes, which have done us good service this winter. Being thus relieved, we said the mass of the Conception. Since the 14th, my disease has turned into a dysentery."

"Dec. 30. Jacques arrived from the Illinois village, which was

* Meaning those of Sturgeon Bay and the Desplaines.

† That is, upon the ice on the river, as I understand it.

‡ Two parties of Indians who left Green Bay at the same time he did are here referred to by Marquette.

§ It was a grouse or prairie chicken no doubt.

‖ The leagues were guessed at, of course, not measured.

only six leagues from here, where they are starving. The cold and snow prevent their hunting. Some having informed la Toupine and the surgeon that we were here, and unable to leave their cabin, had so alarmed the Indians (believing that we would starve remaining here) that Jacques had great trouble in preventing fifteen young men from coming to carry all our affairs."

"Jan. 16, 1675. As soon as the two Frenchmen knew that my illness prevented my going to them, the surgeon came here with an Indian to bring us some whortleberries and bread; they are only eighteen leagues from here, in a beautiful hunting-ground for buffalo and deer, and turkeys, which are excellent there. They had, too, laid up provisions while awaiting us, and had given the Indians to understand that the cabin belonged to the black gown. And I may say, that they said and did all that could be expected of them. The surgeon having stopped to attend to his duties, I sent Jacques with him to tell the Illinois, who were near there, that my illness prevented my going to see them, and that, if it continued, I should scarcely be able to go there in the spring."

"Jan. 24. Jacques returned with a bag of corn and other refreshments that the French had given him for me; he also brought the tongues and meat of two buffalo that he and an Indian had killed near by; but all the animals show the badness of the season."

"Jan. 26. Three Illinois brought us from the head men two bags of corn, somé dried meat, squashes, and twelve beavers; 1st, to make me a mat; 2d, to ask me for powder; 3d, to prevent our being hungry; 4th, to have some few goods. I answered them: firstly, that I had come to instruct them, by speaking to them of the prayer, &c.; secondly, that I would not give them powder, as we were endeavoring to diffuse peace on all sides, and I did not wish them to begin a war with the Miamies; thirdly, that we were in no fear of starving; fourthly, that I would encourage the French to carry them goods, and that they must satisfy those among them for the wampum taken from them as soon as the surgeon started to come here. As they had come twenty leagues, to pay them for their trouble and what they had brought me, I gave them an axe, two knives, three clasp knives, ten fathoms of wampum, and two double mirrors; telling them that I should endeavor to go to the village, merely for a few days, if my illness continued. They told me to take courage, to stay and die in their country, and said that they had been told that I would remain long with them."

"Feb. 9. Since we addressed ourselves to the Blessed Virgin Immaculate, to whom we began a nevena by a mass, at which Pierre and Jacques, who do all they can to relieve me, received, to ask my recovery of the Almighty, my dysentery has ceased; there is only a weakness of the stomach left. I begin to feel much better, and to recover my strength. None of the Illinois who had ranged themselves near us have been cabined for a month; some took the road

to the Pottawatomies, and some are still on the lake waiting for the navigation to open. They carry letters to our Fathers at St. Francis."

"Feb. 20. We had time to observe the tide which comes from the lake rising and falling, although there appears no shelter on the lake. We saw the ice go against the wind. These tides made the water good or bad, because what comes from above flows from the prairies and small streams. The deer, which are plentiful on the lake shore, are so lean that we had to leave some that we killed."

"March 23. We killed several partridges; only the male has the little wings at the neck, the female not having any. These partridges are pretty good, but do not come up to the French."

"March 30. The north wind having prevented the thaw till the 25th of March, it began with a southerly wind. The next day game began to appear; we killed thirty wild pigeons, which I found better than those below,* but smaller, both young and old. On the 28th, the ice broke and choked above us. On the 29th, the water was so high that we had barely time to uncabin in haste, put our things on trees, and try to find a place to sleep on some hillock, the water gaining on us all night; but having frozen a little, and having fallen, as we were near our luggage, the dyke burst and the ice went down; and as the waters are again ascending already, we are going to embark to continue our route."

"March 31. Having started yesterday, we made three leagues on the river,† going up without finding any portage. We dragged for half an arpent. Besides this outlet the river has another,‡ by which we must descend. Only the very highest grounds escape inundation. That where we are§ has increased more than twelve feet. Here we began our portage more than eighteen months ago. Geese and duck pass constantly. We contented ourselves with seven. The ice still brought down detains us here, as we do not know in what state the river is lower down."

From a narrative of the missionary Claude Allouez,‖ in

* At Quebec.

† Meaning Mud Lake channel.

‡ Meaning, no doubt, the Desplaines.

§ On or near the Desplaines, no doubt.

‖ Father Claude Allouez was born in France, but in what part or when we have not learned. He was a Jesuit, and sailed in 1658, arriving at Quebec in July of that year. We do not give particular details, but "he was," says Shea, "not inferior in zeal and ability to any of the great missionaries of his time." He was at the Falls of St. Mary in September, 1665, and subsequently at Chegoimegon, on Lake Superior, and founded the Mission of St. Francis Xavier, near Green Bay. After the death of Marquette, he succeeded to the Illinois Mission. Whatever may have been the cause, it is known that this missionary was not a

"Shea's History and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley," page 71:

"I embarked about the close of October, 1676, in a canoe with two men, to endeavor to go and winter with the Illinois; but I had not got far when the ice prevented us, so early had the winter set in. This obliged us to lie to and wait till it was strong enough to bear us; and it was only in February that we undertook a very extraordinary kind of navigation, for instead of putting the canoe in the water we put it on the ice, on which a favorable wind carried it along by sails, as if it was on the water. When the wind failed us, instead of paddles, we used ropes to drag it as horses do a carriage. * * * Twelve leagues from the Pouteaouatami town we entered a very deep bay,* whence we transported our canoe across the wood to the great lake of the Illinois (Michigan). This portage was a league and a half. On the eve of St. Joseph, the patron of all Canada, finding ourselves on the lake, we gave it the name of that great saint, and shall henceforth call it Lake St. Joseph. We accordingly embarked on the 23d of May,† and had much to do with the ice, through which we had to break a passage. * * * After making seventy-six leagues on Lake St. Joseph, we at last entered the river‡ which leads to the Illinois. I here met eighty Indians of the country, by whom I was handsomely received. The chief advanced about thirty steps to meet me, holding in one hand a firebrand and in the other a feathered calumet. As he drew near he raised it to my mouth, and himself lit the tobacco, which obliged me to pretend to smoke. He then led me to his cabin, and giving me the most honorable place, addressed me thus: 'Father! take pity on me; let me return with thee, to accompany thee and lead thee to my village; my meeting with thee to-day will be fatal to me unless I profit by it. Thou bearest to us the gospel and the prayer; if I lose the occasion of hearing thee, I shall be punished by the loss of my nephews, whom thou seest so numerous, but who will assuredly be defeated by the enemy. Embark then, with us, that I may profit

favorite of the explorer LaSalle, indeed his presence was offensive to him, and it is understood that Allouez retired from Illinois, expecting M. LaSalle, and went to Wisconsin, but returned again, it is understood, and is believed to have been there in 1689. Possibly he died that year, but the place of his death is not learned. Bancroft says of that missionary: "Father Claude Allouez has imperishably connected his name with the progress of discovery in the West."

* Probably Sturgeon Bay, the same path which Marquette had taken two years before, being a route familiar to the Indians.

† There is an error by somebody in this date; probably it should be *March*.

‡ The Chicago River.

by thy coming into our land.'* With these words, he embarked at the same time as ourselves, and we soon after reached his village.

"In spite of all our efforts to hasten on, it was the 27th April before I could reach Kachkachkia, a large Illinois town."

Father Hennepin, who, in 1679, accompanied LaSalle on his way to St. Joseph, Mich., says nothing of being himself at Chicago, which they probably passed near shore, by the way; he returned to the east by another route.

From "Memoir to Frontenac, by M. De LaSalle, Nov. 9, 1680"; His. Mag., v. 5, p. 196; Translated [apparently by Mr. Shea] *from "Geologie Pratique de la Louisiane."* "The basin into which you enter to go from the Lake of the Illinois to the Divine River† is no way suited for communication, there being no anchorage, wind, or entrance for a vessel, nor even for a canoe, except in a great calm; the prairies by which a communication is spoken of‡ being flooded, whenever it rains, by the waters from the neighboring hills. It is very difficult to make and keep up a channel there that will not at once fill up with sand and gravel; and you cannot dig into the ground without finding water; and there are sand-hills between the lake and the prairies. And were this channel possible, at great expense, it would be useless, because the Divine River† is not navigable for forty leagues from there to the great village of the Illinois. Canoes cannot pass there in summer; and there is even a great rapid this side of the village."

By the date of the "Memoir" from which we take the above extract, it is believed that it was written after LaSalle had returned from the East, and again reached Lake Michigan, perhaps at St. Joseph River, where he had built a fort the year before. Whether he looked about the Chicago when he passed here in his leisurely journey the year previous (1679) from Green Bay to the St. Joseph, or upon his return from the lower lakes that present year, or yet formed his opinion from the information of others, we cannot certainly say. Yet, however disparagingly he speaks of the thorough-

* The name of this chief who met Father Allouez near the mouth of the river, and who evidently lived on some of the waters of the Chicago, we are sorry to say is not given. The address is the first formal oration or reception speech which we have seen reported as of this locality.

† Here applied to the Desplaines.

‡ Probably referring to the information by Joliet.

fare by the Chicago, in 1680, he had the good sense to avail himself of this route the year afterward, though *the season* in this latitude deprived him of the benefit of river navigation.

In that "Memoir," LaSalle refers to a map of Joliet, criticising various particulars upon it as well as some other statements and conclusions of that explorer. He also speaks of the missionary, Allouez, in strictures of some severity. Mr. Shea, however, refers to the cotemporary account of Father Marquette as collateral evidence to the correctness of some of Joliet's items, and hints at the scarcely reasonable statements of LaSalle regarding other particulars. As to the matter concerning Allouez, we quote from a note of Mr. Shea to the Memoir referred to, as follows:

"The party of Frontenac was at issue with the Bishop, his clergy, and the Jesuits; and LaSalle was a warm partisan of Frontenac; but, in some transactions at La Chine, he seems to have had a personal quarrel with the Jesuits at Sault St. Louis. As to the actual merits of the matter in the text, it is difficult to tell."

One annoyance which those studying early Western history have had occasionally to contend with, has been, not only the doubts and contradictions of interested or prejudiced parties, but of fraudulent publications of accounts of pretended travels and discoveries, etc. There seemed, among various of those early French and Flemish travelers, officials, missionaries, and publishers, an unfortunate inclination, whether merited or not, to call out suspicion, charges, and denunciation regarding themselves or the works bearing their names. We are indeed constrained to believe, now and then, of accused or accusers, that ignorance, or else anger, avarice, vanity, jealousy, envy, deceit, positive lying, or unquestionable theft, had possession of some of them. How otherwise may we account for the following examples:—

"All the writers," says Shea, in *Dis. and Exp. of the Miss. Valley*, "connected with LaSalle's expedition, except the first edition of Hennepin, published in 1683, speak of Jolliet's voyage as a fiction. Marquette they never mention; but in LeClercq and those whom he cites, in the second Hennepin, in Joutel, in all, in fact, except the faithful Tonty, the narrative of Marquette is derided, called a fable, or narrative of a pretended voyage; and one (Father Anastasius Douay)

actually goes so far as to say that, sailing up the river with the book in his hand, he could not find a word of truth in it. * * * As to the charges themselves, they are clearly refuted by Frontenac's despatches."

Regarding LeClercq, Mr. Shea says further: "LeClercq, or the real author, doubts the authenticity of the *Relation* of 1626, ascribed to F. Charles Lalemant. * * * Having thus thrown a slur on the first Relation, he next brings the whole forty volumes of Relations, from 1632 to 1672, into the same category. * * * Joutel, who contradicts the 'Etablissement' (LeClercq's publication), pointedly, in several places, says it was composed on false relations, and thus gives some force to a charge brought in 1697, by the strange Hennepin, who asserts broadly that the Etablissement was published by Father Valentine LeRoux, under the borrowed name of LeClercq; and he charges that the so-called narrative of Membre, in the work, is really a transcript of the journal of *his* great voyage down the Mississippi, a copy of which he had left in le Roux's hands at Quebec. At a still later date, when all had become calm, Charlevoix states it as a common impression that Frontenac himself had a considerable hand in it. When, with all this, we remember that the first published narrative of Tonty is regarded as spurious, and that Mr. Sparks has irrefragably shown Hennepin's later works to be mere romances, and literary theft, the whole series of works relative to LaSalle seems drawn up or moulded to suit some party views."

The works of Father Hennepin, "Description de la Louisane," first pub. in Paris, 1683, and "Nouvelle Decouverte d'un tres grand pays," 1697; the latter, containing his previous work enlarged by a narrative of a pretended voyage down the Mississippi, was printed in Dutch, English, Italian, and Spanish, and received much commendation; but was soon the subject of attack. J. G. Shea says: "The editor of Joutel, in 1713, calls it in question; but he was too ignorant of Canadian history to give his charge any weight. Severer strictures were passed upon it by Harris, and by Kalm, the celebrated Swedish traveller. Harris says, 'As to the accounts of La Honton and Father Hennepin, they have been formerly very much admired, yet we are now well satisfied that they are rather romances than relations, and that their authors had their particular schemes so much in view that they have made no scruple of abusing the confidence of mankind.' In this country, within the last few years, a more thorough examination of authorities has consigned Hennepin, La Honton, and Lebeau to that amiable class who seem to tell truth by accident and fiction by inclination."

Of Louis Hennepin's first publication, a writer says "it is a work of value notwithstanding the exaggeration of its author; of his second book, containing the matter of his History, with the addition of an account of his voyage down the lower Mississippi, according to Jared Sparks, it is a fabrication copied from LeClercq's Narrative."

A Memoir by Henry de Tonty, sent to France in 1693, relating to LaSalle's discoveries, formed the basis of a spurious work (disavowed by Tonty to Iberville and Father Marest), printed in Paris, 1697, entitled "Derniers Decouvertes dans l'Amerique," etc.

Baron La Honton's work, published 1703, though not altogether without value, is yet, much of it, a sheer fabrication; the evidence is abundant.

Of Charlevoix, whose Letters or Journal in America, and History of New France, are well known, it is said, "he is often quoted as good authority, though not free from partiality and credulity." Shea, too, accuses him sometimes of extravagance and misstatements.

[Inasmuch as the U. S. Government pays for the printing of the documents, in the French archives, etc., brought to light by the researches of Mr. Margry, relating to early French exploration in the valley of our great river and lakes, it is to be regretted that those valuable communications could not have been given an English dress. Our thanks would have been doubly due had it favored us with a translation of those documents into our own language, placed, in parallel columns, upon the pages with the originals.]

From a letter of de LaSalle. The following extracts are from a translation, as appears in the Mag. of Am. His., from a fragment or part of a letter by LaSalle in one of Mr. Margry's volumes. The date does not appear, but it would seem to have been written after the communication to Frontenac given above. No inconsiderable essay is this that we have here from LaSalle, in which he combats the views of Joliet, and presents for that day a not very encouraging picture for the pursuit of lake or canal navigation. It has been suggested that Joliet was, in some manner, a rival of LaSalle; but if so, perhaps that had nothing to do with the opinion of the latter regarding navigation. Still, in the consciousness which attends present experience, in the light of science, conceding everything as it is presumed we must, not only to gunpowder, steam, and electricity, but to all the overriding arrogance of modern discovery and invention, it must be allowed that Joliet had the clearest prophetic vision of the two. Pony transportation from *starved rock* to Chicago, as suggested by LaSalle, would scarcely fill the order now-a-days; yet they, poor fellows, those earliest Chicago sled-wrights that we read of, had each to bow their necks to the yoke and pull those simple and clumsy contrivances, and their hundred and fifty pounds weight to a man. In connection, however, with this expression of LaSalle's ideas regard-

ing navigation, we should bear in mind that on the lakes there were hidden shoals, head-winds, and lee shores; there were crooked and shallow channels through St. Clair; there were then no charts to aid the pilot, no improved lake harbors, and the natural harbors, the streams, were usually barricaded and leveed with bars of sand. LaSalle, on his way up the lakes on the Griffon, had, it is believed, some very boisterous weather and rough seas. His memory of that voyage, probably, was not altogether happy; the pilot of that ship had uttered some reproaches, not only in self-condemnation, but involving the intimation of some blame in the commander himself, inasmuch as he, the pilot, said he had been persuaded to leave the ocean, where all his fame had been won, to come to these dirty lakes to lose it. We may also add, that the impression which LaSalle had, concerning the River Desplaines, seems to have been an untoward one; indeed, he found it generally flush or fallen. It was in summer, perhaps, an almost bare and dry channel, but in spring its waters sometimes were booming, and about equally divided in opinion, apparently, whether they should reach the ocean by the way of Labrador or the Balize.

"I sent M. de Tonty in advance with all my people, who, after marching three days along the Lake, and reaching the division line called Checagou, were stopped, after a day's march along the river of the same name which falls into the Islinois, by the ice, which entirely prevented further navigation. This was the 2d and 3d January, 1682. I remained behind* to direct the making of some *caches* in the earth of the things I left behind. * * *
Having finished my *caches*, I left the 28th December, and went on foot to join the Sieur de Tonty, which I did the 7th January, the snow having detained me some days at the portage of Checagou. This is an isthmus of land at 41 degrees 50 minutes north latitude at the west of the Islinois Lake, which is reached by a channel formed by the junction of several rivulets, or meadow ditches. It is navigable for about two leagues to the edge of the prairie, a quarter of a league westward. There is a little lake† divided by a causeway made by the beavers, about a league and a half long, from which runs a stream which, after winding about a half league through the rushes, empties into the river Checagou, and thence into that of the Islinois. This lake† is filled by heavy summer rains, or spring fresh-

* At the St. Joseph River. † Mud Lake.

ets, and discharges also into the channel which leads to the lakes of the Islinois, the level of which is seven feet lower than the prairie on which the lake is. The river of Checagou does the same thing in the spring when its channel is full. It empties a part of its waters by this little lake into those of the Islinois, and at this season, Joliet says, forms, in the summer time, a little channel for a quarter of a league from this lake to the basin which leads to that of the Islinois, by which vessels can enter the Checagou and descend to the sea. This may very well happen in the spring, but not in the summer, because there is no water at all in the river as far as Fort St. Louis, where the Islinois begins to be navigable at this season, whence it continues to the sea. It is true there is still another difficulty which the proposed ditch would not remedy, which is that the lake of the Islinois always forms a sand bar at the mouth of the channel which leads to it; and I greatly doubt, notwithstanding what is said, that it could be cleared or swept away by the force of the current of the Checagou, since a much greater, in the same lake, has not removed it. Moreover, the utility of it would be inconsiderable, because I doubt, even if it should be a complete success, whether a vessel could resist the great freshets caused by the currents in the Checagou in the spring, which are much heavier than those of the Rhone. Moreover, it would only be serviceable for a short time, and at most for fifteen or twenty days each year, after which there would be no more waters. What confirms me in the opinion that the Checagou could not clear the mouth of the channel is, that when the lake is full of ice, the most navigable mouths are blocked at this period; and when the ice is melted, there is no more water in the Checagou to prevent the mouth from filling up with sand. Nor should I have made any mention of this communication if Joliet had not proposed it without regard to its difficulties. Moreover, I maintain that even should such a communication between Louisiana and New France be desired, it is too difficult by way of the lakes because of the diversity of the winds to which their situation exposes them; the furious gales that must always be enconntered near land on account of their narrowness of the waters and want of depth or anchorage in case of necessity. The channel between Lake Erie and Huron presents a great difficulty because of its great current, which cannot be surmounted except by a strong stern-wind, and because there are places between where there is only a width of four feet of water, so that vessels capable of supporting the storm of the lakes could scarcely pass, for, whether because of the height of their situation on the mountains of Niagara, or the nearness of other mountains by which they are almost wholly surrounded, the autumn and spring storms are so furious, so sudden, and so long, particularly furious from the northwest and northeast, and from the southeast in the spring, that sometimes for three or four days it would be impossible to carry sail or keep clear of the

land, which is never more than fifteen or sixteen leagues distant, the lakes being no more than thirty leagues wide; and because if this communication should be insisted upon by means of barques, the lakes could not be navigable before the middle of April, and sometimes even later, because of the ice and winter at this season; nor for the rest of the year is the Checagou navigable, even for canoes, unless after a storm. The waters being always low in the month of March, it would be easier to effect the transportation from Fort St. Louis to the lakes by land by using horses, which it is easy to have, there being numbers among the savages called Pana, &c., &c. * * * * This is what I have to say concerning this passage by which Joliet pretended an easy communication could be had with Louisiana.

"Having there joined M. de Tonty, I caused some sleighs to be made to draw our canoes, our supplies, and the rest of our equipment, over the ice; they were made in this manner: strips of wood, as hard and smooth as possible, such as the wild cherry, maple, walnut, or other similar kind, are selected; the ends of which are then made thin enough to be curved, and the large end turned to the rear, in which three holes are pierced, by which small cross pieces of wire are fastened, on which the baggage is placed. A yoke is fastened from the two extremities to the two curved ends of these pieces of wood, which a man puts upon his neck. This slides easily enough; and a hundred to a hundred and fifty weight can be easily drawn in this manner, without fatigue, eight to ten leagues a day."

From the "Proces Verbal of taking Possession of Louisiana," by LaSalle, 9th April, 1682; French's His. Coll. La., Part 1.* "On the

* The most remarkable character among the explorers of the Mississippi Valley, in the latter half of the seventeenth century, was Robert Cavelier de LaSalle. Viewed in the light and sense of worldly enterprise, he is to be considered as surpassing all others in lofty and comprehensive aims, in determined energy and unyielding courage, both moral and physical. He faltered at no laborious undertaking; no distrust by nerveless friends, no jealous envy or schemes of active enemies, no misfortune, damped the ardor of his plans and movements. If there was a mountain in his track, he could scale it; if a lion beset his path, he could crush it. Nothing but the hand of the lurking assassin could quench the fire of that brave heart. We may briefly say, that LaSalle was born in the city of Rouen, France, November 22, 1643. The name LaSalle was borrowed from an estate, in the neighborhood of Rouen, belonging to his family, the Caveliers. Robert was educated at one of the Jesuit Seminaries, and as one of that order he continued a short time; but in 1666, he came to America, and it is said that he made early exploration to the Ohio, and was possibly near the Mississippi before Joliet and Marquette's voyage hither. We can here only allude to a few items and facts in LaSalle's career. It was a marked incident, and so appears on the Historic page, when LaSalle, in 1679, voyaged to Green Bay on the Griffon,

27th of December, 1681, M. De LaSalle departed on foot to join M. De Tonty, who had preceded him, with his followers and all his equipage, 40 leagues into the Miami's country; where the ice on the River Chekagou, in the country of the Mascontens, had arrested his progress; and where, when the ice became stronger, they used sledges to drag the baggage, the canoes, and a wounded Frenchman, through the whole length of this river, and on the Illinois, a distance of 70 leagues."

From "Memoir by the Sieur De LaTonty;" His. Coll. La., by B.*

the first sail vessel of the lakes above the Falls, and which he had built on the bank of Cayuga Creek, a tributary of the Niagara. But that business trip was a mere pleasure excursion when compared with the efforts required of him to engineer and bring about certain indispensible preparations, involving ways and means, before the keel of that renowned craft should be laid, and before she spread her wings to the breeze and departed outward from Buffalo Harbor of the future. And what an unhesitating morning walk was that of his, in 1680, when he set out on foot from the Fort which (not him) they termed *Broken Heart*, where Peoria is, to go, some twelve hundred miles perhaps, to Fort Frontenac, where Kingston is, at the lower end of Lake Ontario. His unyielding purpose was not to be delayed, but accelerated, by the avalanche of misfortune which had fallen on him. He could not wait for railroads, nor turnpikes, nor civilization; he could not even wait for canoe navigation, for it was early spring—in the month of March—when the ice still lingered by the lake shores, and was running thickly in the streams. So, with one Indian and four white men, with small supply of edibles, yet with a large stock of resolution, he took his way. The journey was accomplished, and he was back on Lake Michigan in the autumn ensuing. It has been suggested that his own enduring, iron nature, as it might be called,—unbending as it was in its requirements of others,—served, perhaps, to create enmities and to occasion the final catastrophe. It may have been so; but whatever view may be taken, the doings of LaSalle must be called wonderful, his misfortunes numberless, and his death sad. The day on which LaSalle was killed is said to have been March 19, 1687.

* There is much of romantic interest in the life of Henry de Tonty which will ever attract attention to the story of his experience in the wilds of America. He was born in Naples, Italy, in or near the year 1650. In a Memoir, said to be written by him in 1693,—or but a short time before that,—(which was used by others as the groundwork of a spurious publication in 1697), he says: "After having been eight years in the French service, by land and by sea, and having had a hand shot off in Sicily by a grenade, I resolved to return to France to solicit employment." It was at the time when LaSalle had returned from America, and was getting recruits of means (particularly from the French Government) for his Western enterprise. The prime minister of Louis 14th, he that was called the great Colbert, knowing the soldier Tonty well, specially provided that the important project to be undertaken by LaSalle should have the benefit of the personal aid of de Tonty, who, though maimed and single-handed, was yet

F. French, Part 1. "At the Miamis River, I assembled some Frenchmen and savages for the voyage of discovery, and M. De LaSalle joined us in October, (1681.) We went in canoes to the River Chicagou, where there is a portage which joins that of the Illinois. The rivers being frozen, we made sledges and dragged our baggage thirty leagues below the village of Illinois, where, finding the navigation open, we arrived, at the end of January, at the great River Mississippi. The distance from Chicagou was estimated at 140 leagues." Returning, "From thence we came to Fort Prudhomme, where M. De LaSalle fell dangerously ill, which obliged him to send me forward, on the 6th of May, to arrange his affairs at Michilimakinac. * * * We arrived about the end of June, 1683 (1682), at the River Chicagou, and, by the middle of July, at Michilimakinac. M. De LaSalle, having recovered, joined us in September." Subsequently, in fall of 1685, "After going 120 leagues, I arrived at the Fort of Chicagou, where M. De La Durantaye commanded; and from thence I came to Fort St. Louis, where I arrived in the middle of January, 1685 (1686)."

From the "Narrative of LaSalle's Voyage Down the Mississippi,

ready to go forth to dare and to do. Tonty says, "We sailed from Rochelle on the 14th of July, 1678, and arrived at Quebec on the 15th of September following." We cannot, of course, in this note, attempt to follow the brave and capable lieutenant of LaSalle in his various movements even if we had a knowledge of them; yet we may say, that if a trustful agent or manager was needed for any adventure by LaSalle, Tonty was the man to fill the requirement. If a fort was wanted, he was the architect and overseer to construct it; if a peaceable envoy to the Indians was required, he was the gifted embassador; if a tribe needed chastisement in battle, he was the able captain of the forces. We need not cite examples. Tonty was provided with some sort of a metallic arrangement as a substitute for the loss of part an arm; and he was known, it is said, far and near among the tribes of red men, as "La Bras de Fer," or *The man with the iron arm.* If we rightly remember, more than one tale has been constructed by novel-writers, with its scenes laid in the West, presenting de Tonty as the principal character. In long time past, an island at lower end of Lake Ontario was known as, and called, the *Isle of Tonty*, being named after our hero—the man with the iron arm; but the name was afterwards changed to that of *Amherst.* Whether this was done by the British Government, or some other body, the movement had its origin in the conceit of an ignoramus who knew little of the facts of history and the merits of individuals, which would discourage the stupid officiousness of such an outrage; for whatever the deserts of the titled General Jeffrey Amherst may have been, Henry de Tonty was the greater man of the two. De Tonty died at Fort St. Louis, on Mobile Bay, in the year 1704.

drawn up from the manuscripts of Father Zenobius Membre, by Father Chretien Le Clercq."*† "M. LaSalle having arrived safely at the Miamis on the 3d of November, 1681, began, with his ordinary activity and vast mind, to make all preparations for his departure. He selected twenty-three Frenchmen, and eighteen Mohegans and Abnakis, all inured to war. The latter insisted on taking along ten of their women to cook for them, as their custom is, while they were fishing or hunting. These women had three children, so that the whole party consisted of but fifty-four persons, including the Sieur De Tonty and the Sieur Dautray. * * *

"On the 21st of December, I embarked with the Sieur De Tonty

* We are told, in a note upon a page of Shea's Dis. and Exp. of the Mississippi Valley, that if we should believe the statement in Hennepin's last work, it might be said that Father Zenobius Membre was born at Bapaume, since in France, but then in the Spanish Netherlands. He came to Canada in 1675, with LeClercq, who, it is said, was his cousin. From Fort Frontenac he accompanied LaSalle to Niagara in 1678, and thence at length to Fort Creveceur, where he was left with Tonty and Father Gabriel de la Ribourde. Upon the inroad of the Iroquois, and flight of the Illinois Indians, he, with others, left for Green Bay. Father Gabriel was killed on the way by the Kickapoos, but the others were hospitably received by the Jesuits at the Bay, and where they passed the winter. In the spring, they went in company with Father Enjalran to Mackinaw. After a journey to Lake Ontario, he went with LaSalle to the lower Mississippi. He left a journal of his voyage at Quebec, but as he declined communicating it to the new governor, De la Barre, the Governor, in his report, threw imputations on any account of the Missionary. Membre returned to France and Bapaume, where he continued till he joined LaSalle for his last sea voyage. With that expedition he arrived in Texas, and was one of those left at the fort on the Gulf by LaSalle when he took his last journey into the country. But from that journey LaSalle never returned; and Membre, with all the others at that fort, were attacked and massacred.

† Christian Le Clercq, a Recollect missionary, was born in Artois, and was sent to Canada in 1675, where he was zealously active in the duties of his mission on the coast of Gaspe, but returned to Europe after a few years. His work, "Etablissement de la Foi," was published by Auroy, in Paris, 1691. This, as per Mr. Shea's notice, assumed to be "a general history of religion in Canada, and of LaSalle's voyages," etc., being the first printed account of LaSalle's voyage down the Mississippi. Mr. Shea tells us, "Of Father Le Clercq, under whose name the work is thus published, we know little beyond what we glean from this work," and one other. Several pages are devoted by Mr. Shea to the examination of the three parts of the "Etablissement," in which it is divided, and he discusses the condition of things in Canada of the time in which the author wrote. Mr. S. calls the work "curious and rare," yet doubts if its authorship can be credited altogether to Le Clercq. "A striking feature in the work is its literary skepticism as to a great mass of early works on Canada." In a previous note, we have referred to the work of Le C.

and a part of our people on Lake Dauphin* to go toward the Divine River, called by the Indians Checagou, in order to make necessary arrangements for our voyage. The Sieur LaSalle joined us there, with the rest of his troop, on the 4th of January, 1682, and found that Tonty had had sleighs made to put all on and carry it over the Chicago, which was frozen; for though the winter in these parts is only two months long, it is notwithstanding very severe.

"We had to make a portage to enter the Illinois River, which we found also frozen. We made it on the 27th of the same month, and dragging our canoes, baggage, and provisions about eighty leagues on the river Seignelay, which runs into the river Colbert, we traversed the great Illinois town without finding any one there, the Indians having gone to winter thirty leagues lower down, on Lake Pimiteoui, where Fort Creveceur stands."

"In 1685," says Shea, "De La Durantaye, who had been stationed at Michilimackinac, erected a Fort at Chicago, and it became a kind of depot."

We have seen, however, no record of his impressions concerning this locality during his residence here.

Henri Joutel, as well as LaSalle, was a native of Rouen, France; and when the latter was preparing for his last voyage to America, Joutel, with others of that city, volunteered to join the expedition. He has given in detail (published in 1713) an account of the successive disasters which befel that effort of the great but luckless explorer to colonize the banks of the Mississippi. LaSalle, leaving a part of his company at their fort on Matagorda Bay, made several excursions with the purpose of reaching the Mississippi. Upon his last tour to the interior, among others he was accompanied by Joutel. We may briefly say, that after the assassination of LaSalle, and the subsequent killing of two of his murderers by two others of the assassins, and the withdrawal of more to join the Indian tribes, there remained but seven, who designed, if possible, to get to Canada, and thence to France. The names of these were Father Anastasius Douay, M. Cavelier the brother of LaSalle, and his nephew, also, De Marle, Teissier, Bartholomew, and Joutel. Of these, De Marle was drowned before reaching the Mississippi, and Bartholomew remained

* Lake Michigan.

behind at a French post. The other five, as seen by the extract below from Joutel's journal, made a double trip from Fort Louis* (as he calls it) to Chicago, and then onward to the St. Lawrence.

"On Sunday, the 14th of September, 1687, about two in the afternoon, we came into the neighborhood of Fort Louis. * * * At length we entered the fort, where we found and surprised several persons, who did not expect us. All the French were under arms, and made several discharges to welcome us. M. de la Belle Fontaine, lieutenant to M. Tonty, was at the head of them, and complimented us. * * * * Sieur Boisrondet, clerk to the late M. de la Salle, having told us he had a canoe in which he designed to go down to Canada, we prepared to make use of that opportunity. Care was taken to gather provisions for our voyage; to get furs to barter as we passed by Micilimaquinay. * * * M. Cavelier wrote a letter for M. Tonty, which he left there to be delivered to him, and we repaired to the lake to embark. It would be needless to relate all the troubles and hardships we met with in that journey; it was painful and fruitless, for, having gone to the bank of the lake in very foul weather, after waiting there five days for that foul weather to cease, and after we had embarked—notwithstanding the storm,—we were obliged to put ashore again, to return to the place where we had embarked, and there to dig a hole in the earth to bury our baggage and provisions, to save the trouble of carrying them back to Fort Louis, whither we returned, and arrived there the 7th of October, where they were surprised to see us come back. Thus we were obliged to continue in that fort all the rest of autumn and part of the winter. * * * On the 27th of October, of the same year, M. Tonty returned from the war with the Iroquois.† * * * We continued after this manner till the month of December, when two men arrived from Montreal. They came to give notice to M. Tonty that three canoes, laden with merchandise,—powder, ball, and other things,—were arrived at Chicagou; that there being too little water in the river, and what there was being frozen, they could come no lower; so that, it being requisite to send men to fetch those things, M. Tonty desired the chief of the Chahouanous to furnish him with people. That chief accordingly provided forty, men as well as women, who set out with some Frenchmen. The honesty of the Chahouanous was the reason of preferring them before the Illinois, who are naturally knaves. That

* Otherwise "Fort St. Louis," or "Starved Rock."

† Mr. Shea properly condemns Joutel, as well as Father Anastasius Douay, for representations to Tonty concerning M. de LaSalle, and concealing from him the information of his death.

ammunition and the merchandise were soon brought, and very seasonably, the fort being then in want. * * *
At length we set out, the 21st of March, from Fort Louis. The Sieur Boisrondet, who was desirous to return to France, joined us; we embarked on the river, which was then become navigable, and before we had advanced five leagues met with a rapid stream, which obliged us to go ashore, and then again into the water, to draw along our canoe. I had the misfortune to hurt one of my feet against a rock that lay under water, which troubled me very much for a long time. * * * We arrived at Chicagou on the 29th of March, and our first care was to seek what we had concealed at our former voyage, having, as was there said, buried our luggage and provisions. We found it had been opened, and some furs and linen taken away, almost all of which belonged to me. This had been done by a Frenchman whom M. Tonty had sent from the fort, during the winter season, to know whether there were any canoes at Chicagou, and whom he had directed to see whether anybody had meddled with what he had concealed; and he made use of that advice to rob us. The bad weather obliged us to stay in that place till April. That time of rest was advantageous for the healing of my foot; and there being but very little game in that place, we had nothing but our meal, or Indian wheat, to feed on; yet, we discovered a kind of manna, which was a great help to us. It was a sort of trees resembling our maple, in which we made incisions, whence flowed a sweet liquor, and in it we boiled our Indian wheat, which made it delicious, sweet, and of a very agreeable relish. There being no sugar-canes in that country, those trees supplied that liquor, which, being boiled up and evaporated, turned into a kind of sugar, somewhat brownish, but very good. In the woods we found a sort of garlic, not so strong as ours, and small onions, very like ours in taste, and some charvel of the same relish as that we have, but different in the leaf. The weather being somewhat mended, we embarked again, and entered upon the lake on the 5th of April, keeping to the north side* to shun the Iroquois."

Baron LaHonton (whose work was published in 1703) is so unreliable, that we scarcely know when he tells the truth; but he claims to have gone down the Mississippi as far as the Illinois River, which he then ascended to an Indian village and employed *four hundred men* to carry his baggage over the portage. He writes, "This they did in four days; for on the 24th (April, 1689,) I arrived at Chekakou."

---

* West side.

Rev. John Francis Buisson de St. Cosme, a native of Quebec, and a priest, was, we are told, zealously devoted to Christianizing the Indians, and was a minister at the Natchez and elsewhere on the Mississippi; but was killed by the savages of that region in 1707. In the year 1699, he passed, with several others, from Mackinaw to the Illinois. He would have preferred going by the way of the Fox and Wisconsin Rivers, but the menaces of hostile Indians prevented, and he came *via* the lake shore. His account of the journey appears in a letter written at the mouth of the Arkansas, addressed to the Bishop of Quebec, which, with other matter, appears in a volume entitled "*Early Voyages up and down the Mississippi*," *with notes by J. G. Shea; Albany, 1861.* We will remark that the house of the missionaries referred to by St. Cosme, we suppose, may have been at the junction of the north and south branches of Chicago River, where the meeting of the three channels formed the natural basin or small *lake* spoken of; or possibly it was at Mud Lake, unless, indeed, Mr. Adams may send us to the Calumet to look for it. We quote from St. Cosme as follows:

1699. "On the 10th of October, having left Meliwarik early in the morning, we arrived in good season at Kipikawi,* which is about eight leagues from it. There we parted with Mr. de Vincenne's party, who continued their course towards the Miamis. Some Indians had led us to suppose that we might ascend by this river, and that after making a portage of about nine leagues, we could descend by another river called Pistrui,† which empties into the River of the Illinois about twenty-five or thirty leagues from Chikagu. We avoided this river. * * * This obliged us to take the route of Chicagu, which is about twenty-five leagues from it. * * * We left it on the 17th, and, after having been detained by wind the 18th and 19th, we cabined on the 20th, five leagues from the Chicaqw. We should have reached it early on the 21st, but the wind, which suddenly sprung up from the lake, obliged us to land half a league from Apkaw.‡ We had

* Evidently Root River, at Racine. † Fox River.

‡ Probably intended to apply to a spot on the river here, or the immediate neighborhood. Shea says, "This name is inexplicable. They certainly stopped at Chicago, and the name may have been a transcriber's blunder for cette place, *that place.*" Was not *Chicaqw* intended to be written?

considerable difficulty in getting ashore and saving our canoes. We had to throw everything into the water. 'This is a thing which you must take good care of along the lakes, and especially on [Lake] Missigan, (the shores of which are very flat,) to land soon when the water swells from the lake, for the breakers get so large in a short time that the canoes are in risk of going to pieces and losing all on board; several travellers have already been wrecked there. We went by land, Mr. de Montigny, Davion, and myself, to the house of the Rev. Jesuit Fathers, our people staying with the baggage. We found there Rev. Father Pinet and Rev. Father Buinateau, who had recently come in from the Illinois, and were slightly sick. I cannot explain to you, Monseigneur, with what cordiality and marks of esteem these reverend Jesuit Fathers received and caressed us during the time that we had the consolation of staying with them. Their house is built on the banks of the small lake, having the lake on one side and a fine large prairie on the other. The Indian village is of over 150 cabins, and one league on the river there is another village almost as large. They are both of the Miamis. Rev. Father Pinet makes it his ordinary residence, except in winter, when the Indians all go hunting, and which he goes and spends at the Illinois. We saw no Indians there; they had already started for their hunt.*

* * * * * *

"On the 24th of October, the wind having fallen, we made our canoes come with all our baggage; and perceiving that the waters were extremely low, we made a *cache* on the shore, and took only what was absolutely necessary for our voyage, reserving till spring to send for the rest; and we left in charge of it Brother Alexander, who consented to remain there with Father Pinet's man; and we started from Chicaqw on the 29th, and put up for the night about two leagues off, in the little river which is then lost in the prairies. The next day we began the portage, which is about three leagues

* Mr. Edward F. Adams, in a communication published in the *Post and Mail*, October 10, 1875, relating to the matter of precedence in the settlement of Cahokia over Kaskaskia, on the Mississippi, speaks of St. Cosme's journey hither, and quotes a portion of the extract above. Mr. A., for himself, remarks: "They arrived at Chicago, October 21, where they found a Jesuit mission established among the Miamis. This mission, however, was not here, but on the Calumet." Also, "Oct. 26, they set out from the Calumet for the Illinois. Pinet and Buineteau also started about the same time for their winter's work; but, being more lightly loaded, pushed on ahead." Mr. Adams does not, in this, give to us his meaning quite clearly. When he says "arrived at Chicago," does he mean *Calumet?* Does he mean that the mission-house *found* by St. Cosme and his companions *at Chicago* was really a dozen miles away at the Calumet? Or would he intimate that though the missionaries' house was at Chicago, or at the Indian village in its near vicinity, where Father Pinet had his "ordinary residence," yet the labors of the missionaries were mostly at the Calumet?

long when the water is low, and only a quarter of a league in the spring; for you embark on a little lake that empties into a branch of the river of the Illinois, and when the waters are low you have to make a portage to that branch. We made half our portage that day, and we should have made some progress further, when we perceived that a little boy whom we had received from Mr. de Muys, having started on alone,—although he had been told to wait,—had got lost without any one paying attention to it, all hands being engaged. We were obliged to stop and look for him. All set out; we fired several guns, but could not find him. It was a very unfortunate mishap; we were pressed by the season, and the waters being very low, we saw well that being obliged to carry our effects and our canoe it would take us a great while to reach the Illinois. This made us part company; Mr. de Montigny, de Tonty, and Davion continued the portage next day, and I, with four other men, returned to look for this little boy; and, on my way back, I met Fathers Pinet and Buinateau, who were going, with two Frenchmen and one Indian, to the Illinois. We looked for him again all that day without being able to find him. As next day was the feast of All Saints, this obliged me to go and pass the night at Chikagou with our people, who having heard mass, and performed their devotions early, we spent all that day too in looking for that little boy without being able to get the least trace. It was very difficult to find him in the tall grass, for the whole country is prairies,—you meet only some clumps of woods. As the grass was high, we durst not set fire to it for fear of burning him. Mr. de Montigny had told me not to stay over a day, because the cold was becoming severe. This obliged me to start after giving Brother Alexander directions to look for him, and to take some of the French who were at Chicag8. I set out the second of November, in the afternoon, made the portage, and slept at the river of the Illinois."*

Rev. Thaumur de La Source, who, in 1699, accompanied to the Mississippi, St. Cosme and others of the party of which M. de Montigny was the leader, also wrote from the Arkansas. Below that point they seem to have met with short rations; he says:

"We set out on the 4th of January (1700), with little provisions, expecting to find game as usual, for from Chikagou to the Akanseas in the Micissipi the bison and cows are so numerous that you cannot lack provisions if you have powder and ball. Bear and deer are very numerous; we killed several with swords. On starting from the Akanseas we had rain for the space of five days, during which we made no great progress. Our whole stock of provision consisted

* Meaning the Desplaines.

of dried squash, and even of that we did not make half a meal. On Twelfth day we did not eat a bit. * * *

"We left there (the Natchez) on the 27th to return to the Tonicas. Mr. de Montigny and Mr. de St. Cosme resolved to go up together to bring down the things left at Chicagou, where Brother Alexander had remained to guard them, because there was no water in the Illinois.* * * * We arrived on Maundy Thursday at Chicagou after making thirty leagues by land. * * * I will tell you that Mr. de Montigny took a boy twelve or fifteen years old with him, who got lost, while making the first portage, in the prairies. Mr. de St. Cosme remained, with five men, and spent two days looking for him without being able to find him; and during this time I, and two others, with Mr. de Montigny, made a portage of two leagues. This boy made his way to Chicagou, where Brother Alexander was, thirteen days after. He was utterly exhausted, and was out of his head. * * * We are to start from Chicago on Easter Monday. The finest country that we have seen is all from Chicagou to the Tamarois.† It is nothing but prairies and clumps of wood as far as you can see.‡

Father James Gravier, the Jesuit, came from France, and arrived in Canada not long after 1679. He was one of the early missionaries to the Indians of the Illinois, with whom he continued for near thirty years, and is said to have compiled a grammar of their language. He died soon after 1706. The following appears in his letter from the lower Mississippi, dated Feb. 16, 1701:

"On my return from Michilimackinac, I received your letter, which you did me the honor to write by the Mississipy, addressed to Father Aveneau, who sent it to me at Chikagoüa, whence I set out on the eighth of September, 1700, to come here. * * * God grant that the road from Chikagoüa to the Strait (au Detroit§) be not closed, and the whole Illinois mission suffer greatly."

The following is an extract from a "rough draft" by James

* Meaning the Desplaines.

† The locality called Tamarois, we believe, was where since was *Cahokia*, which, according to Mr. E. F. Adams, is the oldest white-settled town in Illinois.

‡ Shea says: "The Rev. Dominie Thaumur de La Source had been a pupil of Father Charlevoix at Quebec, and was ordained there. Charlevoix found him at Cahokia in 1721."

§ Understood to apply to some part of the Illinois River.

Logan,* bearing date December, 1718, designed to aid Gov. Keith, of Pennsylvania, in preparing his Memorial to the British Board of Trade. Various other routes to the Mississippi were referred to in the same paper:

"From lake Huron they pass by the Strait of Michilmakina four leagues, being two in breadth, and of a great depth, to the Lake Illinoise; thence one hundred and fifty leagues on the lake to Fort Miami, situated at the mouth of the River Chicagou. This fort is not regularly garrisoned. From hence came those Indians of the same name, viz., Miami, who are settled on the forementioned river" (Miami, now Maumee,) "that runs into Erie. Up the River Chicagou they sail but three leagues to a portage of a quarter of a league; they then enter a very small lake of about a mile, and have another very small portage; and again of another of two miles, to the river of Illinoise; thence down the same one hundred and thirty leagues to the Mechasipi."

Peter Francis Xavier Charlevoix, who was born at St. Quentin, France, Oct., 1682, sometime a teacher in a Jesuit college, and also a missionary in Canada, made a tour from the St. Lawrence to New Orleans, *via* Lake Michigan, in 1721. He was at St. Joseph River, having come from the straits along the east shore of the lake. He intended to take the Chicago route, but failed to do so, as appears by the following extracts from his journal. Charlevoix died in Lafleche, France, in 1761:

"Fort on the River St. Joseph, September 14, 1721. Madam: It is now three days since I set out from this place for Chicagou, by coasting along the south shore of Lake Michigan; but we found the lake so stormy that we resolved to return hither, and to seek out some other way to reach Louisiana. * * *

"Source of the River Theakiki,† September 17, 1721. *

* James Logan was born in Ireland, of Scottish parentage, in 1674. He was a precocious scholar, being proficient in many of the dead languages at the age of 13 years. He came over with Wm. Penn, on his second visit to America, as his secretary, landing at Philadelphia in Dec., 1699. He filled with ability many offices in the Province, including that of Chief-Justice, as well as officiating as President of the Council, also as Governor for two years. "He was a firm friend of the Indians; possessed uncommon abilities, and great wisdom and moderation." He died near Philadelphia, in 1751.

† Kankakee.

* * I believe I gave you to understand, in my last, that I had two routes to chuse, in order to gain the country of the Illinois; the first was by returning by Lake Michigan, coasting along the southern coast, and entering the little river of Chicagou. After ascending five or six leagues up this river, there is a passage to that of the Illinois by means of two carrying places, the longest of which is not above a league and a quarter; but being informed that at this season of the year there is not water sufficient for a canoe, I have taken the other route, which has likewise its inconveniences, and is far from being so agreeable, but it is more certain."

From a Memoir concerning the peace made by M. deLigney with the chiefs of the Foxes (Renards), Sauks (Sakis), and Winnebagoes (Puans a la Baie), June 7, 1726. This is a translation by Col. Whittlesey (in v. 1, Wis. His. Society Coll.) of one of the MSS. procured in France by Gen. Cass; we extract as follows:

"Monsieur De Siette, who now commands in the Illinois country in the place of M. De Boisbriante, has written to M. De Ligney that the Foxes are afraid of treachery, and the surest mode of securing our object is to destroy and exterminate them; that he has made the same proposition to the Council General, of New Orleans, and has given to the gentlemen who are Directors of the company of the Indies the same opinion. We agree that this would be the best expedient, but must maintain that nothing can be more dangerous or prejudicial to both colonies than such an enterprise in case it should fail. It would be necessary to effect a surprise, and to keep them shut up in a fort—as in the last war; for, if the Foxes escape to the Sioux, or to the Agouais, they would return to destroy us in all the Upper Country, and the French of both colonies would be unable to pass from post to post, except at the risk of robbery and murder. * * * In the meantime, it is proper that M. De Siette should cause to be restored to the Foxes, by the Illinois, the prisoners that they may have with them, as M. De Ligney has made the Foxes promise to send to the Illinois their prisoners; and that you do not follow the example of other commandants before you, who have thought to intimidate the Foxes and cause them to lay down their arms by burning Fox prisoners that fell into their hands, which has only served to irritate that people, and arouse the strongest hatred against us. If, with these arrangements on the part of the Illinois, the Foxes can be persuaded to remain in peace from this time a year, we shall be able to have an interview with M. De Siette, at "Chicagoux," or at the Rock (on the Illinois), from whence to make an appointment for the Chiefs of the Illinois nation and of the Bay, where they can agree upon the numbers of French

and of Indians, on the part of the Illinois and on the part of Canada, who shall meet at a fort to be built at an agreed place designed for the meeting."

[From the date of the last above quoted notice, to wit, of the year 1726, we can give nothing written at or of Chicago worth speaking of, for a term of some fifty years, or say down to the period of the American revolution. If, as it is said, the wild-onion and polecat claimed this locality as their joint and special home and domain, they may have grown and flourished here during that quiet half-century, for aught we know, in all their strength and pristine beauty, without let or hindrance. Yet we must suppose that those roving, disquiet people—the red men of field and forest—were here often, and away; and the fur-trader, no doubt, passed and repassed, and dwelt here, too; but if any there were that did thus sojourn, and grow old and depart hence, as old men often do, they yet left no record which tells us concerning the then Chicago.

But at least in other parts of Illinois there was continuous occupation by Frenchmen, Canadians, etc. D'Artaguette, governor of Illinois, at the head of an expedition, composed of whites and Indians, against the Chicasaws, left Illinois in Feb., 1736. Yet that was unsuccessful, and D'Artaguette, as well as "the young and gallant de Vincennes," and a devoted Jesuit priest named Senat, suffered death at the hands of the savages.

As far back as 1748, "the Illinois settlements, few as they were, sent flour and corn, the hams of hogs and bears, pickled pork and beef, myrtle-wax, cotton, tallow, leather, tobacco, lead, iron, copper, and some little buffalo wool, venison, poultry, bear's grease, oil, skins, and coarse furs, to the New-Orleans market." Even in 1746, several hundred barrels of flour went there from Illinois.

Quebec surrendered to the British Sept. 18, 1759, but the submission of Canada did not directly follow, and it was the month of February, 1763, before the definitive treaty between France and England was signed. By that treaty, Illinois be-

came British soil. But the principal fortress of this now State of Illinois, that of *Fort Chartres*, a well-built stone structure erected in 1720, repaired and improved in 1750, standing originally a mile or so from the Mississippi, continued under French command until the autumn of 1765. Repeated efforts were made by various British officers to reach Fort Chartres and demand its submission; but all were unsuccessful until Captain Thomas Sterling, with a small force, on the 10th of Oct., 1765, appeared before it, and presented his credentials, which the commandant, St. Ange de Bellerive, duly recognized, and the British flag above its walls was the signal that Britain, not France, was ruler in the Illinois. Fort Chartres, since that day, we may say, has been invaded, not merely by Yankee impertinence and progress, but by that of the Father of Waters, whose inroads have swept away a portion if not all of that old-time stronghold.]

Augustin Grignon, of Butte des Morts, in Wisconsin, at an extended interview of two weeks, in 1857, communicated to Mr. Draper, the Secretary of the Wisconsin His. Society, a lengthened narrative of his recollections. Mr. Grignon was then seventy-seven years old. The report, or narrative, is of great value, and appears in *third vol.* of Wis. His. Society Coll., from which we extract as follows:

"Chicago means *the place of the skunk.* I understood these animals were very plenty there. At a very early period, there was a negro lived there named Baptist Point de Saible; my brother, Perrish Grignon, visited Chicago about 1794, and told me that Point De Saible was a large man; that he had a commission for some office, but for what particular object, or from what Government, I cannot now recollect. He was a trader, pretty wealthy, and drank freely. I know not what became of him."

Mr. Draper (in v. 3 as above) refers to a notice of De Saible in Col. De Peyster's *Miscellanies*,* under date of July 4, 1779, wherein he says:

"Baptist Point De Saible, a handsome negro, well educated, and settled at Eschecagou, but much in the French interest."

* Col. Arent Schuyler DePeyster, commanded the British post Michilimackinac, from 1774 to the autumn of 1779, and left a volume of Miscellanies.

He also refers to "Eschikagou, a river and fort at the head of Lake Michigan."

[The definitive treaty of peace between Great Britain and the United States of America was signed on the 23d of September, 1783, and Illinois thenceforth became American territory.]

We will extract and copy here from the *Treaty of Greenville*, dated August 3, 1795, as it appears in a publication of Indian Treaties, at Washington, in 1837, compiled under the supervision of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. The name *Chicago*, it will be noticed, appears "Chikago," not *Chikajo*, as in Lansman's His. of Mich., and, as Hon. John Wentworth said, and we supposed, that General Wayne spelt Chicago with a "j".

"A Treaty of peace between the United States of America and the tribes of Indians called the Wyandots, Delawares, Shawnees, Ottawas, Chippewas, Pottawatamies, Miamis, Eell Rivers, Weeas, Kickapoos, Piankshaws, and Kaskaskias. To put an end to a destructive war; to settle all controversies, etc. And for the same consideration, * * * the said Indian tribes do also cede to the United States the following pieces of land, to wit: * * * (14). One piece of land, six miles square, at the mouth of Chikago River, emptying into the southwest end of Lake Michigan, where a fort formerly stood. * * * And the said Indian tribes will allow to the people of the United States a free passage by land and by water, as one and the other shall be found convenient, through their country, along the chain of posts hereinbefore mentioned, that is to say, * * * Again, from the mouth of Chikago to the commencement of the portage between that river and the Illinois, and down the Illinois River to the Mississippi."

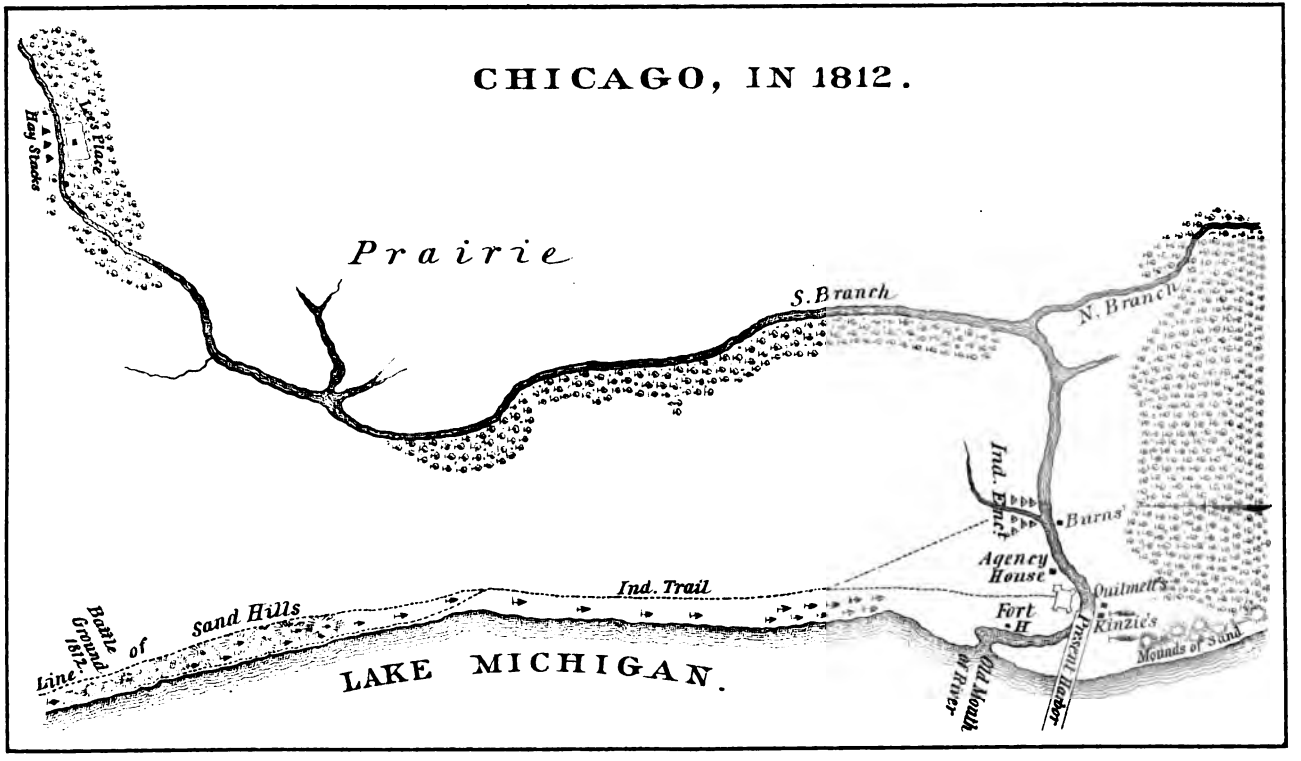
From *The War*, a weekly periodical (commenced to be published June 27, 1812, and continued two years), we copy the following; a few of the statements, however, so conveyed were incorrect. From *The War*, of Sept. 26, 1812:

"*From the West.—Fall of Fort Dearborn, at Chicauga.*—Yesterday afternoon, the Queen Charlotte arrived at Fort Erie in 7 days from Detroit. A flag of truce soon landed at Buffalo Creek Major Atwater and Lieut. John L. Eastman, who gave the following account

of the fall of Fort Dearborn: On the 1st of September, a Pottawattamie chief arrived at Detroit, and stated that about the middle of August, Capt. Wells, from Fort Wayne (an interpreter), arrived at Fort Dearborn to advise the commandant of the fort to evacuate it and retreat. In the meantime, a large body of Indians of different nations had collected and menaced the garrison. A council was held with the Indians, in which the Indians agreed that the garrison should be spared on condition that all property in the fort should be delivered up. The Americans marched out, but were fired upon and nearly all killed. There were about 59 men in the fort, besides women and children, and probably not more than 10 or 12 taken prisoners. Capt. Wells and Capt. Heald (the commandant) were killed. The affairs at Detroit remained without any material change. —*Buffalo Gaz.*"

From *The War*, of October 10, 1812:

"*Surrender of Fort Dearborn (Chicago).*—Aaron Greely, esq., late surveyor-general of the Michigan territory, with his family and effects, has arrived at Buffalo from Malden in a flag of truce. Mr. G. has furnished the following particulars of the surrender of Fort Dearborn. He states that the Indians had besieged that place; that the Pottawattamies, with a Mr. Burnet, a trader from St. Josephs, had come down to the relief of the garrison, but that the besieging Indians compelled them to join them, threatening to make war upon them and destroy them if they did not. The garrison surrendered; the terms of capitulation were, that the Indians should spare the lives of the garrison, who were to have as much of the arms, ammunition, provisions, &c., as they could carry away. Captain Wells, who had come from Fort Wayne to conduct the garrison to that place at night, ordered a quantity of powder and balls to be thrown into the Chicago river, to prevent its falling into the Indians' hands, which, when they discovered in the morning, so incensed them that they fired upon the garrison as they marched out of the fort. Captain Wells was killed. Captain Heels, the commandant of the garrison, and his lady, who were marching out of the fort, were both wounded—captain H. through both his thighs, and Mrs. H. by a rifle ball in her wrist and another through the same arm. Their lives were saved by Mr. Burnet, the trader, who claimed them as friends, and offered to purchase their ransom. Captain Heels and his lady are now at St. Josephs with Mr. Burnet. There were no British officers or troops at this engagement. Mr. Greely had the above information from a Pottawattamie chief residing at St. Josephs, who was present at the surrender of Fort Dearborn. Mr. G. also states that an expedition against Fort Wayne, consisting of 200 regulars, 900 Indians, and some militia, set out on the 14th September under captain Muir. But as Gen. Harrison arrived at Fort Wayne on the 12th, no fears can be entertained of the safety of that important post."


CHICAGO, IN 1812.
Hay Stacks
Prairie
S. Branch
N. Branch
Ind. Tract
Burns'
Agency House
Ind. Trail
Quilmette's
Fort H
Kinzie's
Mounds of Sand
Battle Ground 1812
Line of Sand Hills
LAKE MICHIGAN.
Old Mouth of RIVER
PRAIRIE HARBOR

The same paper has also this:

"The following extract of a letter from St. Louis, Missouri territory, received in Washington city, furnishes an account of the melancholy fate of the garrison of Chicago (or Fort Dearborn) after the surrender, and exhibits a distressing picture of the dangers to which the inhabitants of our Western Frontiers are exposed in consequence of the surrender of Detroit:

"'Fort Chicago, on the Illinois, was evacuated on the 15th of last month, and the officers and soldiers put to death one mile from the place. Three women and nine children were among the slain. The credulous captain Wells (Indian agent) had his breast cut open and his heart roasted and eaten by the chiefs present.'"

Also, from *The War*, of Nov. 14, 1812, we copy:

"*Extract of a letter from Capt. Heald, late commandant at Fort Chicago, dated at Pittsburg, Oct. 23, 1812:*—On the 9th of August last, I received orders from General Hull to evacuate the post and proceed with my command to Detroit by land, leaving it at my discretion to dispose of the public property as I thought proper. The neighboring Indians got the information as early as I did, and came in from all quarters in order to receive the goods in the factory store, which they understood were to be given them. On the 13th, capt. Wells, of Fort Wayne, arrived with about 30 Miamies, for the purpose of escorting us in by the request of General Hull. On the 14th, I delivered the Indians all the goods in the factory store, and a considerable quantity of provisions which we could not take away with us; the surplus and ammunition I thought proper to destroy, fearing they would make bad use of it if put in their possession. I also destroyed all the liquor on hand soon after they began to collect. The collection was unusually large for that place, but they conducted with the strictest propriety till after I left the fort. On the 15th, at 9 in the morning, we commenced our march; a part of the Miamies were detached in front and the remainder in our rear as guards, under the direction of Capt. Wells. The situation of the country rendered it necessary for us to take the beach, with the lake on our left, and a high sand-bank on our right, about 100 yards distance. We had proceeded about a mile and a half, when it was discovered that the Indians were prepared to attack us from behind the bank. I immediately marched up with the company to the top of the bank, when the action commenced; after firing one round we charged, and the Indians gave way in front and joined those on our flanks. In about 15 minutes they got possession of all our horses, provisions, and baggage of every description; and finding the Miamies did not assist us, I drew off the few men I had left and took possession of a small elevation in the open prairie, out of shot of the bank, or any other cover. The Indians did not follow me, but assembled in a body on the top of the bank, and, after some

consultation among themselves, made signs for me to approach them. I advanced towards them alone, and was met by one of the Potawatamie chiefs, called the Black Bird, with an interpreter. After shaking hands, he requested me to surrender, promising to spare the lives of all the prisoners. On a few moments' consideration, I concluded it would be most prudent to comply with his request, although I did not put entire confidence in his promise. After delivering up our arms, we were taken back to their encampment, near the fort, and distributed among the different tribes. The next morning they set fire to the fort and left the place, taking the prisoners with them. Their number of warriors was between four and five hundred, mostly of the Potawatamie nation, and their loss, from the best information I could get, was about 15. Our strength was 54 regulars and 12 militia, out of which 26 regulars and all the militia were killed in the action, with two women and twelve children. Ensign George Ronan, and Dr. Isaac V. Van Voorhis, of my company, with Capt. Wells, of Fort Wayne, are, to my great sorrow, numbered among the dead. Lieut. Lina T. Helm, with 25 non-commissioned officers and privates, and 11 women and children, were prisoners when we were separated. Mrs. Heald and myself were taken to the mouth of the river St. Joseph, and being both badly wounded, were permitted to reside with Mr. Burnet, an Indian trader. In a few days after our arrival there, the Indians all went off to take Fort Wayne, and in their absence I engaged a Frenchman to take us to Michilimackinac by water, where I gave myself up as a prisoner of war, with one of my sergeants. The commanding officer, Captain Roberts, offered me every assistance in his power to render our situation comfortable while we remained there, and to enable us to proceed on our journey. To him I gave my parole of honor, and came on to Detroit and reported myself to Col. Proctor, who gave us a passage to Buffaloe; from that place I came by the way of Presque Isle, and arrived here yesterday."

The following, relating to the same event, from *Niles' Register*, we copy as communicated by Hon. John Wentworth to the *Evening Journal:*

(From Niles' Register, May 8, 1813.)

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM WALTER JORDAN, A NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICER OF THE REGULARS, AT FORT WAYNE, TO HIS WIFE IN ALLEGHENY COUNTY, DATED FORT WAYNE, OCTOBER 19, 1812:

I take my pen in hand to inform you that I am well, after a long and perilous journey, through the Indian country. Captain Wells, myself, and a hundred friendly Indians, left Fort Wayne on the 1st of August, to escort Captain Heald from Fort Chicaugo, as he was in danger of being captured by the British. Orders had been given to abandon that fort and retire to Fort Wayne, a distance of 150

miles. We reached Chicaugo on the 10th of August, and on the 15th we prepared for an immediate march, burning all that we could not fetch with us. On the 15th, at 8 o'clock, we commenced our march with our small force, which consisted of Captain Wells, myself, and 100 Confute Indians, Captain Heald's 100 men, ten women, and twenty children—in all 232. We had marched one-half a mile when we were attacked by 600 Kickapoo and Winnebago Indians. In the moment of trial, our 100 Confute savages joined the savage enemy. Our contest lasted ten minutes, when every man, woman, and child was killed except fifteen. Thanks be to God, I was one of those who escaped. First they shot the feather off my cap, next the epaulette off my shoulders, and then the handle from my sword. I then surrendered to four savage rascals. The Confute Chief, taking me by the hand and speaking English, said: "Jordan, I know you. You gave me tobacco at Fort Wayne. We won't kill you, but come and see what we will do with your Captain." So, leading me up to where Wells lay, they cut off his head and put it on a long pole, while another took out his heart and divided it among the chiefs, and eat it up raw. Then they scalped the slain and stripped the prisoners, and gathered in a ring, with us fifteen poor wretches in the middle. They had nearly all fallen out about the divide; but my old chief, the White Raccoon, holding me fast, they made the divide and departed to their towns. They tied me hand and foot that night, and placed a guard over me. I lay down and slept soundly until morning, for I was tired. In the morning they untied me and set me parching corn, at which I worked attentively until night. They said if we would stay and not run away that they would make a chief of me; but if I would attempt to run away, they would catch me and burn me alive. I amused them with a fine story, in order to gain their confidence, and fortunately made my escape from them on the 19th of August, and took one of their best horses to carry me, being seven days in the wilderness. I was joyfully received at Wayne on the 26th. On the 28th they attacked the fort, and blockaded us until the 16th September, when we were relieved by General Harrison.

(From the Niles' Register, 4th June, 1814.)

CHICAGO.

Among the persons who have recently arrived at this place (says the Plattsburgh, N. Y., paper), from Quebec, are:

James Van Horn,	Elias Mills,	Dyson Dyer,
Joseph Knowles,	Joseph Bowen,	James Corbin,
Paul Grummow,	Nathan Edson,	Phelim Corbin,

of the First Regiment of United States Infantry, who survived the massacre at Fort Dearborn or Chicago on the 15th of August, 1812. It will be recollected that the commandant at Fort Dearborn was ordered by General Hull to evacuate the fort and proceed with his

command to Detroit; that, having proceeded about a mile and a half, the troops were attacked by a body of Indians, to whom they were compelled to capitulate. Captain Heald, in his report of this affair, dated Oct. 23, 1812, says:

"Our strength was fifty-four regulars and twelve militia, out of which twenty-six regulars and all the militia were killed in the action, with two women and twelve children. Lieutenant Linai T. Helm with twenty-five non-commissioned officers and privates, and eleven women and children, were prisoners when we separated. Lieutenant Helm was ransomed. Of the twenty-five non-commissioned officers and privates, and the eleven women and children, the nine persons above mentioned are believed to be the only survivors. They state that the prisoners who were not put to death on the march were taken to the Fox river, in the Illinois Territory, where they were distributed among the Indians as servants.

"Those who survived remained in this situation nine months, during which time they were allowed scarcely a sufficiency of sustenance to support nature, and were then brought to Fort Chicago, where they were purchased by a French trader, agreeable to the directions of General Proctor, and sent to Amherstburg, and thence to Quebec, where they arrived November 8, 1813.

"John Neads, who was one of the prisoners and formerly from Virginia, died among the Indians between the 15th and 20th of January, 1813.

"Hugh Logan, an Irishman, was tomahawked and put to death, he not being able to walk, from excessive fatigue.

"August Mott was killed in the same manner for the like reason.

"A man by the name of Nelson was frozen to death while a captive with the Indians. He was formerly from Maryland.

"A child of Mrs. Neads, the wife of John Neads, was tied to a tree to prevent its following its mother, and crying for victuals. Mrs. Neads afterwards perished with hunger and cold.

"The officers who were killed on the 15th of August had their heads cut off and their hearts taken out and broiled in the presence of the prisoners.

"Eleven children were massacred and scalped in one wagon.

"Mrs. Corbin, wife of Phelim Corbin, in an advanced stage of pregnancy, was tomahawked and scalped, and cut open and had the child taken out and its head cut off."

It was related by the chief, *Black Hawk*, in detailing the circumstances of his warfare against the Americans, dating as far back as 1812, that he met, by invitation, at Green Bay, Col. Dickson, the British agent. He was by him persuaded to join their side by aid of presents and the assurance he

gave that the English Father had sent him and his braves to drive them (the Americans) back to their own country. Said Black Hawk (Smith's His. Wis.):

"The next day, arms and ammunition, tomahawks, knives, and clothing were given to my band. We had a great feast in the evening, and the morning following I started with about five hundred braves to join the British army. The British war-chief accompanied us. We passed Chicago. The fort had been evacuated by the American soldiers, who had marched for Fort Wayne. They were attacked a short distance from that fort and defeated. They had a considerable quantity of powder in the fort at Chicago which they promised to the Indians, but the night before they marched they destroyed it. I think it was thrown into the well. If they had fulfilled their word to the Indians, I think they would have gone safe."

James W. Biddle, of Pittsburgh, Pa., in a communication dated Jan., 1854, to Mr. Draper of the Wis. His. Society, and which appears in vol. 1 of the Society's Coll's, says:

"My first visit to Green Bay was in the fall of 1816. I was concerned with Col. James Thomas in the supply of the troops at Detroit, Mackinaw, Chicago, Green Bay,—provided, said the contract, that a military post should be established at the latter place within the year." (The post at Green Bay was established that year—1816.) "Chicago then had no trading reputation, vessels only visiting it to carry troops or provisions to supply them; and these provisions and supplies, up to that time, were principally brought from Pittsburgh, including pork, flour, whiskey, soap, candles, vinegar, conveyed by keel-boats up the Alleghany, and French Creek, to Le Boeuf, or Waterford, and thence wagoned over to Erie."

From a printed letter of Samuel A. Storrow to Major-General Brown, dated Brownville, 1st December, 1817, giving particulars of a three months' tour through the west; we make the extracts below. Mr. Storrow's route from Detroit embraced brief visits to Fort Gratiot, Mackinaw, St. Mary's Falls, and Lake Superior, Green Bay, Lake Winnebago, Fort Dearborn, Fort Wayne, Detroit, and through Canada to Fort Niagara, and thence to Brownville. Of Samuel Appleton Storrow, we know not much beyond the above-named letter. S. M. A. Storrow, probably the same, was a student, but not a graduate, at Harvard College in 1806. He was from Mas-

sachusetts, and was acting Judge Advocate U. S. A. in 1815, Judge Advocate July 9, 1816, retained April, 1818, resigned 5 Feb., 1820. The compliment of an honorary degree was conferred on him in 1821, by Dartmouth College. He died in 1837, aged 50. We will add that our pamphlet copy of Mr. Storrow's letter, comprising 39 printed octavo pages, like the copy belonging to the Wis. His. Soc., has no title-page.

"On the 2d of October, after walking for three or four hours, I reached the River Chicago, and after crossing it, entered Fort Dearborn, where I was kindly entertained by Major Baker and the officers of the garrison, who received me as one arrived from the moon. At Chicago I perceived I was in a better country. It had become so by gradual melioration. That which I had left was of a character far above mediocrity, but labors under the permanent defects of coldness of soil and want of moisture. The native strength of it is indicated by the growth of timber, which is almost entirely of white oak and beach, without pine, chestnut, maple, ash, or any kind which denotes warmth. The country suffers, at the same time, from water, and from the want of it. The deficiency of circulation, not of water itself, produces this contradiction. It is not sufficiently uneven to form brooks to lead off its redundant rains, and form a deposit for mid-summer. The snows of winter dissolve and remain on the ground, until exhaled by the sun, at a late period of spring. In Prairies that are entirely level, this produces a cold which is scarcely dissipated by the heat of summer; in such as are undulated, it renders one-half (that on which the water rests) useless, or of inferior value. It must be remembered, moreover, that this region is not to undergo the changes incident to new countries generally, from the thinning of the forests and exposure of the soil. It is already on the footing of the oldest, and has received, for the lapse of ages, all the heat it is ever to derive from the sun alone. At some remotely future period, when a dense population enables the husbandman to apply artificial warmth to his grounds, means of life may be extracted from this soil which are latent at present. It requires industry, and is capable of repaying it.

"The River Chicago (or, in English, Wild Onion River) is deep, and about forty yards in width. Before it enters the lake, its two branches unite, the one proceeding from the north, the other from the west, where it takes its rise in the very fountain of the Plein, or Illinois, whinh flows in an opposite direction. The source of these two rivers illustrates the geographical phenomenon of a reservoir on the very summit of a dividing ridge. In the autumn they are both without any apparent fountain, but are formed within a mile and a half of each other by some imperceptible undulations of the Prairie, which drain it and lead to different directions. But in the spring,

the space between the two is a single sheet of water, the common reservoir of both, in the centre of which there is no current towards either of the opposite streams. This circumstance creates the singular fact of the insulation of all the United States excepting Louisiana, making the circumnavigation of them practicable from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to that of Mexico, with the single hindrance of the falls of Niagara.

"The Chicago forms a third partition of the great country I had passed. The Ouisconsin and Fox Rivers make a water communication between the Mississippi and Michigan, with the exception of four miles. The Millewackie and River a la Roche the same, with half the exception. The Chicago and De Plien make, in the manner I have described, the communication entire. This latter should not escape national attention. The ground between the two is without rocks, and with little labour would admit of a permanent connection between the waters of the Illinois and Michigan.

"The site and relations of Fort Dearborn I have already explained. It has no advantage of harbour, the river itself being always choaked, and frequently barred, from the same causes that I have imputed to the other streams of this country. In the rear of the fort is a Prairie of the most complete flatness, no signs of elevation being within the range of the eye. The soil and climate are both excellent. Traces yet remain of the devastation and massacre committed by the savages in 1812. I saw one of the principal perpetrators (Nes cot no meg). On the 4th of October I left Chicago for Fort Wayne, having provided less uncomfortable means of travelling than for the ten previous days.

"The River Chicago was first explored by LaSalle and Fra. Hennepin, in 1679. I have been led into many errors from the misapplied names and antiquated style of Fra. Hennepin's narration. He calls Lake Michigan the Lake of the Illinois, and Chicago the River Miamis. Time must have made a great alteration in this region, or both Hennepin and LaSalle have erred egregiously in the description of it. The triangular eminence 'naturally fortified' at the mouth of the Chicago, and the distance of twenty five leagues from the portage, between the Chicago and the Illinois, to the confluence of the former with the lake, induce a belief that neither of them were there.* LaSalle, in his letter to Count Frontenac, errs in his description of the ground between the Chicago and the Illinois, or, as he calls it, the Divine River.

"Our course was to lay, for about 60 miles, on the beach of Lake Michigan, from thence inclining eastwardly to the St. Joseph's, of the Lake, and thence due south to the Miami, of Lake Erie. On the night of the 4th I slept on the beach, after having forded the

* The description had reference, no doubt, to the St. Joseph River, and the portage to the Kankakee.

little Kennomick. I call it after the Indian pronunciation; Calumet is probably the name."

William Darby, an author and statist of some prominence, made a tour from New York City to Detroit in 1818, and his notes of the same were published in a volume the year following. His remarks were not limited by the extent of his journey westward, and we will take the occasion to present a few extracts from his book, showing much sound sense and veritable prophecy, though uttered sixty years ago. Mr. Darby died in Washington, D. C., October, 1854. The *National Intelligencer* said of him: "He was a man of singular sincerity, probity, and benevolence, and was equally deserving of respect for his virtues and admiration for the powers of his enlightened understanding."

"No doubt now remains but that the Chicago and Illinois rivers afford by far the mosc eligible natural connexion between the northern and southern waters of the United States. It appears that the great spine running from the Hudson to the Maumee river terminates at, or is interrupted by, the valley of the Illinois. The latter stream is formed towards its source by two branches, one of which rises south of lake Michigan, and the other (river Plein) rises in the flat country west of Chicago, and, flowing south, unite to the southwest of the extreme south part of Michigan. The Chicago heads in the same plain with the river Plein, and winding for some distance parallel to the latter stream, thence turns east, falls into Lake Michigan. The Chicago and Plein intermingle their sources, and afford one of those instances where rivers have their sources in plains so nearly approaching the curve of a real sphere as to leave, for the discharge of the waters, scarce inclination sufficient to determine their courses. This is the case with the two rivers we are now reviewing. The precise descent of the Chicago, from its nearest approach to the Plein to the level of Lake Michigan, has never been ascertained, but it is known to be without falls, or even rapids. The Plein also flows with a very slight current, and the two streams present almost a strait between the Mississippi river and lake Michigan. The land contiguous to this important pass was ceded to the United States by the savage tribes who formerly possessed the right of soil. The land thus ceded, is now about being surveyed, and in course will, ere long, be sold to individuals and settled. The development of the natural sources of this region will be disclosed with the ordinary celerity that marks the newly established settlements in our western world. * * * It can scarce be

doubted but that beyond Buffalo, when the contiguous countries are equally inhabited, the Illinois river and Canadian lakes will form the channel of communication with the upper waters of the Mississippi in preference to the route by the Ohio. The navigation of the latter river is subject to great embarrassment from frost, and long dry weather in the fall season. So much of the northern channel of commerce permits the use of vessels of considerable tonage, that transportation from Buffalo to Chicago will be less expensive than that of any equal distance by the Ohio route. If the people of the United States ought to ever unite in opening any channel of communication, it is that by the Illinois river and lake Michigan. If If the various points from St. Louis to Buffalo were united by commercial facility, a numerous population would be the immediate consequence. * * * With the particular features of the country around lake Michigan, I am unacquainted; but from all the scattered information I have been able to procure, I am induced to believe that the shores of Lake Erie and Michigan are, in a great part, similar; and if such is the fact, the latter is environed with shores possessing all the attributes necessary to permit a dense and flourishing settlement. * * * Before the middle of the current century, if no catastrophy occurs to disturb the present course of events, there will exist between the City of New York, and St. Louis, within less than fifty miles of the line we are now examining, more than five milions of people, or about one-half as many as are now in the whole United States."

Mr. Darby then quotes a recent editorial from the *St. Louis Enquirer:*

"*Communication with the lakes.*—Messrs. Graham and Phillips, commissioners on the part of the United States, and Mr. Sullivan, surveyor, have set out to lake Michigan to mark the boundary lines of the lands ceded to the United States by the Ottawa, Chippewa, and Pottowattima Indians in the summer of the year 1816. They will run a line from the southern extremity of this lake to the Mississippi. The Indians have ceded to the United States what lies to the south of this line. The commissioners will run two other lines from the southwestern part of lake Michigan to the Illinois river. The lines will be paralell to each other, and twenty miles apart. They will begin on the shore of the lake, at points ten miles north and south of Chicago, and will embrace the little rivers Chicago and Plein, and the carrying place between them, which form the channel of communication between lake Michigan and the Illinois river. The Indians have ceded to the United States this important pass, with ten miles of country on each side of it, and it is the business of the commissioners to mark out the grant, that the American government may reduce it to possession. The communication between the lake and the Illinois is a point which will fix the attention of the

merchant and the statesman. They will see in it the gate which is to open the northern seas into the valley of the Mississippi, and which is to connect New York and New Orleans by a water line, which the combined navies of the world cannot cut off. Never did the work of nature require so little from the hand of art to complete so great a design! The lakes Superior, Huron, Erie, and Ontario, lie from west to east, in the direction of the St. Lawrence, manifestly seeking their outlet through the valley of that river. But the Michigan departs from that direction; she lays from north to south. United to the other lakes by a strait, she stretches the body of her water down towards the head of the Illinois river, as if intending to discharge herself through that channel into the Mississippi. And no hills or mountains intervene to prevent the conjunction; on the contrary, the ground between is flat, and covered with ponds in wet weather, which turn their waters partly to the lake and partly to the river. The Chicago and the Plein are the drains from these ponds; they have neither falls nor shoals; they have not the character of streams, but of canals; the water hardly moves in their deep and narrow channels. The Illinois itself is more a canal than a river, having hardly current enough to bend the lofty grass which grows in its bed. The French of Canada, and of the valley of the Mississippi, have communicated through this channel since the settlement of the countries. In high water, boats of ten or a dozen tons pass without obstruction. In the dry season, they are unloaded, placed on vehicles, and drawn by oxen over a portage of a few miles, and launched into the river or lake, as the course of the voyage may require. Hundreds, nay thousands, of boats have been seen at St. Louis which have made a similar passage. It may be hoped that the government will not limit itself to the barren work of marking the lines about this portage. While the state of New York opens a canal of three hundred miles, the federal government should not be appalled at undertaking one of three hundred rods. It might be dug in the time that a long-winded member of Congress would make a speech against its constitutionality."

Col. Abram Edwards was the writer of a communication, dated Janesville, Aug. 30, 1855, which appeared in the *Standard*, newspaper, of that town. We make an extract therefrom, the letter being published in vol. 5, Wis. His. Soc. Coll.:

"In the year 1818, I was a resident of Detroit, and the owner of a large mercantile establishment located in that place, and from this had branches at Fort Gratiot, the outlet of Lake Huron, and at Mackinaw, Green Bay, and Chicago. In May of that year, business required my presence at each of the branches, and I accompanied the army Pay-master, Major Phillips, who was ordered to pay the

troops stationed at those places, then military posts. We left Detroit in the month of May in a small schooner for Mackinac, and from thence, on the same mode of conveyance, to Green Bay. After our business was finished at the Bay, and we were looking for a conveyance to Chicago, Inspector Gen. Wool arrived, and requested we would not leave until he had inspected the troops, and he would accompany us to that place. In the interim, we purchased a bark canoe and had it fitted up for our voyage. Major Z. Taylor, afterwards President, commanding the post, furnished us with seven expert canoe-men to manage our frail bark. We left Green Bay garrison after dinner, and went to the head of Sturgeon Bay, 40 miles, and encamped for the night. The next morning we carried our canoe two and a half miles over the portage to the shore of Lake Michigan, and, after getting the baggage over, we were willing to encamp for the night. The next morning found us in our canoe afloat on the waters of the Lake, paddling our way to Chicago, where we arrived the third day from our Lake shore encampment. On our passage, although we frequently landed, we did not meet with a white man; we were, however, informed one was trading with the Indians at Milwaukee. At Twin Rivers, Manitowoc, Sheboygan, and Milwaukee, the shore of the Lake was lined with Indians; near Manitowoc, many were out in canoes spearing white fish. I am reminded of these reminiscences, having recently noticed in the public prints a census of the inhabitants of the cities and towns that have grown upon this very Lake shore, which for beauty and population are equal to many of the cities and towns of the old States, and which shores when traversed were then peopled by savages, and, indeed, from the shores of Lake Michigan to the Mississippi River was one wide waste of unoccupied country. Indeed, from Chicago to Detroit you had no track but the Indian path from one city to the other, and without any shelter for the weary traveler; where now, in Michigan, there is nearly one million of inhabitants, with all the facilities of conveyances and comfort you find in the older States.

* * * Chicago, in 1818, was only a garrison, commanded by Major Baker, with no settlements near; now it probably contains a population of over 70,000, probably 10,000 more than can be numbered in the old city of Albany."

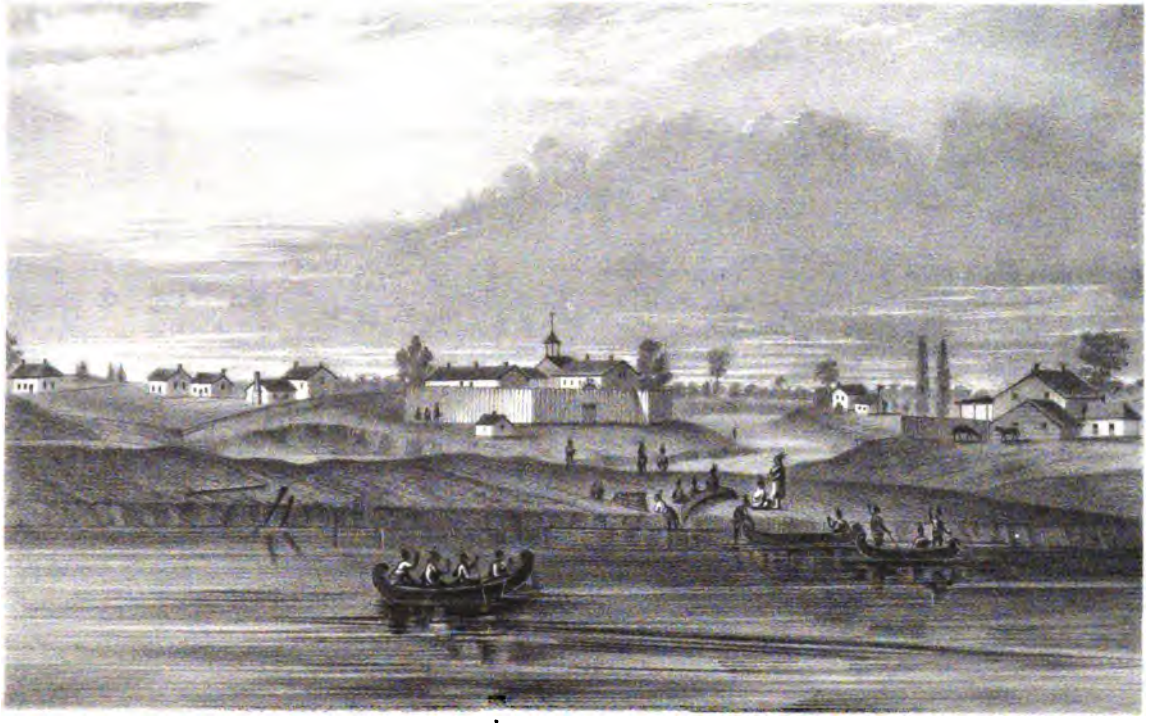
"*Summary Narrative of an Exploratory Expedition to the Sources of the Mississippi River; Resumed and Completed by the Discovery of its Origin, in Itasca Lake, in 1832. By Henry R. Schoolcraft, 1855.*" The first expedition referred to on the above-named title-page had its origin in a letter by Gov. Lewis Cass to John C. Calhoun, Secretary of War, dated Detroit, Nov. 18, 1819, suggesting a tour of exploration

through the northwest, and country of the upper lakes and Mississippi, to examine not only the mineral prospects of the region, together with a view of its zoology, botany, etc., but the condition and disposition of the Indian tribes, and, besides other matters, "To ascertain the views of the Indians in the vicinity of Chicago, respecting the removal of the six Nations to that district of country; an extract from the letter of Mr. Kinzie, sub-agent at Chicago, upon this subject will show the situation in which this business stands:" "To explain to the Indians the views of the Government respecting their intercourse with the British authorities at Malden, and distinctly to announce to them that their visits must be discontinued."

The project met the approval of the Secretary of War; the expedition to be conducted under the leadership of Governor Cass. Captain D. B. Douglas, of the army, and Henry R. Schoolcraft, mineralogist, were assigned to accompany the Governor. In addition to them, Dr. Alexander Wolcott, Lt. Eneas Mackay, U. S. A., Major Robert A. Forsyth, Private-Secretary of the Governor, James D. Doty, and Charles C. Trowbridge; together with ten Canadian voyageurs to manage the canoes, ten U. S. soldiers for an escort, and ten Indians to act as hunters, under the direction of James Riley and Joseph Parks as interpreters, constituted the force of the exploring party. Three large bark canoes were required for their accommodation. Leaving Detroit on the 24th May, 1820, their route led them to Mackinaw, Sault St. Mary, Lake Superior, crossing in their way Keweenaw Point through Portage Lake; thence to the west end of Superior, and up St. Louis River to the portage from the Savanna to Sandy Lake and the Mississippi; thence up that river, through Lake Winnepeg, to Cass Lake, the extent of their journey. They returned *via* the Mississippi and Wisconsin Rivers, and Green Bay, where a number of their party, including Messrs. Trowbridge, Doty, and Riley, were detailed to make examination of the shore of the north end of Lake Michigan, while others, with the Governor, continued to Chicago. We copy from Mr. Schoolcraft's book as follows:

Digitized by Google

UNIV. OF
CALIFORNIA



SCHOOLCRAFT'S CHICAGO IN 1820.

"The next day's journey, 28th (August, 1820), carried us forty miles, in which distance, the most noticeable fact in the topography of the coast was the entrance of the Racine or Root River; its eligible shores being occupied by some Pottawatomie lodges. Having reached within ten or twelve miles of Chicago, and being anxious to make that point, we were in motion at a very early hour on the morning of the 29th, and reached the village at five o'clock A. M. We found four or five families living here, the principal of which were those of Mr. John Kinzie, Dr. A. Wolcott, J. B. Bobian, and Mr. J. Crafts, the latter living a short distance up the river. The Pottawattomies, to whom this site is the capital of their trade, appeared to be lords of the soil, and truly are entitled to the epithet if laziness, and an utter inappreciation of the value of time, be a test of lordliness. Dr. Wolcott, being the U. S. Agent for this tribe, found himself at home here, and constitutes no further a member of the expedition. Gov. Cass determined to return to Detroit from this point, on horseback, across the peninsula of Michigan, accompanied by Lt. Mackay, U. S. A., Maj. Forsyth, his private secretary, and the necessary number of men and pack horses to prepare their night encampments. This left Capt. Douglas and myself to continue the survey of the Lakes, and after reaching Michilimackinac, and rejoining the party of Mr. Trowbridge, to return to Detroit from that point. The preparation for these ends occupied a couple of days, which gave us an opportunity to scan the vicinity. We found the post (Fort Dearborn) under the command of Capt. Bradley, with a force of one hundred and sixty men. The river is ample and deep for a few miles, but is utterly choked up by the lake sands, through which, behind a masked margin, it oozes its way for a mile or two till it percolates through the sands into the lake. Its banks consist of a black, arenaceous, fertile soil, which is stated to produce abundantly, in its season, the wild species of cepa, or leek. This circumstance has led the natives to name it the place of the wild leek. Such is the origin of the term Chicago, which is a derivative, by elision and French annotation, from the word *Chi-kaug-ong*. *Kaug* is the Algonquin name for the hystrix, or porcupine. It takes the prefix *Chi* when applied to the mustela putorius.* The particle *Chi* is the common prefix of nouns, to denote greatness in any natural object; but it is also employed, as here, to mean increase, or excess, as acridness, or pungency in quality. The penultimate, *ong*,† denotes locality. The putorius is so named from this plant, and not, as has been thought, the plant from it. I took the sketch,‡ which is reproduced in the fourth vol. of my Ethnological Researches, Plate 27, from a stand-point on the flat of sand which stretched in front of the place. This view embraces every house in the village, with the

* The polecat.'

† Not the "penultimate," but the *last*, it would seem.

‡ We present herewith, opposite this page, a copy of Mr. Schoolcraft's Sketch of Chicago, in 1820.

fort; and if the reproduction of the artist in vol. 4 may be subjected to any criticism, it is perhaps that the stockade bears too great a proportion to the scene, while the precipice observed in the shore line of sand is wholly wanting in the original. The country around Chicago is the most fertile and beautiful that can be immagined It consists of an intermixture of woods and prairies, diversified with gentle slopes, sometimes attaining the elevation of hills, and it is irrigated with a number of clear streams and rivers, which throw their waters partly into Lake Michigan and partly into the Mississippi River. As a farming country, it presents the greatest facilities for raising stock and grains, and it is one of the most favored parts of the Mississippi Valley. The climate has a delightful serenity, and it must, as soon as the Indian tittle is extinguished, become one of the most attactive fields for the emigrant. To the ordinary advantages of an agricultural market town, it must add that of being a depot for the commerce between the northern and southern sections of the Union, and a great throroughfare for strangers, merchants, and travellers. * * * It was now the last day of August. Having partaken of the hospitalities of Mr. Kinzie, and of Captains Bradley and Green, of Fort Dearborn, during our stay at Chicago, and completed the reorganization of our parties, we separated on the last day of the month, at two o'clock P. M., Gov. Cass and his party, on horseback, taking the old Indian trail to Detroit, and Capt. Douglas and myself being left, with two canoes, to complete the circumnavigation of the lakes. We did not delay our departure over thirty minutes, but bidding adieu to Dr. Wolcott, whose manners, judgment, and intelligence had commanded our respect during the journey, embarked with two canoes; our steersmen immediately hoisted their square sails, and, favored by a good breeze, we proceeded twenty miles along the southern curve at the head of Lake Michigan and encamped. Within two miles of Chicago we passed, on the open shores of the lake, the scene of the massacre of Chicago of the 15th August, 1812, being the day after the surrender of Detroit* by Gen. Hull. Gloom hung, at that eventful period, over every part of our western borders. Michilimackinac had already been carried by surprise; and the ill-advised order to evacuate Chicago was deemed by the Indians an admission that the Americans were to be driven from the country. The Pottawattomies determined to show the power of their hostility on this occasion. Capt. Heald, the commanding officer, having received Gen. Hull's order to abandon the post, and having an escort of thirty friendly Miamis from Fort Wayne, under Capt. Wells, had quitted the fort at nine o'clock in the morning with fifty-four regulars, a subaltern, physician, twelve militia, and the necessary baggage-wagons for the provisions and ammunition, which contained eighteen soldiers, women,

* The day *before;* Detroit surrendered Aug. 16.

and children. They had not proceeded more than a mile and a half, along the shore of the lake, when an ambuscade of Indians was discovered behind the sand-hills which encompass the flat, sandy shore. The horrid yell, which rose on the discovery being made, was acompanied by a general and deadly fire from them. Several men fell at the first fire; but Capt. Heald formed his men, and effected a charge up the bank, which dispersed his assailants. It was only, however, to find the enemy return by a flank movement, in which their numbers gave them the victory. In a few moments, out of his effective force of sixty-six men, but sixteen survived. With these he succeeded in drawing off to a position in the prairie, where he was not followed by the Indians. On a negotiation, opened by a chief called Mukudapenais, he surrendered, under promise of security for their lives. This promise was afterwards violated, with the exception of himself and three or four men. Among the slain was Ensign Ronan, Dr. Voorhis, and Capt. Wells. The latter had his heart cut out, and his body received other shocking indignities. The saddest part of the tragedy was the attack on the women and children who occupied the baggage wagons, and were all slain. Several of the women fought with swords. During the action, a sergeant of infantry ran his bayonet through the heart of an Indian who had lifted his tomahawk to strike him; not being able to withdraw the instrument, it served to hold up the Indian, who actually tomahawked him in this position, and both fell dead together. The Miamis remained neuter in this massacre. Mr. Kinzie, of Chicago, of whose hospitalities we had partaken, was a witness of this transaction, and furnished the principal facts of this narrative."

Rev. Isaac McCoy, a Baptist clergyman, was the author of a work published in 1840, entitled "*History of Baptist Indian Missions; embracing remarks on the former and present condition of the aboriginal tribes, their settlement within the Indian Territory, and their future prospects.*" Mr. McCoy was evidently a man of considerable ability, and a marked trait of character was that he *ignored self* and devoted himself to the cause of humanity in the service of his Divine Master. To any one entitled to such a record, we know of nothing more noble and honorable within the whole range of biographical history. Accepting the evidently truthful statements of the volume above named, the great services of Mr. as well also as Mrs. McCoy, for a series of years among the Indians, may be characterized as laborious and self-sacrificing, at-

tended with circumstances of much danger as well as suffering. Mr. McC. had the respect and confidence of many of the prominent and best men of our nation. He was a missionary in Illinois as early as the year 1817, and without ignoring the teachings of the early French Catholics, as far as we know, he delivered in the autumn of 1825, the first sermon ever preached in Chicago. We may briefly say that to him, as their founder, were various mission schools indebted, namely, at Fort Wayne, and at what was then called *Carey* (about a mile distant from the site of the present Niles, Mich.), and also at Grand River, Mich., etc. Essential service, also, was rendered by him in locating the Indians in their new home beyond the Mississippi. We shall extract and present several items from his History.

In the month of June, 1821, he sat out from his school at Fort Wayne, with Abraham Burnett, one of his pupils, on a tour to the Pottawatomies, in the vicinity of St. Joseph River, of Michigan. His purpose was to look over the ground and canvass the prospects for a permanent mission and a school, that at Fort Wayne not expected to continue:

"June 10th, 1821. I met Topenebe, Chebass, and Cheshaugen, and others, at one of their villages. As is usual on those occasions, business was opened by throwing my tobacco in a heap on the ground, in the midst of the company, followed by a round of smoking. Next came our *talk*."

"12th June. * * * About three o'clock we fell in with a company of Sauks, on their way to Canada for presents, which the British there make to them and other tribes annually. In the afternoon reached the residence of the Burnetts, Abraham's relations, who were half breeds, and who resided near Lake Michigan. Here we were made comfortable; rested two days, and obtained a supply of provisions. * * * The Burnetts, who were acknowledged Indians by their tribe, were related to Topenebe, the principal chief of the Putawatomie tribe. They were intelligent, and I availed myself of their influence in bringing the Putawatomies into measures. We awaited the arrival of one of them who attended a feast at Topenebe's, at which they cooked eight deer. * * * We left the Burnett's early on the 16th. * * * On the night of the 17th, we encamped near a company driving cattle through the wilderness to the army at Chicago."

Mr. McCoy speaks about the Treaty of 1821, at Chicago,* which gathering was convened some time in August of that

* We here present a copy of the Treaty at Chicago, in the summer of 1821, as it is given in the volume of Indian Treaties, compiled by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington, 1837:

Articles of a treaty made and concluded at Chicago, in the State of Illinois, between Lewis Cass and Solomon Sibley, commissioners of the United States, and the Ottawa, Chippewa, and Pattiwatima nations of Indians.

ART. 1. The Ottawa, Chippewa, and Pattiwatima nations of Indians cede to the United States all the land comprehended within the following boundaries: Beginning at a point on the south bank of the river St. Joseph of lake Michigan, near the Parc aux Vaches, due north from Rum's village, and running thence south to a line drawn due east from the southern extreme of lake Michigan; thence with the said line east to the tract ceded by the Pattiwatimas to the United States by the treaty of fort Meigs, in 1817, if the said line should strike the said tract, but if the said line should pass north of the said tract, then such line shall be continued until it strikes the western boundary of the tract ceded to the United States by the treaty of Detroit in 1807, and from the termination of the said line, following the boundaries of former cessions, to the main branch of the grand river of lake Michigan, should any of the said lines cross the said river; but if none of the said lines should cross the said river, then to a point due east of the source of the said main branch of the said river, and from such point due west to the source of the said principal branch, and from the crossing of the said river, or from the source thereof, as the case may be, down the said river, on the north bank thereof, to the mouth; thence following the shore of lake Michigan to the south bank of the said river St. Joseph, at the mouth thereof, and thence with the said south bank to the place of beginning.

ART. 2. From the cession aforesaid, there shall be reserved, for the use of the Indians, the following tracts:

One tract at Mang-ach-qua village, on the river Peble, of six miles square.

One tract at Mick-ke-saw-be, of six miles square.

One tract at the village of Na-to-wa-se-pe, of four miles square.

One tract at the village of Prairie Ronde, of three miles square.

One tract at the village of Match-e-be-nash-she-wish, at the head of the Kekalamazoo river.

ART. 3. There shall be granted by the United States to each of the following persons, being all Indians by descent, and to their heirs, the following tracts of land:

To John Burnet, two sections of land.

To James Burnet, Abraham Burnet, Rebecca Burnet, and Nancy Burnet, each one section of land; which said John, James, Abraham, Rebecca, and Nancy, are children of Kaw-kee-me, sister of Top-ni-be, principal chief of the Pattiwatima nation.

The land granted to the persons immediately preceding, shall begin on the north bank of the river St. Joseph, about two miles from the mouth, and shall extend up and back from the said river for quantity.

year. He was unable to attend in person, but he sent a messenger to represent the interests he had in view regarding

To John B. La Lime, son of Noke-no-qua, one-half a section of land, adjoining the tract before granted, and on the upper side thereof.

To Jean B. Chandonai, son of Chip-pe-wa-qua, two sections of land, on the river St. Joseph, above and adjoining the tract granted to J. B. La Lime.

To Joseph Daze, son of Chip-pe-wa-qua, one section of land above and adjoining the tract granted to Jean B. Chandonai.

To Monguago, one-half a section of land, at Mish-she-wa-ko-kink.

To Pierre Moran or Peeresh, a Pattiwatima chief, one section of land, and to his children two sections of land, at the mouth of the Elk-heart river.

To Pierre Le Clerc, son of Moi-qua, one section of land on the Elk-heart river, above and adjoining the tract granted to Moran and his children.

The section of land granted by the treaty of St. Mary's, in 1818, to Peeresh or Perig, shall be granted to Jean B. Cicot, son of Pe-say-quot, sister of the said Peeresh, it having been so intended at the execution of the said treaty.

To O-she-ak-ke-be or Benac, one-half of a section of land on the north side of the Elk-heart river, where the road from Chicago to fort Wayne first crosses the said river.

To Me-naw-che, a Pattiwatima woman, one-half of a section of land on the eastern bank of the St. Joseph, where the road from Detroit to Chicago first crosses the said river.

To Theresa Chandler or To-e-ak-qui, a Pattiwatima woman, and to her daughter Betsey Fisher, one section of land on the south side of the Grand river, opposite to the Spruce Swamp.

To Charles Beaubien and Medart Beaubien, sons of Man-na-ben-a-qua, each one-half of a section of land near the village of Ke-wi-go-shkeem, on the Washtenaw river.

To Antoine Roland, son of I-gat-pat-a-wat-a-mie-qua, one-half of a section of land adjoining and below the tract granted to Pierre Moran.

To William Knaggs, or Was-es-kuk-son, son of Ches-qua, one-half of a section of land adjoining and below the tract granted to Antoine Roland.

To Madeline Bertrand, wife of Joseph Bertrand, a Pattiwatima woman, one section of land at the Parc aux Vaches, on the north side of the river St. Joseph.

To Joseph Bertrand, junior, Benjamin Bertrand, Laurent Bertrand, Theresa Bertrand, and Amable Bertrand, children of the said Madeline Bertrand, each one-half of a section of land at the portage of the Kankakee river.

To John Riley, son of Me-naw-cum-e-go-quoi, one section of land, at the mouth of the river Au Foin, on the Grand River, and extending up the said river.

To Peter Riley, the son of Me-naw-cum-e-go-qua, one section of land, at the mouth of the river Au Foin, on the Grand River, and extending down the said river.

To Jean B. Le Clerc, son of Moi-qua, one-half of a section of land, above and adjoining the tract granted to Pierre Le Clerc.

To Joseph La Frambois, son of Shaw-we-no-qua, one section of land upon the

schools and other things intended to benefit the Indians. With him, also, was accompanied Abraham Burnett. Col.

south side of the river St. Joseph, and adjoining on the upper side the land ceded to the United States, which said section was also ceded to the United States.

The tracts of land herein stipulated to be granted, shall never be leased or conveyed by the grantees or their heirs to any persons whatever, without the permission of the President of the United States. And such tracts shall be located after the said cession is surveyed, and in conformity with such surveys as near as may be, and in such manner as the President may direct.

ART. 4. In consideration of the cession aforesaid, the United States engage to pay to the Ottawa nation one thousand dollars in specie, annually forever, and also to appropriate annually, for the term of ten years, the sum of fifteen hundred dollars, to be expended as the President may direct, in the support of a blacksmith, of a teacher, and of a person to instruct the Ottawas in agriculture, and in the purchase of cattle and farming utensils. And the United States also engage to pay to the Pattiwatima nation five thousand dollars in specie, annually, for the term of twenty years, and also to appropriate annually, for the term of fifteen years, the sum of one thousand dollars, to be expended as the President may direct, in the support of a blacksmith and a teacher. And one mile square shall be selected, under the direction of the President, on the north side of the Grand River, and one mile square on the south side of the St. Joseph, and within the Indian lands not ceded, upon which the blacksmiths and teachers employed for the said tribes, respectively, shall reside.

ART. 5. The stipulation contained in the treaty of Greenville, relative to the right of the Indians to hunt upon the land ceded while it continues the property of the United States, shall apply to this treaty.

ART. 6. The United States shall have the privilege of making and using a road through the Indian country, from Detroit and fort Wayne, respectively, to Chicago.

ART. 7. This treaty shall take effect and be obligatory on the contracting parties, as soon as the same shall be ratified by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate thereof.

In testimony whereof, the said Lewis Cass and Solomon Sibley, commissioners as aforesaid, and the chiefs and warriors of the said Ottawa, Chippewa, and Pattiwatima nations, have hereunto set their hands, at Chicago aforesaid, this 29th day of August, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twenty-one.

Lewis Cass, Solomon Sibley.

OTTAWAS.

Kewagoushcum, his x mark,	Ep-pe-san-se, his x mark,
Nokawjegaun, his x mark,	Kay-nee-wee, his x mark,
Kee-o-to-aw-be, his x mark,	Mo-a-put-to, his x mark,
Ket-che-me-chi-na-waw, his x mark,	Mat-che-pee-na-che-wish, his x mark.

CHIPPEWAS.

Met-tay-waw, his x mark,	Mich-el, his x mark.

Wm. A. Trimble, of Ohio, U. S. Senator at that time, assisted in aiding the project of Mr. McC. From an extended

PATTIWATIMAS.

To-pen-ne-bee, his x mark,
Mee-te-ay, his x mark,
Chee-banse, his x mark,
Loui-son, his x mark,
Wee-saw, his x mark,
Kee-po-taw, his x mark,
Shay-auk-ke-bee, his x mark,
Sho-mang, his x mark,
Waw-we-uck-ke-meck, his x mark,
Nay-ou-chee-mon, his x mark,
Kon-gee, his x mark,
Shee-shaw-gan, his x mark,
Aysh-cam, his x mark,
Meek-say-mank, his x mark,
May-ten-way, his x mark,
Shaw-wen-ne-me-tay, his x mark,
Francois, his x mark,
Mauk-see, his x mark,
Way-me-go, his x mark,
Man-daw-min, his x mark,
Quay-guee, his x mark,
Aa-pen-naw-bee, his x mark,
Mat-cha-wee-yaas, his x mark,
Mat-cha-pag-gish, his x mark,
Mongaw, his x mark,
Pug-gay-gaus, his x mark,
Ses-cobe-mesh, his x mark,
Chee-gwa-mack-gwa-go, his x mark,
Waw-seb-baw, his x mark,
Pee-chee-co, his x mark,
Quoi-quoi-taw, his x mark,
Pe-an-nish, his x mark,
Wy-ne-naig, his x mark,
Onuck-ke-meck, his x mark,
Ka-way-sin, his x mark,
A-meck-kose, his x mark,
Os-see-meet, his x mark,
Shaw-ko-to, his x mark,
No-shay-we-quat, his x mark,
Mee-gwun, his x mark,
Mes-she-ke-ten-now, his x mark,
Kee-no-to-go, his x mark,
Wa-baw-nee-she, his x mark,
Shaw-waw-nay-see, his x mark,
Atch-wee-muck-quee, his x mark,
Pish-she-baw-gay, his x mark,
Waw-ba-saye, his x mark,
Meg-ges-seese, his x mark,
Say-gaw-koo-nuck, his x mark,
Shaw-way-no, his x mark,
Shee-shaw-gun, his x mark,
To-to-mee, his x mark,
Ash-kee-wee, his x mark,
Shay-auk-ke-bee, his x mark,
Aw-be-tone, his x mark.

In presence of

Alex. Wolcott, jr., *Indian Agent*,
Jno. R. Williams, *Adj't Gen. M. Ma.*,
G. Godfroy, *Indian Agent*,
W. Knaggs, *Indian Agent*,
Jacob Visget,
Henry I. Hunt,
A. Phillips, *Paymaster U. S. Army*,
R. Montgomery,
Jacob B. Varnum, *U. S. Factor*,
John B. Beaubien,
Conrad Ten Eyck,
J. Whipley,
George Miles, jun.,
Henry Connor,
James Barnerd,
John Kenzie, *Sub-Agent*.

The tract reserved at the village of Match-e-be-nash-she-wish, at the head of the Ke-kal-i-ma-zoo river, was by agreement to be three miles square. The extent of the reservation was accidentally omitted.

LEWIS CASS,
SOLOMON SIBLEY.

letter to Mr. McCoy from Gov. Lewis Cass, of Michigan Territory, dated July 16, 1822, embracing instructions, etc., relating to both the St. Joseph and Grand River enterprises, we copy as follows:

"All attempts to meliorate the condition of the Indians must prove abortive so long as ardent spirits are freely introduced into their country. * * * One fact will place this lamentable evil in a clearer point of view than the most labored discussion. At the treaty, concluded September last at Chicago, Topenebe, the principal chief of the Putawatamies, a man nearly eighty years of age, irritated at the continual refusal on the part of the commissioners to gratify his importunities for whiskey, exclaimed in the presence of his tribe: 'We care not for the land, the money, or the goods; it is the whiskey we want—give us the whiskey.'"

In this connection, we copy from Mr. McCoy:

"After the business of the treaty was completed at Chicago, and before the Indians left the treaty ground, they received seven barrels of whiskey; and within twenty-four hours afterwards, ten shocking murders were committed among them."

We will say here, that if any one wishes to be told the full story of utter debasement, brutality, and wretchedness, resulting from the use of strong drink, he has only to read the pages of Mr. McCoy's book.

Here is an account of an early Chicago confidence-man:

"I had occasion to record in my journal an instance of misplaced confidence. A soldier, belonging to the army at Chicago, had frequently been sent express to our post (Fort Wayne), and had insinuated himself into my favorable opinion so far, that, from his having been much in the wilderness, a man of good English education, and now professedly serious, I hoped that he might be employed usefully in our wilderness excursions, and as a school teacher. At his pressing request, I wrote to the commanding officer in Michigan, and succeeded in obtaining his discharge from the army by furnishing a substitute, which he himself found. This matter cost me sixty dollars. He appeared very grateful, and his widowed mother, in Canada, wrote me a letter of many thanks. I put him into our school, but he soon became drunken and worthless, and I was compelled to dismiss him, lose my money that I had advanced on his account, and to bear the affront of his ingratitude in various ways."

"On the first of January, we deemed it expedient to invite Topenebe and Chebass, principal chiefs, and some others, to partake of a frugal meal with us,—some attention having generally been paid to the 25th of Dec. and the 1st of January by white men among them,

most of whom have been French Catholics, from whom the natives derived a knowledge of these holidays. From them also they have learned on those days to shake hands and *kiss* their acquaintances. With the latter civility *we* chose to dispense. They retired from our house much gratified with the attentions which they had received, and said privately to our interpreter, 'they could not think there were any more such good people among the whites.'"

"Our first report to Governor Cass, at Detroit, and to Dr. Wolcott, the United States' Agent at Chicago, was dated July 1st, 1823. At that time, we had sixty acres of land enclosed with good fence. The boys* of our school spent about half their time in manual labor on the farm, and half at their studies in school. The girls labored more than half their time. This was not a matter of choice, but of necessity, growing out of the circumstance of the number of males exceeding that of females, by which domestic labours became the more onerous to those who sustained them. All could use the needle in sewing, twelve of them could knit, six could spin, two could weave, and twelve of them could embroider with a needle, and in the performance of domestic labour in common, they were not surpassed by any white girls of their ages."

"The navigation of these upper lakes was at this time in its incipient state, and supplies by this route were often attended with great expense. Sundry articles of importance to us had been left at Chicago, a distance by water of more than a hundred miles from us, and we had to encounter the expense of sending a barge for them. On the 5th of September, 1825, we started a periogue to Grand River with iron and steel, and other articles needed at that station.

* * * In the fore part of October I attended, at Chicago, the payment of an annuity by Dr. Wolcott, United States' Indian Agent, and, through his politeness, addressed the Indians on the subject of our mission. On the 9th of October, 1825, I preached in English, which, as I was informed, was the first sermon ever delivered at or near that place. Between our place and Chicago was a wilderness, in which we took five nights' lodging on the tour."

The following is an extract from a letter addressed to Mr. McCoy during his absence to the eastward in 1826:

"Since we last wrote you, I suppose the Indians have not passed a single day without drinking. Poor old Topenebe is said to be near his end, from intoxication."

Mr. McCoy continues:

"Among our expensive inconveniences was the necessity of sending expresses. We had no mail, and it was necessary to keep up a communication with Chicago, ninety miles from us, with Fort

* Medore B. Beaubien, a Chicago boy, was a pupil of this school.

Wayne, one hundred miles, and with Detroit, two hundred miles. * * * Gov. Cass and Col. T. L. McKenney were commissioners for the purpose of negotiating treaties with the Chippewas and others this year, (1827), * * * which would be at Green Bay. * * * Gov. Cass very politely invited me to attend the treaty. Twice I had appointed to set out on the journey, and each time was prevented by sickness. These disappointments afterwards appeared to us to have been providential. My route lay by way of Chicago; and the distance to Green Bay was nearly three hundred miles, and through an unsettled country, excepting a few families at Chicago. I should have necessarily passed through the Winnebago towns, and should have entered them unconscious of danger, whereas it appeared by an express, which passed us on the 27th of July, 1827, going from Chicago to Detroit, that the Winnebagoes were in a state of almost open hostility. Had I entered their country at the time that I desired I should probably not have left it. * * * Some information which Governour Cass received at Green Bay induced him to proceed across to Prarie du Chien, on the Mississippi river. * * * Governour Cass returned in his canoe up the Illinois river to Chicago, and thence went to Green Bay by way of the lake. The little settlement at Chicago was thrown into great alarm, being only two days' journey from the enemy's towns. They took refuge in the fort at the place, but no troops being st tioned their at the time, their dependance for protection, for some time, was on their own prowess. Subsequently, two hundred militia from the State of Illinois arrived for their relief. Governour Cass invited as many of the Putawatamie chiefs to a council at Chicago as his haste would allow, and gave them such a *talk* as the times required, in order to prevent them from participating in the hostilities of the Winnebagoes. All appeared friendly excepting one chief, named Bigfoot, who refused to come into council."*

"Chebass, a noted Putawatamie chief of our neighborhood, stated to us that while they had been at Chicago, to receive their late annuity, four men from the hostile Indians, in a formal manner according to Indian custom in such cases, invited them to join in the war against the whites, by presenting them their tomahawk, war pipe, and war beads, with the hair of a buffalo, or of a cow's tail, suspended to one arm, all of which emblems were coloured red."

---

* The disturbance generally known as *the Winnebago War*, is the subject of an article by Mr. Hiram W. Beckwith, in one of the "Fergus Historical Series." A narrative relating to the affair, by Col. Gurdon S. Hubbard, also appears in the same pamphlet, as well as in the 7th vol. of Wis. His. Soc. Coll. Mr. McCoy seems to be in error, in saying that Governor Cass held a council here with the Indians, on his way to Green Bay; Col. Hubbard says, "he remained probably two hours, and left."

At the above-named Treaty of 1821, *Me-te-a*, a prominent but not the principal chief of the Pottawatomies, was one of the orators, and his speech may be found in Drake's book of the Indians, and also in the *old* Chicago Magazine of 1857. It was a manly though sad expression in view of inevitable fate. His speech closed as follows: "Behold our warriors, our women and children. Take pity on us, and on our words." *Me-te-a* accepted the situation, and succumbed to apparent destiny. He opposed, with energy, the ceding of the lands involved in the proposed Treaty; yet, when the other side proved the strongest, he concluded to pay a memorable tribute to vanity, and placed his mark upon the quit-claim conveyance. His behavior at that bargain and sale, when compared with that of the head-chief, *To-pay-nah-bay*, was, as we have seen, far the most creditable of the two.

Another distinguished Indian speaker at that council was *Ke-wa-goush-kum*, the head-chief of the Ottawas. He accompanied Gov. Cass, in 1820, in his expedition to the northwest. Schoolcraft speaks of him as "a sedate and respectable man." In the Chicago Magazine, of 1857, it is stated that *Ke-wa-goush-kum* opposed the Treaty of 1821; but his speech as in the Magazine, quoted from Drake's History of the Indians, seems not to show it. Indeed, the Ottawas blamed their chief for the part he had taken in the Treaty, in consenting to approve of its conditions. It is not surprising that many Ottawas, of Grand River, were unfriendly to that sale to the American Government; nearly every one of their warriors of sufficient age had fought under the British flag in the war of 1812, and "they considered themselves still in the British interest." A sad fate awaited the "friendly, modest, and sensible chief," *Ke-wa-goush-kum*. Returning from the Treaty of Chicago, his canoe capsized, near the mouth of Grand River, and his wife and all his children but one were drowned; one son and himself made out to reach shore. And that son also was afterward destroyed, poisoned, it was said, through the malice of some of his own tribe, on account of the father's action at the before-mentioned Treaty.

From a Paper read before the Historical Society of Michigan, by Charles C. Trowbridge, May, 1864:

"If any person desired to go south, it was quite common to wait for Baron,* because he knew the bad places in the road, and where best to cross the streams. I remember as well as if it were yesterday, that on my first journey to Chicago, forty-two years ago, I was guided by Baron as far as the Maumee river. My route was *via* Fort Wayne, where I was ordered to report. The treaty of Chicago, of the previous year,† had provided for the session of the Indian title to the western part of the lower peninsula. The eastern part had been ceded by the treaty of Saginaw, of 1819. The Chicago treaty provided for the establishment of a teacher, farmer, and blacksmith, for the period of fifteen years, among the Pottawatamies of the St. Joseph river, and a like establishment among the Ottawas, for ten years, on the Grand River; and the object of the journey was to select suitable places for their location. A guide was procured from Fort Wayne to Chicago, at which place there then stood the little Fort Dearborn, one log house, occupied by Mr. John Kinzie, agent for Mr. Astor, another by Dr. Wolcott, United States Indian agent, and another by the late Gen. Beaubien, then a trader. There was also one other establishment, a sort of trading house called the Factory, established by the government with the humane motive of protecting the helpless sons of the forest from the rapacity of the traders, who were accused, in some instances, of favoring the rule adopted by the followers of Hendrick Hudson with the natives of the Mohawk valley, the hand, in weighing Beaver, to be one pound, and the foot ten pounds. The factor was instructed to deal justly, to add regular prices, and to pay fairly for the furs; and some philanthropic men fancied a commercial millenium was at hand for the poor savages. But the scheme was a total failure. Indeed, it was as profitless to both sides as the 'farmers' stores' we used to see established in order to save the profits gained by the regular merchants. Many a farmer was drawn in and lost his whole farm by attempting a thing he did not understand. My *compagnon de voyage* as far as Chicago was Mr. Lindsay, an agent sent out by government to suppress the Factory.‡ On my return from Chicago I met, at St.

* The mail-carrier. † 1821.

‡ The U. S. Government, in its benevolent attempt to do the Indians a kindness by the plan of establishing Factories or Trading-Houses to furnish goods and take the furs of the Indians,—wherein all gain in prices should be for their benefit,—met the competition and opposition of all other traders, small or great. Whether or not the Government lacked sufficient principle to persevere, or the force to command success, the result to the Indians following the encounter not only of the duplicity of alien dealers, but the antagonism on all sides of heartless cupidity, with whiskey as its hand-maiden, was, as we might suppose, disastrous.

Joseph, Col. Gabriel Godfroy, § an aged but vigorous French gentleman, a sub-Indian agent and interpreter, who acted as guide for the remainder of our journey."

In the prosecution of its business, the American Fur Company, or the South-west Company (which were only other names for Mr. Astor), probably found their most experienced servants among British subjects, who were our enemies in the then late war; many of those persons, however, found it their interest to exchange their fealty to this side of the line.

The matter of the Indian Trade and Factory system, is discussed in several communications by Matthew Irwin, Jr. (who, from 1810 to 1812, was United States Factor at Chicago, and subsequently for some years at Green Bay), and Col. Thos. L. McKenney, Supt. at Washington of the Indian Trade, which communications appear in the *Seventh volume of Wis. His. Soc.'s Coll's.* We here make a few extracts:

From a letter of Major Irwin to Col. McKenney, dated "Green Bay, March 10, 1817. The opportunity of conveying this being immediate, leaves me but little time to state why so little business has been done at this Factory during the winter; and, without going into a detail of minor reasons, I believe the principal ones will be found to be these: 1st, the admission of many British traders, who have been accustomed to do business in this quarter, and who placed themselves in the most advantageous places for business within fifty, seventy, and one hundred miles of this; 2d, the hints given the Indians by these traders to follow them, lest the Americans might punish them for their recent bad conduct during the Late War; 3d, the practice (conducted secretly) of vending whiskey; 4th, the prejudices excited by the traders against our Factories." From Col. McKenney to Major Irwin: "Office of Indian Trade, May 28, 1817. * * * * * * I feel the force of your remarks on British traders, and hope they will soon be expelled. I am aware of their pertinacious adherence to a system which nothing but exertions, active and constant on your part, can check; and if they cannot be controlled, their influence can be lessened. Are there no means to detect those who sell whisky? If so, why not make examples of a few of them?" From Major Irwin to Col. McKenney: "Sept. 29, 1817. * * * * * Besides the British traders licensed to trade at the Ouisconsin, others were licensed by the Agent at Mackinac to trade at the Upper Mississippi and this place, at which, in the village alone, six are licensed; and all of them, with one exception, held commissions during the late War, are influential with the Indians, and were named by me in my letter of the 24th of July last to the Indian Agent here, a copy of which I transmitted to you. * * * * Governor Clark last year directed the stoppage of British subjects entering the Mississippi; Governor Edwards requested the Agent at Chicago to prevent them from entering the Illinois. What reasons exist for allowing them to trade with the Indians in this quarter, I am at a loss to imagine. * * * * * There appears a palpable incongruity in the manner of conductihg the Indian trade; the factors are sent to supply the

* Col. Godfroy, it is believed, was interpreter for the Commissioners at the Treaty of Chicago, in 1821.—H.

We will add here a line or two from a note of Mr. Trowbridge to the Sec'y of the Wis. His. Soc'y, as appears in v. 5 of its collections:

wants of the Indians, and the Indian Agents can adopt such measures as to defeat all their plans to that end." From same to same: " * * * * Added to these irregularities, must be noticed the traffic carried on secretly in whisky at this place. The Indians are frequently kept in a state of intoxication, giving their furs, etc., at great sacrifices for whisky. A return to reason will induce many of them to mention who sold them the whisky; but it is deemed illegal to accept Indian testimony, so that the British and American traders (of the latter several have arrived here) may deal in whisky without the smallest chance of detection. The agents of Mr. Astor hold out an idea that they will, ere long, be able to break down the Factories; and they menace the Indian Agents, and others who may interfere with them, with dismission from office, through Mr. Astor. They say that a representation from Messrs. Crooks and Stewart (Mr. Astor's agents) led to the dismission of the Indian agent at Mackinac, and they also say that the Indian Agent here is to be dismissed. It appears that the commanding officer at Prairie du Chien undertook, at the instigation of the Indian Agent, to stop and send to St. Louis some of Mr. Astor's British trading subjects. For this act, it is said, the Agent will be dismissed from the public service; and we have now the novel spectacle before us of a British subject (Mr. Crooks) traveling to the Prairie, with a passport from Governor Cass, said to have been given by authority of the War Department, to enquire into the conduct of the Indian Agent and commanding officer."

Mr. Irwin stated to a gentleman from the East, on a tour of observation, that Mr. J. B. Varnum, who was Government Factor at Chicago, wrote him from there under date of Dec. 5, 1818, that there were "five establishments then within the limits of this agency headed by British subjects. These, with the large number of American traders in every part of the country, will effectually check the progress of this Factory. I have hardly done a sufficiency of business this season to clear the wages of my interpreter." In another letter from Mr. Varnum, dated Chicago, May 23d, 1820, he says: "The Indians have been induced to come here this season, by the facility with which they are enabled to procure whisky. In fact, the commerce with them (the Indians) this season has been almost exclusively confined to that article. I will venture to say, that out of two hundred barks (boxes averaging about forty pounds each) of sugar taken, not five have been purchased with any other commodity than whisky." From Col. McKenney to Major Irwin: "Indian Trade Office, July 5, 1851. Sir, I have the honor respectfully to represent, that for three years last past, the two Factories on the Lakes—one at Chicago and the other at Green Bay—have been in a measure useless to the Indians, and, in a pecuniary point of view, to the Government also. This state of things is owing entirely to the unsuitable provisions which exist for the regulation of trade." We need not quote further particulars as given in the Superintendent's letter, which would be a repetition, in substance, of what appears above; the information is imparted, however, that it is decided "to break up and discontinue the two Factories located at Chicago and Green Bay."

"Even as late as 1834, I declined becoming a party to the purchase of one-fourth of the Kinzie Addition, Chicago—the North Side—at five thousand dollars. Ten years prior to that I was in Chicago, and would not have given that sum for both sides of the river as far as the eye could extend."

From a Narrative of an Expedition to the Source of St. Peter's River, &c., in 1823, under Major Stephen H. Long, U. S. A. By WM. H. KEATING. *In 2 Vols. London, 1825.*

[Stephen Harriman Long was born in Hopkinton, N. H., 30 Dec., 1784; Grad. of Dartmouth college, 1809; 2d-Lt. of Engineers, U. S. A., 12 Dec., 1814; Prof. of Math. at West Point, Mar., 1819. Had charge of explorations west of the Mississippi, 1818, and several successive years, and subsequently of various western river and lake harbor improvements; brevet Lt.-Col. top. eng., 29 April, 1826; Major, 7 July, 1838; Col., 9 Sept., 1861; retired 1 June, 1863. The account of his first expedition, by Dr. Edwin James, was pub. in 1823. "Long's Peak," in the Rocky Mts., was named from him. He died, Alton, Ill., 4 Sept., 1864.

William H. Keating was professor of mineralogy and chemistry in the University of Pa., and geologist and historiographer of Major Long's second expedition; but we are unable to give any further particulars of his history.]

Vol. 1, p. 161.—"Our path led us over the scene of the bloody massacre perpetrated in 1812, when the garrison of Chicago was entirely destroyed by the Indians (principally Potawatomis,) after they had abandoned the fort, and in violation of the pledge given to them by the Indians. No traces are now to be seen of the massacre; the bones, which are said to have remained for a long while bleaching upon the prairie, were at last gathered up and buried, by order of Captain Bradley, who had the command of the new fort built on the ruins of the old one, but no one could point out to us the spot where they had been deposited.

* * * * * *

"In the afternoon of the fifth of June, we reached Fort Dearborn, (Chicago,) having been engaged eight days in travelling a distance of two hundred and sixteen miles, making an average of twenty-seven miles per day.

"Fort Dearborn is situated in the State of Illinois, on the south bank and near to the mouth of Chicago River; the boundary-line between this State and that of Indiana strikes the western shore of Lake Michigan, ten miles north of its southernmost extremity, and then continues along the shore of the lake until it reaches the forty-second and a-half degree of north latitude, along which it extends to the Mississippi. The post at Chicago was abandoned a few months after the party visited it. Its establishment had been found neces-

sary to intimidate the hostile and still very powerful tribes of Indians that inhabit this part of the country; but the rapid extension of the white population to the west, the establishment along the Mississippi of a chain of military posts which encloses them, and at the same time convinces them of the vigilance of the government, and of the inevitable destruction which they would bring upon themselves by the most trifling act of hostility on their part, have, it is thought, rendered the continuance of a military force at this place unnecessary. An Indian agent remains there in order to keep up amicable relations with them, and to attend to their wants, which are daily becoming greater owing to the increasing scarcity of game in the country.

"We were much disappointed at the appearance of Chicago and its vicinity. We found in it nothing to justify the great eulogium lavished upon this place by a late traveller,* who observes that 'it is the most fertile and beautiful that can be imagined.' 'As a farming country,' says he, 'it unites the fertile soil of the finest lowland prairies with an elevation which exempts it from the influence of stagnant waters, and a summer climate of delightful serenity.' The best comment upon this description of the climate and soil is the fact that, with the most active vigilance on the part of the officers, it was impossible for the garrison, consisting of from seventy to ninety men, to subsist upon the grain raised in the country, although much of their time was devoted to agricultural pursuits. The difficulties which the agriculturist meets with here are numerous; they arise from the shallowness of the soil, from its humidity, and from its exposure to the cold and damp winds which blow from the lake with great force during most part of the year. The grain is frequently destroyed by swarms of insects. There are also a number of destructive birds of which it was impossible for the garrison to avoid the baneful influence, except by keeping, as was practiced at Fort Dearborn, a party of soldiers constantly engaged in shooting at the crows and blackbirds that committed depredations upon the corn planted by them. But, even with all these exertions, the maize seldom has time to ripen owing to the shortness and coldness of the season. The provisions for the garrison were, for the most part, conveyed from Mackinaw in a schooner, and sometimes they were brought from St. Louis, a distance of three hundred and eighty-six miles, up the Illinois and Des Plaines rivers.

"The appearance of the country near Chicago offers but few features upon which the eye of the traveller can dwell with pleasure. There is too much uniformity in the scenery; the extensive water prospect is a waste uncheckered by islands, unenlivened by the spreading canvas, and the fatiguing monotony of which is increased by the equally undiversified prospect of the land scenery, which affords no relief to the sight, as it consists merely of a plain in which

* Schoolcraft.

but few patches of thin and scrubby woods are observed scattered here and there.

"The village presents no cheering prospect, as, notwithstanding its antiquity, it consists of but few huts, inhabited by a miserable race of men, scarcely equal to the Indians from whom they are descended. Their log or bark houses are low, filthy, and disgusting, displaying not the least trace of comfort. Chicago is, perhaps, one of the oldest settlements in the Indian country; its name, derived from the Potawatomi language, signifies either a skunk or wild onion, and each of these significations has been occasionally given for it. A fort is said to have formerly existed there. Mention is made of the place as having been visited, in 1671, by Perrot, who found 'Chicagou' to be the residence of a powerful chief of the Miamis. The number of trails centering all at this spot, and their apparent antiquity, indicate that this was probably for a long while the site of a large Indian village. As a place of business, it offers no inducement to the settler; for the whole annual amount of the trade on the lake did not exceed the cargo of five or six schooners, even at the time when the garrison received its supplies from Mackinaw. It is not impossible that at some distant day, when the banks of the Illinois shall have been covered with a dense population, and when the low prairies, which extend between that river and Fort Wayne, shall have acquired a population proportionate to the produce which they can yield, that Chicago may become one of the points in the direct line of communication between the northern lakes and the Mississippi; but even the intercourse which will be carried on through this communication, will, we think, at all times be a limited one; the dangers attending the navigation of the lake, and the scarcity of harbours along the shore, must ever prove a serious obstacle to the increase of the commercial importance of Chicago. The extent of the sand-banks, which are formed on the eastern and southern shore by the prevailing north and northwesterly winds, will likewise prevent any important works from being undertaken to improve the post of Chicago.

"The south fork of Chicago river takes its rise about six miles from the fort, in a swamp which communicates also with the Des Plaines, one of the head branches of the Illinois. Having been informed that this route was frequently travelled by traders, and that it had been used by one of the officers of the garrison, who returned with provisions from St. Louis a few days before our arrival at the fort, we determined to ascend the Chicago river in order to observe this interesting division of waters. We accordingly left the fort on the 7th of June, in a boat, which, after having ascended the river about four miles, we exchanged for a narrow pirogue that drew less water; the stream we were ascending was very narrow, rapid, and crooked, presenting a great fall; it continued so for about three miles when we reached a sort of swamp, designated by the Canadian

voyagers under the name of *le petit lac.* Our course through this swamp, which extented for three miles, was very much impeded by the high grass, weeds, etc., through which our pirogue passed with difficulty. Observing that our progress through the fen was very slow, and the day being considerably advanced, we landed on the north bank, and continued our course along the edge of the swamp for about three miles, until we reached the place where the old portage road meets the current, which was here very distinct towards the south. We were delighted at beholding, for the first time, a feature so interesting in itself, but which we had afterwards an opportunity of observing frequently on the route, *viz.:* the division of waters starting from the same source and running in two different directions, so as to become the feeders of streams that discharge themselves into the ocean at immense distances apart. Although at the time we visited it there was scarcely water enough to permit our pirogue to pass, we could not doubt that in the spring of the year the route must be a very eligible one. Lieut. Hopson, who accompanied us to the Des Plaines, told us that he had travelled it with ease in a boat loaded with lead and flour. The distance from the fort to the intersection of the Portage road and Des Plaines is supposed to be about twelve or thirteen miles; the elevation of the feeding lake above Chicago river was estimated at five or six feet; and, it is probable, that the descent to the Des Plaines is less considerable. The Portage road is about eleven miles long; the usual distance travelled by land seldom, however, exceeds from four to nine miles; in very dry seasons, it has been said to amount to thirty miles, as the portage then extends to Mount Juliet, near the confluence of the Kankakee. When we consider the facts above stated, we are irresistibly led to the conclusion, that an elevation of the lakes of a few feet (not exceeding ten or twelve) above their present level would cause them to discharge their waters, partly at least, into the Gulf of Mexico; that such a discharge has at one time existed, every one conversant with the nature of the country must admit; and it is equally apparent that an expenditure, trifling in comparison to the importance of the object, would again render Lake Michigan a tributary of the Mexican gulf. Impressed with the importance of this object, the legislature of Illinois has already caused some observations to be made upon the possibility of establishing this communication. The commissioners appointed to that effect visited Chicago after we left it, and we knew not what results they obtained as their report has not reached us; but we have been informed that they had considered the elevation of the *petit lac*, above Chicago, to be somewhat greater than we had estimated it. It is the opinion of those best acquainted with the nature of the country, that the easiest communication would be between the Little Calamick and some point of the Des Plaines, probably below the Portage road; between these two points there is, in wet seasons, we understand, a water commu-

nication of ten or twelve miles. Of the practicability of the work, and the sufficiency of a supply of water, no doubt can exist. The only difficulty will, we apprehend, be in keeping the communication open after it is once made, as the soil is swampy, and probably will require particular care to oppose the return of the soft mud into the excavations.

"In the immediate vicinity of Chicago, a secondary limestone is found disposed in horizontal strata; it contains many organic remains.

"Although the quantity of game in this part of the country is diminishing very rapidly, and although it is barely sufficient for the support of the Indians, still there is enough, and particularly of the smaller kind, to offer occupation to the amateur sportsman. There are many different kinds of aquatic birds, which feed upon the wild rice (Zizania aquatica,) and other plants that thrive in the swamps which cover the country. Mr. Say observed, among others, the mallard (Anas boschas), shoveller-duck (A. clypeata), blue-winged teal (A. discors), common merganser (Mergus serrator), common coot (Fulica Americana), stellate heron or Indian hen (Ardea minor), &c., &c. In the lake there is also a great quantity of fish, but none appears to be of a very superior quality; the white fish, (Corregonus albus, Lesueur,) which is the greatest delicacy found in the lakes, is not caught at Chicago, but sometimes twenty or thirty miles north of it.

"During our short residence at Chicago, we were, by the favor of Dr. Wolcott, the Indian agent, furnished with much information concerning the Indians of this vicinity, through his interpreter, Alexander Robinson, a half-breed Chippewa, who informed us that the Indians who frequent this part of the country are very much intermixed, belonging principally to the Potawatomis, Ottawas, and Chippewas, (ochepewag,) from which circumstance, a great admixture of the three languages prevails here. The vicinity of the Miamis has also, in his opinion, tended to adulterate the language of the Potawatomis in the neighborhood of Fort Wayne, and it is believed that this language is spoken, in the greatest purity, only along the banks of the St. Joseph, of Lake Michigan. Robinson did not suppose the Potawatomis to exceed two thousand five hundred souls; but it is probable that their number must be greater, especially as they are united with the Kickapoos, whose population amounts to six hundred in the State of Illinois. According to his observations, the Potawatomis believe that they came from the vicinity of the Sault de St. Marie, where they presume that they were created.

"Having spent a few days in Chicago, the party left that post on Wednesday, June 11th. * * * The first stream passed, on that day, was the Chicago river, which we crossed about half a mile above the fort, and immediately above the first fork, (or Gary river). The party next came to the River Des Plaines,

which is one of the head branches of the Illinois; it receives its name from a variety of maple, which, by the Canadians, is named *Plaine.* In Potawatomi, the river is termed Sheshikmaoshike Sepe, (which signifies *flumen arboris que mingit*). This appellation is derived from the great quantity of sap which flows from this tree in the spring. We crossed the Des Plaines about four miles above the Portage road; it was forty yards wide, and so deep that part of our baggage was wet while fording it, but fortunately none materially injured."

[Here we will speak of the extensive collection of MSS., bearing dates 1803 to 1825, inclusive, comprising the books, letters, and papers of account, etc., of *John Kinzie*, which were presented by his son, the late John H. Kinzie, to the Historical Society of Chicago, in October, 1857. We presume there are no copies of any of these documents in existence, and that the originals were burned in the great fire of 1871. Some of the entries were at St. Joseph, Mich., 1803, and the first Chicago entry was May 12, 1804. It was said at the time the documents came into the possession of the Historical Society, that from them a nearly complete list of all the residents of Chicago for the period 1804 to 1825 might be compiled, as well, also, "as approximate estimates of the extent of the trade carried on here, during that period, with interior points, including the amount of peltries collected here or received *in transitu.*"]

The "Recollections of Wisconsin since 1820, by Col. Ebenezer Childs, of LaCrosse," bearing date March, 1858, appear in vol. 4 of Wis. His. Soc. Coll., and from which we copy a few sentences. Mr. Childs was born in Barre, Mass., April 3, 1797; left that State in 1816, and, gradually working his way to the westward, the spring of 1820 found him at Green Bay. He removed to LaCrosse in 1852:

"In 1821, I made a trip to St. Louis in a bark canoe, up Fox River, across the Portage, and down the Wisconsin to Prairie du Chien, and thence down the Mississippi. I was sixteen days on my journey, and saw but seven white men in the whole distance outside the forts. * * * I remained two weeks, did my business, when I was advised to return by way of the Illinois

River. * * * We continued up the Illinois to the junction of the Kankakee and Eau Plaine, and thence up the Eau Plaine to where I supposed we had to make a portage to Chicago River; but I could not see any signs of the portage. There had been heavy rains for several days, which had so raised the streams that they overflowed their banks. I concluded that I had gone far enough for the portage, so I left the Eau Plaine and took a northeast direction. After traveling a few miles, I found the current of the Chicago River. The whole country was inundated; I found not less than two feet of water all the way across the portage. That night I arrived at Chicago, pitched my tent on the bank of the Lake, and went to the Fort for provisions. I was not, however, able to obtain any, the commissary informing me that the public stores were so reduced that the garrison were subsisting on half rations, and he knew not when they would get any more. I went to Col. Beaubien, who furnished me with a small supply. I found two traders there from Mackinaw; and as my men were all sick, I exchanged my tent and canoe for a horse, and took passage on board the Mackinaw boat as far as Manitowoc. One of our party had to go by land and ride the horse. There were, at this time, but two families residing outside of the Fort at Chicago, those of Mr. Kinzie and Col. Beaubien." * * * * *

"1825. Col. Wm. S. Hamilton, son of the celebrated Alexander Hamilton, drove the first cattle to Green Bay for the use of troops. He purchased his cattle in Illinois, and drove them by way of Chicago." * * * * *

"1827. Judge Arndt took the contract to supply the troops at Fort Howard with fresh beef. He employed me to go to Illinois or Missouri to purchase a drove of cattle for him. I left the Bay the fore part of March, in company with Arndt's son and a Menomonee Indian, and two horses. We travelled through the wilderness to Milwaukee, where we found Solomon Juneau. From him we got a small supply of provisions and started for Chicago. We took the wrong trail, and went too far west, and soon found ourselves on the west side of the Eau Plaine River, which we could not cross. We got out of provisions the fourth day. I heard the discharge of a gun in the distance, and started in the direction of the report. I found an Indian, who had a large quantity of muskrats; I bought a number, and had a fine feast. We got the Indian to take us and our baggage across the Eau Plaine in his canoe, making our horses swim along side. We learned that we had passed Chicago, having gone some fifteen miles to the west. The Indian put us on the right track, and we arrived at Chicago the next morning pretty well used up. We remained there a few days. The place had not improved any since 1821. Only two families yet resided there, those of Kinzie and Col. Beaubien."

A series of Reminiscences appeared, during the fore part of the year 1858, in the columns of the Prairie du Chien *Courier*, written by the editor of that paper, but dictated by the aged pioneer, *John H. Fonda*, being the recollections of his own experience of Western life and adventure. We copy a few extracts from the said series, finding them given in vol. 5 of the Wis. His. Coll. Mr. Fonda was born in Watervliet, N. Y., but had been more than forty years in the West, during thirty of which he had been a resident of Prairie du Chien:

"It was no other than a natural consequence then, that having heard of Prairie du Chien, and the 'Lead Diggings' south-east of it, that I should have a desire to take a trip up the Mississippi River to the Mineral Region, from where, reports came of fortunes being made by prospecting; these stories formed alluring inducements. Having some money, and a sound constitution that five years of border life had made capable of enduring any degree of hardship and fatigue, I left St. Louis, and started up the river in a little Ohio steamboat,—I believe steamboats commenced running above St. Louis the same year I left, 1825,—loaded with army stores for military posts on the Upper Mississippi. The boat proceeded up stream till we reached the mouth of the Illinois River, where we met a keel-boat coming down, on board of which was an express, bound with dispatches for the commanding officer at Jefferson Barracks. They brought reports of Indian murders in the north, and the same boat bearing the dispatches had been attacked, and had many ball-marks on its sides; also a wounded man on board. The steamboat took the express aboard, and was about to return with him to St. Louis; so I bid Captain Bates good-bye, and left his boat. I learned now that the mining region was the scene of the Indian troubles; that the inhabitants were leaving the country through fear, and the greatest misery and confusion prevailed at the Diggings. So, instead of continuing up the Mississippi as intended, I joined a party of five Frenchmen, who designed going to Green Bay, and having no definate object in view at the time, I agreed to go with them. We had little knowledge of the route; but one of the Frenchmen had somewhere seen an old outline map, and assured us we could reach the Lakes by going up the Illinois river. *

* * While engaged in securing the choicest portions of the venison, our Indian guide told us it was but a short distance to a larger body of water, on the shore of which lived the great chief of his tribe, whose name was *Muck-ke-tay-pe-nay*. This piece of intelligence made us think we were near the large lake, Lake Michigan; but we were disappointed, for late in the afternoon we entered the foot of Lake Peoria, and were met at landing by a num-

ber of Indians, from whom we learned that it was more than two hundred miles to the nearest trading post on the Lake, which was *Chi-ca-a-go.* We had to remain with tribe several days before our guide would leave the encampment, and during which time I saw several Indians of other tribes, one of whom was Black Hawk, who, I afterwards found out, was then trying to get these Indians to join the Winnebagoes against the whites in the North-West. At length the councils were concluded, and our guide signified his willingness to proceed. Under his direction we paddled along until we came to the Des Plaines river, from which we passed into a large slough or lake that must have led us into a branch of the Chicago river, for we followed a stream that brought us opposite Fort Dearborn. At this period, Chicago was merely an Indian Agency; it contained about fourteen houses, and not more than 75 or 100 inhabitants at the most. An agent of the American Fur Company, named Gurdon S. Hubbard, then occupied the Fort. The staple business seemed to be carried on by Indians and run-away soldiers, who hunted ducks and muskrats in the marshes. There was a great deal of low land, and mostly destitute of timber. The principal inhabitants were the agent, Mr. Hubbard, a Frenchman by the name of Ouilmette, and John B. Beaubien. It never occurred to me then that a large city would be built up there. But great changes have taken place during the last thirty-three years. I read that the old log Fort, surrounded with its palisades, was torn down two years ago, and that Chicago is now one of the largest cities in the West. Great changes have I seen in my life; I was mail-carrier in the North-West before there was a white settlement between Prairie du Chien and Fort Snelling; a Government express, and volunteer, during the Sauk War; from mere love of adventure have I wandered through the wilderness of the West. * * * The poor Red Man has been robbed, deceived, and driven from his possession. This I have seen; indeed, I have assisted to drive them from their homes. * * * It is near half a century since I came West, and the changes that have been rapidly effecting everything are too numerous for me to describe. The growth of Chicago is one of those changes. When there, in the year 1825, it could boast of an old log Fort and a few cabins. What is it now? You know best, for I haven't been there these last thirty years; but I know its inhabitants are numbered at over a hundred thousand, and where I once paddled in a dug-out is now erected large blocks of buildings. But to go on with my story, we departed from Fort Dearborn in a fishing boat, and proceeded north along the Lake shore towards Green Bay. * * * When at Fort Howard, in the year 1827, the Indian affairs had assumed a threatening aspect. Reports of murders and disturbances had spread through the settlements. Not a straggler arrived but brought an exaggerated account of Indian difficulties. * *

* It was the winter of 27, that the U. S. Quarter-Master, having heard of me through some of the men with whom I was a favorite, came to me one day and asked me if I thought I could find the way to Chicago. I told him it wasn't long since I made the trip by the Lake. He said he wanted to get a person who was not afraid to carry dispatches to the military post at Fort Dearborn. I said I had heard that the Indians were still unfriendly, but I was ready to make the attempt. He directed me to make all the preparations necessary, and report myself at his quarters at the earliest moment. * * * It was necessary at the time of the Winnebago out-break, in 1827, for every man, and woman too, to be constantly on their guard against surprise. Much trouble was apprehended from the Indian tribes generally, who were jealous at the encroachment of the emigrants, especially in the region of the Lead Diggings. * * * It was during such a state of affairs that I had passed my word to carry the mail between Fort Howard, at Green Bay, and Fort Dearborn, commanded by Capt. Morgan, that stood on a point now forming a part of the city of Chicago. Although the danger from the Winnebagoes had abated, owing to Black Hawk's failing to entice other tribes into the conspiracy against the whites, and the Indian War of '27 ended, yet the recent troubles made me rub up my rifle and prepare everything needful to insure the successful performance of the duty I was about to undertake. * * *
I chose a companion to go on the tramp with me. He was a Canadian, named Boiseley, * * * a comrade with me for many years. * * * It was in company with this Boiseley that I presented myself before the Quarter-Master, and reported ourselves ready for the start. *
* * He intrusted me with the—not mail-bag, but a tin canister or box of a flat shape, covered with untanned deer-hide, that contained the dispatches and letters of the inhabitants. * * * One noon we arrived at the southern terminus of our journey at Fort Dearborn—after being on the way more than a month. It was in January, thirty years ago (1828), and with the exception that the Fort was strengthened and garrisoned, there was no sign of improvement having gone on since my former visit. This time I was on business, and I advanced up to the sally-port with a sense of my importance, was challenged by the sentry, and an orderly conducted me to the Adjutant's office, where I reported myself as the bearer of dispatches for the commanding officer. Captain Morgan was in the office, and, advancing, intimated that he was that person and took the case of letters, directing me to await his further orders. Getting a pass, I went outside the palisades to a house built on the half-breed system—partly of logs and partly of boards. This house was kept by a Mr. Miller, who lived in it with his family. Here Boiseley and I put up

during the time we were in the settlement. I received my orders from Morgan about the 23d of January, and prepared to return with other letters. We started up one branch of the Chicago river, and after leaving this we followed the Des Plaines, taking pretty much the same way we had come."

We will here speak of a letter, bearing date May 8, 1828, written by *Russell E. Heacock*, then living here (or near that part of the city now known as Bridgeport), giving a description and an account of the prospects of this locality. The letter was addressed to Simeon Francis, then of Buffalo, N. Y., and was presented to the Historical Society of Chicago in 1859 by Mr. F. The letter was burned, no doubt, and probably no copy exists.

Captain Augustus Walker, in the summer of 1862, gave to the Historical Society of Chicago an account of his voyage on the steamboat Shelden Thompson, in 1832, with General Scott and troops, from Buffalo to Chicago. The troops were for the Black-Hawk war; and that steamboat was the first one seen at Chicago. Capt. W. related the incidents of the voyage, the cholera having shown itself on board. He gave, also, particulars of the condition and appearance of Chicago at that time.*

Charles Joseph Latrobe, the traveler and author, was born in England early in the present century; he wrote several books of travel, one of them being entitled "*The Rambler in North America*," containing an account of a visit to Chicago in 1833, from which we make the extracts below:

"As far as the town of Niles, the route was good. But here we had to change the regular stage for an open vehicle of a stronger build, furnished with three or four rows of rude spring seats."

"By *this* time (1835), a steamboat communication has been, probably, established between St. Joseph's river and Chicago; but as it was, we had to follow the old Indian trail for a hundred miles round the lower southern shores of the lake."

* Some years afterward, Captain Walker's steamboat, the *Great Western*, bore the first full upper deck cabin on a lake steamer, Capt. Amos Pratt's boat, the *General Wayne*, having been partially *the first* with that improvement.

"Major W., an Officer of the staff of the United States Army, sat on the third bench, a most accomplished and gentlemanly man."

"When within five miles of Chicago, we came to the first Indian encampment. Five thousand Indians were said to be collected round this little upstart village for the prosecution of the Treaty, by which they were to cede their lands in Michigan and Illinois."

"I have been in many odd assemblages of my species, but in few, if any, of an equally singular character as with that in the midst of which we spent a week at Chicago. This little mushroom town is situated upon the verge of a perfectly level tract of country, for the greater part consisting of open prairie lands, at a point where a small river (whose sources interlock in the wet season with those of the Illinois) enters Lake Michigan. It however forms no harbor, and vessels must anchor in the open lake, which spreads to the horizon to the north and east in a sheet of unbroken extent. The river, after approaching nearly at right angles to within a few hundred yards of the lake, makes a short turn, and runs to the southward parallel to the beach. Fort Dearborn and the light-house are placed at the angle thus formed. The former is a small stockaded enclosure, with two block-houses, and is garrisoned by two companies of infantry. It had been nearly abandoned, till the late Indian war on the frontier made its occupation necessary. The upstart village lies chiefly on the right bank of the river, above the fort. When the proposed steamboat communication between Chicago and St. Joseph's river, which lies forty miles distant across the lake, is put into execution, the journey to Detroit may be effected in three days, whereas we had been upwards of six on the road. We found the village, on our arrival, crowded to excess; and we procured, with great difficulty, a small apartment, comfortless and noisy from its close proximity to others, but quite as good as we could have hoped for. The Pottawatamies were encamped on all sides—on the wide, level prairie beyond the scattered village, beneath the shelter of the low woods which chequered them, on the side of the small river, or to the leeward of the sand hills near the beach of the lake. They consisted of three principal tribes, with certain adjuncts from smaller tribes. The main divisions are the Pottawatamies of the Prairie and those of the Forest, and these are sub-divided into district villages under their several chiefs. The General Government of the United States, in pursuance of the scheme of removing the whole Indian population westward of the Mississippi, had empowered certain gentlemen to frame a Treaty with these tribes to settle the terms upon which the cession of their Reservations in these States should be made. A preliminary council had been held with the chiefs some days before our arrival. The principal commissioner had opened it, as we learnt, by stating that as their great Father in Washington had heard that they wished to sell their land, he had sent Commissioners to treat with them. The Indians promptly answered, by their organ,

'that their Great Father in Washington must have seen a bad bird which had told him a lie; for, that far from wishing to sell their land, they wished to keep it.' The commissioner, nothing daunted, replied, 'that nevertheless, as they had come together for a council, they must take the matter into consideration.' He then explained to them promptly the wishes and intentions of their Great Father, and asked their opinion thereon. Thus pressed, they looked at the sky, saw a few wandering clouds, and straightway adjourned *sine die*, as the weather is not clear enough for so solemn a council. However, as the treaty had been opened, provision was supplied to them by regular rations; and the same night they had great rejoicings—danced the war-dance, and kept the eyes and ears of all open by running, howling about the village. Such was the state of affairs on our arrival. Companies of old warriors might be seen sitting smoking under every bush; arguing, palavering, or pow-wow-ing, with great earnestness; but there seemed no possibility of bringing them to another Council in a hurry.

"Meanwhile, the village and its occupants presented a most motley scene. The fort contained within its palisades by far the most enlightened residents in the little knot of officers attached to the slender garrison. The quarters here, consequently, were too confined to afford place of residence for the Government Commissioners, for whom, and a crowd of dependents, a temporary set of plank huts were erected on the north side of the river. To the latter gentlemen, we, as the only idle lookers on, were indebted for much friendly attention; and in the frank and hospitable treatment we received from the inhabitants of Fort Dearborn, we had a foretaste of that which we subsequently met with everywhere under like circumstances during our autumnal wanderings over the Frontier. The officers of the United States Army have, perhaps, less opportunities of becoming refined than those of the Navy. They are often, from the moment of their receiving commissions after the termination of their Cadetship at West Point, and at an age when good society is of the utmost consequence to the young and ardent, exiled for long years to the posts on the Northern or Western frontier, far removed from cultivated female society, and in daily contact with the refuse of the human race. And this is their misfortune not their fault; but wherever we have met with them, and been thrown as strangers upon their good offices, we have found them the same good friends and good company. But I was going to give you an inventory of the contents of Chicago, when the recollection of the warm-hearted intercourse we had enjoyed with many fine fellows, whom probably we shall neither see nor hear of again, drew me aside. Next in rank to the Officers and Commissioners may be noticed certain store-keepers and merchants residents here, looking either to the influx of new settlers establishing themselves in the neighborhood, or those passing yet farther to the westward, for cus-

tom and profit, not to forget the chance of extraordinary occasions like the present. Add to these a doctor or two, two or three lawyers, a land agent, and five or six hotel keepers. These may be considered as stationary, and proprietors of the half a hundred clapboard houses around you. Then for the birds of passage, exclusive of the Pottawatamies, of whom more anon, and emigrants and land speculators, as numerous as the sand.

"You will find horse-dealers, and horse stealers—rogues of every description—white, black, brown, and red; half-breeds, quarter-breeds, and men of no breed at all; dealers in pigs, poultry, and potatoes; men pursuing Indian claims, some for tracts of land, others, like our friend 'Snipe,'* for pigs which the wolves had eaten; creditors of the tribes, or of particular Indians, who know that they have no chance of getting their money if they do not get it from the Government Agents; sharpers of every degree; pedlars, grog-sellers; Indian Agents and Indian traders, of every description, and contractors to supply the Pottawatamies with food. The little village was in an uproar from morning to night, and from night to morning; for during the hours of darkness, when the housed portion of the population of Chicago strove to obtain repose in the crowded plank edifices of the village, the Indians howled, sang, wept, yelled, and whooped in their various encampments. With all this, the whites seemed to me to be more pagan than the red men. You will have understood, that the large body of Indians collected in the vicinity consisted not merely of chiefs and warriors, but in fact the greater part of the whole tribe were present; for where the warrior was invited to feast, at the expense of Government, the squaw took care to accompany him; and where the squaw went, the children or pappooses, the ponies, and the innumerable dogs followed, and here they all were living merrily at the cost of the Government."

"All was bustle and tumult, especially at the house set apart for the distribution of the rations. Many were the scenes which here presented themselves, portraying the habits of both the red men and the demi-civilized beings around them. The interior of the village was one chaos of mud, rubbish, and confusion. Frame and clapboard houses were springing up daily under the active axes and hammers of the speculators, and piles of lumber announced the preparation for yet other edifices of an equally light character. Races occurred frequently on a piece of level sward without the village, on which temporary booths afforded the motley multitude the means of 'stimulating,' and betting and gambling were the order of the day. Within the vile two-storied barrack, which, dignified as usual by the

* A *sobriquet* applied to a late fellow passenger "on his way to Chicago, to be present at the impending Treaty, with a view to prefer certain claims to the Government Commissioner for the loss of hogs, which, doubtless, the wolves had eaten; but which, no matter, the Indians might be made to pay for."

title of Hotel, afforded us quarters, all was in a state of most appalling confusion, filth, and racket. The public table was such a scene of confusion that we avoided it from necessity. The French landlord was a sporting character, and everything was left to chance, who, in the shape of a fat housekeeper, fumed and toiled round the premises from morning to night."

"Within there was neither peace nor comfort, and we spent much of our time in the open air. A visit to the gentlemen at the fort, a morning's grouse-shooting, or a gallop on the broad surface of the prairie, filled up the intervals in our perturbed attempts at reading or writing indoors, while awaiting the progress of the treaty.

"I loved to stroll out, towards sunset, across the river, and gaze upon the level horizon, stretching to the northwest over the surface of the prairie, dotted with innumerable objects far and near. Not far from the river lay many groups of tents constructed of coarse canvass, blankets, and mats, and surmounted by poles supporting meat, moccasins, and rags. Their vicinity was always enlivened by various painted Indian figures dressed in the most gaudy attire."

"Far and wide the grassy prairie teemed with figures; warriors, mounted or on foot, squaws, and horses. Here a race between three or four Indian ponies, each carrying a double rider, whooping and yelling like fiends. There a solitary horseman with a long spear, turbaned like an Arab, scouring along at full speed; groups of hobbled horses; Indian dogs and children; or a grave conclave of gray chiefs seated on the grass in consultation. It was amusing to wind silently from group to group, here noting the raised knife, the sudden drunken brawl quashed by the good-natured and even playful interference of the neighbors; there a party breaking up their encampment, and falling, with their little train of loaded ponies and wolfish dogs, into the deep, black, narrow trail running to the north."

"*It is a grievous thing that Government is not strong-handed enough to put a stop to the shameful and scandalous sale of whiskey to these poor miserable wretches. But here lie casks of it for sale under the very eye of the Commissioners, met together for purposes which demand that sobriety should be maintained, were it only that no one should be able to lay at their door an accusation of unfair dealing, and of having taken the advantage of the helpless Indian in a bargain whereby the people of the United States were to be so greatly the gainers. And such was the state of things day by day. However anxious I and others might be to exculpate the United States Government from the charge of cold and selfish policy toward the remnant of the Indian tribes, and from that of resorting to unworthy and diabolical means in attaining possession of their lands,—as long as it can be said with truth that drunkenness was not guard d against, and that the means were furnished at the very time of the Treaty and under the very nose of the Commissioners,—how can it be expected but a stigma will attend every transaction of this kind.*"

"But how sped the Treaty? you will ask. Day after day passed It was in vain that the signal-gun from the fort gave notice of an assemblage of chiefs at the council fire. Reasons were always found for its delay. One day an influential chief was not in the way; another, the sky looked cloudy, and the Indian never performs any important business except the sky be clear. At length, on the 21st September, the Pottawatomies resolved to meet the Commissioners. We were politely invited to be present."

"The Council-fire was lighted under a spacious open shed on the green meadow on the opposite side of the river from that on which the Fort stood. From the difficulty of getting all together, it was late in the afternoon when they assembled. There might be twenty or thirty chiefs present, seated at the lower end of the enclosure, while the Commissioners, Interpreters, &c., were at the upper. The palaver was opened by the principal Commissioner. He requested to know why he and his colleagues were called to the council. An old warrior arose, and in short sentences, generally of five syllables, delivered with a monotonous intonation and rapid utterance, gave answer. His gesticulation was appropriate, but rather violent. Rice, the half-breed Interpreter, explained the signification, from time to time, to the audience; and it was seen that the old chief, who had got his lesson, answered one question by proposing another, the sum and substance of his oration being that the assembled chiefs wished to know what was the object of their Great Father at Washington in calling his Red Children together at Chicago! This was amusing enough, after the full explanation given a week before at the opening session, and particularly when it was recollected that they had feasted sumptuously during the interval at the expence of their Great Father; it was not making very encouraging progress. A young chief rose, and spoke vehemently to the same purpose. Hereupon the Commissioner made them a forcible Jacksonian discourse, wherein a good deal which was akin to threat was mingled with exhortations not to play with their Great Father, but to come to an early determination whether they would or would not sell and exchange their territory; and this done, the council was dissolved. One or two tipsy old chiefs raised an occasional disturbance, else matters were conducted with due gravity. The relative positions of the Commissioner and the whites before the Council-fire, and that of the Red Children of the Forest and Prairie, were to me strikingly impressive. The glorious light of the setting sun, streaming in under the low roof of the Council-House, fell full on the countenances of the former as they faced the West, while the pale light of the East hardly lighted up the dark and painted lineaments of the poor Indians, whose souls evidently clave to their birth-right in that quarter. Even though convinced of the necessity of their removal, my heart bled for them in their desolation and decline. Ignorant and degraded as they may have been in their original state, their degradation is now ten-

fold after years of intercourse with the whites; and their speedy disappearance from the earth appears as certain as though it were already sealed and accomplished. Your own reflection will lead you to form the conclusion, and it will be a just one, that even if he had the will, the power would be wanting for the Indian to keep his territory; and that the business of arranging the terms of an Indian Treaty, whatever it might have been two hundred years ago, while the Indian tribes had not, as now, thrown aside the rude but vigorous intellectual character which distinguished many among them, now lies chiefly between the various traders, agents, creditors, and half-breeds of the tribes, on whom custom and necessity have made the degraded chiefs dependent, and the Government Agents. When the former have seen matters so far arranged that their self-interest, and various schemes and claims, are likely to be fulfilled and allowed to their hearts' content, the silent acquiescence of the Indian follows, of course; and till this is the case, the Treaty can never be amicably effected. In fine, before we quitted Chicago on the 25th, three or four days later, the Treaty with the Pottawatomies was concluded—the Commissioners putting their hands and the assembled chiefs their paws to the same."*

* We copy from a volume of Indian Treaties, an official publication, the following Treaty; *concluded Sept. 26, 1833; ratified February 21, 1835.*

Articles of a treaty made at Chicago, in the State of Illinois, on the twenty-sixth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirty-three, between George B. Porter, Thomas J. V. Owen, and William Weatherford, commissioners on the part of the United States, on the one part, and the United Nation of Chippewa, Ottowa, and Potawatamie Indians, of the other part, being fully represented by the chiefs and head men whose names are hereunto subscribed; which treaty is in the following words, to wit:

ART. 1. The said United Nation of Chippewa, Ottowa, and Potawatamie Indians, cede to the United States all their land along the western shore of lake Michigan, and between this lake and the land ceded to the United States by the Winnebago nation, at the treaty of fort Armstrong, made on the 15th September, 1832: bounded on the north by the country lately ceded by the Menominees, and on the south by the country ceded at the treaty of Prairie du Chien, made on the 29th July, 1829, supposed to contain about five millions of acres.

ART. 2. In part consideration of the above cession, it is hereby agreed that the United States shall grant to the said United Nation of Indians, to be held as other Indian lands are held which have lately been assigned to emigrating Indians, a tract of country west of the Mississippi river, to be assigned to them by the President of the United States, to be not less in quantity than five millions of acres, and to be located as follows: Beginning at the mouth of Boyer's river, on the east side of the Missouri river; thence, down the said river to the mouth of Naudoway river; thence, due east to the west line of the State of Missouri; thence, along the said State line to the northwest corner of the State; thence, east along the said State line to the point where it is intersected by the western

In *number one* of the first Chicago newspaper, of date 26 Nov., 1833, high praise is awarded to Col. Owen, Indian Agent, in the matter of the late Treaty with the Indians.

boundary line of the Sacs and Foxes; thence, north along the said line of the Sacs and Foxes, so far as that when a straight line shall be run therefrom to the mouth of Boyer's river, (the place of beginning,) it shall include five millions of acres. And as it is the wish of the Government of the United States that the said nation of Indians should remove to the country thus assigned to them as soon as conveniently can be done; and it is deemed advisable on the part of their chiefs and head men that a deputation should visit the said country west of the Mississippi, and thus be assured that full justice has been done, it is hereby stipulated that the United States will defray the expenses of such deputation, to consist of not more than fifty persons, to be accompanied by not more than five individuals, to be nominated by themselves, and the whole to be under the general direction of such officer of the United States Government as has been or shall be designated for the purpose. And it is further agreed, that as fast as the said Indians shall be prepared to emigrate, they shall be removed at the expense of the United States, and shall receive subsistence while upon the journey, and for one year after their arrival at their new homes. It being understood, that the said Indians are to remove from all that part of the land now ceded, which is within the State of Illinois, immediately on the ratification of this treaty, but to be permitted to retain possession of the country north of the boundary line of the said State, for the term of three years, without molestation or interruption, and under the protection of the laws of the United States.

ART. 3. And in further consideration of the above cession, it is agreed, that there shall be paid by the United States the sums of money hereinafter mentioned, to wit: One hundred thousand dollars, to satisfy sundry individuals in behalf of whom reservations were asked, which the commissioners refused to grant; and also, to indemnify the Chippewa tribe who are parties to this treaty for certain lands along the shore of lake Michigan, to which they make claim, which have been ceded to the United States by the Menominee Indians: the manner in which the same is to be paid is set forth in schedule "A," hereunto annexed; one hundred and fifty thousand dollars to satisfy the claims made against the said United Nation, which they have here admitted to be justly due, and directed to be paid, according to schedule "B," hereunto annexed; one hundred thousand dollars to be paid in goods and provisions, a part to be delivered on the signing of this treaty, and the residue during the ensuing year; two hundred and eighty thousand dollars to be paid in annuities of fourteen thousand dollars a year, for twenty years; one hundred and fifty thousand dollars to be applied to the erection of mills, farm-houses, Indian houses, and blacksmiths' shops, to agricultural improvements, to the purchase of agricultural implements and stock, and for the support of such physicians, millers, farmers, blacksmiths and other mechanics, as the President of the United States shall think proper to appoint; seventy thousand dollars for purposes of education and the encouragement of the domestic arts, to be applied in such manner as the President of the United States may

Mr. Calhoun, the editor, however was not here at that gathering and bargain, not having arrived until several weeks after its consummation; therefore, his opinion was formed from

direct. [The wish of the Indians being expressed to the commissioners as follows: The United Nation of Chippewa, Ottowa, and Potawatamie Indians, being desirous to create a perpetual fund for the purposes of education and the encouragement of the domestic arts, wish to invest the sum of seventy thousand dollars in some safe stock, the interest of which only is to be applied as may be necessary for the above purposes; they therefore request the President of the United States to make such investment for the nation as he may think best. If, however, at any time hereafter, the said nation shall have made such advancement in civilization, and have become so enlightened as, in the opinion of the President and Senate of the United States, they shall be capable of managing so large a fund with safety, they may withdraw the whole or any part of it.] Four hundred dollars a year to be paid to Billy Caldwell, and three hundred dollars a year to be paid to Alexander Robinson, for life, in addition to the annuities already granted them; two hundred dollars a year to be paid to Joseph Lafromboise, and two hundred dollars a year to be paid to Shabehnay, for life; two thousand dollars to be paid to Wau-pon-eh-see and his band, and fifteen hundred dollars to Awnkote and his band, as the consideration for nine sections of land, granted to them by the 3d article of the treaty of Prairie du Chien, of the 29th of July, 1829, which are hereby assigned and surrendered to the United States.

ART. 4. A just proportion of the annuity money, secured as well by former treaties as the present, shall be paid west of the Mississippi to such portion of the nation as shall have removed thither during the ensuing three years. After which time, the whole amount of the annuities shall be paid at their location west of the Mississippi.

ART. 5. The reservation of two sections of land to Shab-eh-nay by the second clause of the third article of the treaty of Prairie du Chien, of the 29th July, 1829, shall be a grant in fee simple to him, his heirs and assigns forever, and all the individual reservations of lands in the treaty concluded at Camp Tippecanoe, dated 20th October, 1832, shall be considered as grants in fee simple to the persons to whom they are made, their heirs and assigns forever, and that the reservations in the said last mentioned treaty of one section of land, to be located at Twelve Mile Grove, or Na-be-na-qui-nong, "for Joseph Laughton, son of Waiske-shaw," and of two sections of land to include the small grove of timber, on the river above Rock village, "for the children of Waiske-shaw," shall be considered as grants in fee simple to their father, David Laughton, his heirs and assigns forever. That the reservation in said treaty of one section of land to be located at Soldiers' village, for Maw-te-no, daughter of Francis Burbonnois, jun., shall be considered as a grant in fee simple to her father, the said Francis Burbonnois, jun., his heirs and assigns forever: and that the reservation in said treaty of one section of land to be located at Skunk Grove, for the children of Joseph La Framboise shall be considered as a grant in fee simple to the said Joseph La Framboise, his heirs and assigns forever. Provided that no sale of

the information of others. Whatever credit Gov. Geo. B. Porter and others, on the part of the United States, may have deserved, we have the expression of one gentleman, an early

any of the said reservations shall be valid unless approved by the President of the United States.

The fifth article has been inserted at the request of the said chiefs, who allege that the provisions therein contained were agreed to at the time of the making of the said treaties, but were omitted to be inserted, or erroneously put down. It is however distinctly understood that the rejection of said article by the President and Senate of the United States shall not vitiate this treaty.

This treaty, after the same shall have been ratified by the President and Senate of the United States, shall be binding on the contracting parties.

In testimony whereof, the said George B. Porter, Thomas J. V. Owen, and William Weatherford, and the undersigned chiefs and head men of the said nation of Indians, have hereunto set their hands at Chicago, the said day and year.

G. B. Porter,
Th. J. V. Owen,
William Weatherford,
To-pen-e-bee, his x mark,
Sau-ko-noek,
Che-che-bin-quay, his x mark,
Joseph, his x mark,
Wah-mix-i-co, his x mark,
Ob-wa-qua-unk, his x mark,
N-saw-way-quet, his x mark,
Puk-quech-a-min-nee, his x mark,
Nah-che-wine, his x mark,
Ke-wase, his x mark,
Wah-bou-seh, his x mark,
Mang-e-sett, his x mark,
Caw-we-saut, his x mark,
Ah-be-te-ke-zhic, his x mark,
Pat-e-go-shuc, his x mark,
E-to-wow-cote, his x mark,
Shim-e-nah, his x mark,
O-chee-pwaise, his x mark,
Ce-nah-ge-win, his x mark,
Shaw-waw-nas-see, his x mark,
Shab-eh-nay, his x mark,
Mac-a-ta-o-shic, his x mark,
Squah-ke-zic, his x mark,
Mah-che-o-tah-way, his x mark,
Cha-ke-te-ah, his x mark,
Me-am-ese, his x mark,
Shay-tee, his x mark,
Chis-in-ke-bah, his x mark,
Mix-e-maung, his x mark,
Nah-bwait, his x mark,
Sen-e-bau-um, his x mark,
Puk-won, his x mark,
Wa-be-no-say, his x mark,
Mon-tou-ish, his x mark,
No-nee, his x mark,
Mas-quat, his x mark,
Sho-min, his x mark,
Ah-take, his x mark,
He-me-nah-wah, his x mark,
Che-pec-co-quah, his x mark,
Mis-quab-o-no-quah, his x mark,
Wah-be-Kai, his x mark,
Ma-ca-ta-ke-shic, his x mark,
Sho-min, (2d.) his x mark,
She-mah-gah, his x mark,
O'Ke-mah-wah-ba-see, his x mark,
Na-mash, his x mark,
Shab-y-a-tuk, his x mark,
Ah-cah-o-mah, his x mark,
Quah-quah, tan, his x mark,
Ah-sag-a-mish-cum, his x mark,
Pa-mob-a-mee, his x mark,
Nay-o-say, his x mark,

resident here, but now or lately living in Pennsylvania, who was present at the Treaty, and was familiar with the whole proceedings, and whose ideas of the business scarcely accord

Ce-tah-quah, his x mark,
Ce-ku-tay, his x mark,
Sauk-ee, his x mark,
Kee-new, his x mark,
Ne-bay-noc-scum, his x mark,
Naw-bay-caw, his x mark,
O'Kee-mase, his x mark,
Saw-o-tup, his x mark,
Me-tai-way, his x mark,
Na-ma-ta-way-shuc, his x mark,
Shaw-waw-nuk-wuk, his x mark,
Nah-che-wah, his x mark,
Sho-bon-nier, his x mark,
Me-nuk-quet, his x mark,
Ah-quee-wee, his x mark,
Ta-cau-ko, his x mark,
Me-shim-e-nah, his x mark,
Wah-sus-kuk, his x mark,
Pe-nay-o-cat, his x mark,
Pay-maw-suc, his x mark,
Pe-she-ka, his x mark,
Shaw-we-mon-e-tay, his x mark,
Ah-be-nab, his x mark,
Sau-sau-quas-see, his x mark.

In presence of

Wm. Lee D. Ewing, *Secretary to Commission*,
E. A. Brush,
Luther Rice, *Interpreter*,
James Conner, *Interpreter*,
John T. Schermerhorn, *Commissioner, etc. west.*
A. C. Pepper, *S. A. R. P.*
Gho. Kercheval, *Sub-agent*,
Geo. Bender, *Major 5th. Regt Inf.*
D. Wilcox, *Capt. 5th Regt.*
J. M. Baxley, *Capt. 5th Inf.*
R. A. Forsyth, *U. S. A.*
L. T. Jamison, *Lieut. U. S. A.*
E. K. Smith, *Lieut. 5th. Inf.*
P. Maxwell, *Asst. Surgeon*,
J. Allen, *Lieut. 5th Inf.*
I. P. Simonton, *Lieut. U. S. A.*
George F. Turner, *Asst. Surgeon U. S. Army*,
Richd. J. Hamilton,
Robert Stuart,
Jona. McCarty,
Daniel Jackson, *of New York*,
Jno. H. Kinzie,
Robt. A. Kinzie,
G. S. Hubbard,
J. C. Schwarz, *Adjt. Gen. M. M.*
Jn. B. Beaubrier,
James Kinzie,
Jacob Beeson,
Saml. Humes Porter,
Andw. Porter,
Gabriel Godfroy,
A. H. Arndt,
Laurie Marsh,
Joseph Chaunier,
John Watkins,
B. B. Kercheval,
Jas. W. Berry,
Wm. French,
Thomas Forsyth,
Pierre Menard, Fils,
Edmd. Roberts,
Geo. Hunt,
Isaac Nash.

SCHEDULE A.

(Referred to in the treaty containing the sums payable to individuals in lieu of reservations.)

Jesse Walker, - - - - $1500

with those who would commend the action of our Government officials on that occasion. We have endeavored to get this early settler to write out a sketch of that last Chicago

Henry Cleavland,	$800
Rachel Hall,	600
Sylvia Hall,	600
Joseph Laframboise and children,	1,000
Victoire Porthier and her children,	700
Jean Bt. Miranda,	300
Jane Miranda, (For each of whom John H. Kinzie is trustee,)	200
Rosetta Miranda, (For each of whom John H. Kinzie is trustee,)	300
Thomas Miranda, (For each of whom John H. Kinzie is trustee,)	400
Alexander Mullèr, Gholson Kercheval, trustee,	800
Paschal Muller, do do	800
Margaret Muller,	200
Socra Muller,	200
Angelique Chevallier,	200
Josette Chevallier,	200
Fanny Leclare, (Captain David Hunter, trustee,)	400
Daniel Bourassa's children,	600
Nancy Contraman, (For each of whom J. B. Campbell is trustee,)	600
Sally Contraman, (For each of whom J. B. Campbell is trustee,)	
Betsey Contraman, (For each of whom J. B. Campbell is trustee,)	
Alexis Laframbois,	1,800
Alexis Laframbois' children,	200
Mrs. Mann's children,	600
Mrs. Mann, (daughter of Antoine Ouilmet,)	400
Geo. Turkey's children, (Fourtier,) Th. J. V. Owen, trustee,	500
Jacques Chapeau's children, do do	600
Antonie Roscum's children,	750
Francois Burbonnais' sen. children,	400
Francois Burbonnais' jun. children,	300
John Bt. Cloutier's children, (Robert A. Kinzie, trustee,)	600
Claude Laframboise's children,	300
Antoine Ouilmet's children,	300
Josette Ouilmet, (John H. Kinzie, trustee,)	200
Mrs. Welsh, (daughter of Antoine Ouilmet,)	200
Alexander Robinson's children,	400
Billy Caldwell's children,	600
Mo-ah-way,	200
Medare B. Beaubien,	300
Charles H. Beaubien,	300
John K. Clark's Indian children, (Richard J. Hamilton, trustee,)	400
Jossette Juno and her children,	1,000
Angelique Juno,	300

Treaty between the Indians and the Government, inasmuch as he had assured us "It is all clear upon my mind, and I presume I know it better than any other man that can be

Josette Beaubiens' children,	$1,000
Ma-go-que's child, (James Kinzie, trustee,)	300
Esther, Rosene and Eleanor Bailly,	500
Sophia, Hortense and Therese Bailly,	1,000
Rosa and Mary, children of Hoo-mo-ni-gah, wife of Stephen Mack,	600
Jean Bt. Rabbu's children,	400
Francis Chevallier's children,	800
Mrs. Nancy Jamison and child,	800
Co-pah, son of Archange,	250
Martha Burnet, (Rt. Forsyth, trustee,)	1,000
Isadore Chabert's child, (G. S. Hubbard, trustee,)	400
Chee-bee-quai, or Mrs. Allen,	500
Luther Rice and children,	2,500
John Jones,	1,000
Pierre Corbonno's children,	800
Pierre Chalipeaux's children,	1,000
Phœbe Treat and children,	1,000
Robert Forsyth, of St. Louis, Mo.	500
Alexander Robinson,	10,000
Billy Caldwell,	10,000
Joseph Leframboise,	300
Nis noan see, (B. B. Kercheval, trustee,)	200
Margaret Hall,	1,000
James, William, David and Sarah, children of Margaret Hall,	3,200
Margaret Ellen Miller, Montgomery Miller, and Filly Miller, grand-children of Margaret Hall, (For each of whom Richard J. Hamilton, of Chicago, is trustee,)	800
Jean Letendre's children,	200
Bernard Grignon,	100
Josette Polier,	100
Joseph Vieux, Jacques Vieux, Louis Vieux, Josette Vieux, each $100,	100
Angelique Hardwick's children,	1,800
Joseph Bourassa and Mark Bourassa,	200
Jude Bourassa and Therese Bourassa,	200
Stephen Bourassa and Gabriel Bourassa,	200
Alexander Bourassa and James Bourassa	200
Elai Bourassa and Jerome Bourassa,	200
M. D. Bourassa,	100
Ann Rice, and her son, William M. Rice, and nephew, John Leib,	1,000
Agate Biddle and her children,	900
Magdaline Laframbois and her son,	400

found at this date;" but the effort was not successful. We may fancy something of the deeply dark shadows which the limning of the picture would have presented had he filled the

Therese Schandler,	$200
Joseph Dailly's son and daughter, Robert and Therese,	500
Therese Lawe and George Lawe,	200
David Lawe and Rachel Lawe,	200
Rebecca Law and Maria Lawe,	200
Polly Lawe and Jane Lawe,	200
Appotone Lawe,	100
Angelique Vieux and Amable Vieux,	200
Andre Vieux and Nicholas Vieux,	200
Pierre Vieux and Maria Vieux,	200
Madaline Thibeault,	100
Paul Vieux and Joseph Vieux,	200
Susanne Vieux,	100
Louis Grignon and his son Paul,	200
Paul Grignon, sen. and Amable Grignon,	200
Perish and Robert Grignon,	200
Catist Grignon and Elizabeth Grignon	200
Ursul Grignon and Charlotte Grignon,	200
Louise Grignon and Rachel Grignon,	200
Agate Porlier and George Grignon,	200
Amable Grignon and Emily Grignon,	200
Therese Grignon and Simon Grignon,	200
William Burnett, (B. B. Kercheval, trustee,)	1,000
Shan-na-nees,	400
Josette Beaubien,	500
For the Chippewa, Ottawa, and Potawatamie students at the Choctaw Academy. The Hon. R. M. Johnson to be the trustee,	5,000
James and Richard J. Conner,	700
Pierre Duverney and children,	300
Joshua Boyd's children, (Geo. Boyd, Esq. to be trustee,)	500
Joseph Baily,	4,000
R. A. Forsyth,	3,000
Gabriel Godfroy,	2,420
Thomas R. Covill,	1,300
George Hunt,	750
James Kinzie,	5,000
Joseph Chaunier,	550
John and Mark Noble,	180
Alexis Provansalle,	100
One hundred thousand dollars,	$100,000

outline that he gave us; namely: "You, or hardly any other man, can imagine what was done, or how ridiculous the whole thing was carried on or closed up. It should have been con-

SCHEDULE B.

(Referred to in the treaty containing the sums payable to individuals on claims admitted to be justly due, and directed to be paid.)

Brewster, Hogan & Co.	$343	Jacque Jenveaux,	$150
John S. C. Hogan,	50	John B. Du Charme,	55
Frederick H. Contraman,	200	John Wright,	15
Brookfield & Bertrand,	100	James Galloway,	200
R. E. Heacock,	100	William Marquis,	150
George W. McClure, U. S. A.	125	Louis Chevalier, adm'r of J. B.	
David McKee.	180	Chevalier, dec'd,	112
Oliver Emmell,	300	Solomon McCullough,	100
George Hollenbeck,	100	Joseph Curtis,	50
Martha Gray,	78	Edward E. Hunter,	90
Charles Taylor,	187	Rachel Legg,	25
Joseph Naper,	71	Peter Lamseet,	100
John Mann,	200	Robert Beresford,	200
James Walker,	200	G. W. & W. Laird,	150
John Blackston,	100	M. B. Beaubien,	440
Harris & McCord,	175	Jeduthan Smith,	60
George W. Dole,	133	Edmund Weed,	100
George Haverhill,	60	Philip Maxwell, U. S. A.	35
Wm. Whistler, U. S. A.	1,000	Henry Gratiot,	116
Squire Thompson,	100	Tyler K. Blodgett,	50
C. C. Trowbridge,	2,000	Nehemiah King,	125
Louis Druillard,	350	S. P. Brady,	188
Abraham Francis,	25	James Harrington,	68
D. R. Bearss & Co.	250	Samuel Ellice,	50
Dr. E. Winslow,	150	Peter Menard, (Maumee,)	500
Nicholas Klinger,	77	John W. Anderson,	350
Joseph Porthier,	200	David Bailey,	50
Clark Hollenback,	50	Wm. G. Knaggs,	100
Henry Enslen,	75	John Hively,	150
Robert A. Kinzie,	1,216	John B. Bertrand, sen.	50
Joseph Ogie,	200	Robert A. Forsyth,	3,000
Thomas Hartzell,	400	Maria Kercheval,	3,000
Calvin Britin,	46	Alice Hunt,	3,000
Benjamin Fry,	400	Jane C. Forsyth	3,000
Pierre F. Navarre,	100	John H. Kinzie,	5,000
C. H. Chapman,	30	Ellen M. Wolcott,	5,000
James Kinzie,	300	Maria Hunter,	5,000
G. S. Hubbard,	125	Robert A. Kinzie,	5,000

ducted upon principles of truth and justice; but the whole thing was a farce, acted by those in office in our Government."

Samuel Godfroy,	$120	Wm. Huff,	$81
John E. Schwarz,	4,800	Stephen Mack, in trust for the heirs of Stephen Mack, dec'd.	500
Joseph Loranger,	5,008	Thomas Forsyth,	1,500
H. B. and C. W. Hoffman	350	Felix Fontaine,	200
Phelps & Wendell,	660	Jacques Mette,	200
Henry Johns,	270	Francis Boucher,	250
Benjamin C. Hoyt,	20	Margaret Helm,	2,000
John H. Kinzie, in trust for the heirs of Jos. Miranda, dec'd.	250	O. P. Lacy,	1,000
Francis Burbonnais, senr.	500	Henry and Richard G. Conner,	1,500
Francis Burbonnais, junr.	200	James W. Craig,	500
R. A. Forsyth, in trust for Catherine McKenzie,	1,000	R. A. Forsyth, (Maumee,)	1,300
James Laird,	50	Antoine Peltier, do	200
Montgomery Evans,	250	R. A. Forsyth, in trust for Mause-on-o-quet,	300
Joseph Bertrand, jr.	300	John E. Hunt,	1,450
George Hunt,	900	Payne C. Parker,	70
Benjamin Sherman,	150	Isaac Hull,	1,000
W. and F. Brewster, asssignees of Joseph Bertrand, senr.	700	Foreman Evans,	32
John Forsyth, in trust for the heirs of Charles Peltier, dec'd.	900	Horatio N. Curtis,	300
William Hazard,	30	Ica Rice,	250
James Shirby,	125	Thomas P. Quick,	35
Jacob Platter,	25	George B. Woodcox,	60
John B. Bourie,	2,500	John Woodcox,	40
B. B. Kercheval,	1,500	George B. Knaggs,	1,400
Charles Lucier,	75	Ebenezer Read,	100
Mark Beaubien,	500	George Pomeroy,	150
Catherine Stewart,	82	Thomas K. Green,	70
Francis Mouton,	200	William Mieure, in trust for Willis Fellows,	500
Dr. William Brown,	40	Z. Cicott,	1,800
R. A. Forsyth, in trust for heirs of Charles Guion,	200	John Johnson,	100
Joseph Bertrand, senr.	652	Antoine Antilla,	100
Moses Rice,	800	John Baldwin,	500
James Conner,	2,250	Isaac G. Baily,	100
John B. Du Charme,	250	James Cowan,	35
Coquillard & Comparat,	5,000	Joseph D. Lane,	50
Richard J. Hamilton,	500	J. L. Phelps,	250
Adolphus Chapin,	80	Edmund Roberts,	50
John Dixon,	140	Augustus Bona,	60
		E. C. Winter & Co.	1,850
		Charles W. Ewing,	200

We are, however, aware that a dilemma was encountered, a crisis had arrived; it was one which not only the Government had perceived, but the Indians also saw it; as well

Antoine Ouilmet,	$800	David Bourie,	$500
John Bt. Chandonai, (one thou-		Carolina Ferry,	500
dollars of this sum to be paid		Bowrie & Minie	500
to Robert Stuart, agent of		Charles Minie,	600
American Fur Company, by		Francis Minie,	700
the particular request of Jno.		David Bourie,	150
B. Chandonai,)	2,500	Henry Ossum Read,	200
Lawrin Marsh,	3,290	Francoise Bezion,	2,500
P. &. J. Godfroy,	2,000	Dominique Rousseau,	500
David Hull,	500	Hanna & Taylor.	1,570
Andrew Drouillard,	500	John P. Hedges,	1,000
Jacob Beeson & Co.	220	Francois Chobare,	1,000
Jacob Beeson,	900	Isadore Chobare,	600
John Anderson,	600	Jacob Leephart,	700
John Green,	100	Amos Amsden,	400
James B. Campbell,	600	Nicholas Boilvin,	350
Pierre Menard, jun., in right of		Archibald Clyburn,	200
G. W. Campbell,	250	William Connor, (Michigan,)	70
George E. Walker,	1,000	Tunis S. Wendall,	500
Joseph Thebault,	50	Noel Vassuer,	800
Gideon Lowe, U. S. A.	160	James Abbot, agent of the Amer-	
Pierre Menard, jun.	2,000	ican Fur Company,	2,300
John Tharp,	45	Robert Stewart, agent of the	
Pierre Menard, jun., in trust for		American Fur Company,	17,000
Marie Tremble,	500	Solomon Ieauneau,	2,100
Henry B Stilman,	300	John Bt. Beaubien,	250
John Hamblin,	500	Stephen Mack, junr.	350
Francois Page,	100	John Lawe,	3,000
George Brooks,	20	Alexis Larose,	1,000
Franklin McMillan,	100	Daniel Whitney,	1,350
Lorance Shellhouse,	30	P. & A. Grignon,	650
Martin G. Shellhouse,	35	Louis Grignon,	2,000
Peter Belair,	150	Jacques Vieux,	2,000
Joseph Morass,	200	Laframboise & Bourassa,	1,300
John I. Wendell,	2,000	Heirs of N. Boilvin, deceased,	1,000
A. T. Hatch,	300	John K. Clark,	400
Stephen Downing,	100	William G. & G. W. Ewing,	5,000
Samuel Miller,	100	Rufus Hitchcock,	400
Moses Hardwick,	75	Reed and Coons,	200
Margaret May,	400	B. H. Laughton,	1,000
Frances Felix,	1,100	Rufus Downing,	500
John B. Bourie,	500	Charles Reed,	200
Harriet Ewing,	500		
Nancy Hedges,	500		$175,000

might King Canute, who sat in the water's edge by the sea-shore, expect the flowing tide to retire at his bidding, as here for the Government or the Indians to push back the rushing

The above claims have been admitted and directed to be paid, only in case they be accepted in full of all claims and demands up to the present date.

G. B. Porter,
Th. J. V. Owen,
William Weatherford.

Agreeably to the stipulations contained in the third article of the treaty, there have been purchased and delivered at the request of the Indians, goods, provisions, and horses, to the amouut of sixty-five thousand dollars, (leaving the balance to be supplied in the year one thousand eight hundred and thirty-four, thirty-five thousand dollars.)

As evidence of the purchase and delivery as aforesaid, under the direction of the said commissioners, and that the whole of the same have been received by the said Indians, the said George B. Porter, Thomas J. V. Owen, and William Weatherford, and the undersigned chiefs and head men, on behalf of the said united nation of Indians, have hereunto set their hands, the twenty-seventh day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirty-three.

G. B. Porter,
Th. J. V. Owen,
William Weatherford,
Jo-pen-e-bee, his x mark,
We-saw, his x mark,
Ne-kaw-n sh-kee, his x mark,
Wai-saw-o-ke-ne-aw, his x mark,
Ne-see-waw-bee-tuck, his x mark,
Kai-kaw-tai-mon, his x mark,
Saw-ko-nosh,
Tshee-Tshee-chin-be-quay, his x mark,
Joseph, his x mark,
Shab-e-nai, his x mark,
Ah-be-te-ke-zhic, his x mark,
E-to-won-cote, his x mark,
Shab-y-a-tuk, his x mark,
Me-am-ese, his x mark,
Wah-be-me-mee, his x mark,
Shim-e-nah, his x mark,
We-in-co, his x mark.

In presence of

Wm. Lee D. Ewing, *Secr'y to the Commission*,
R. A. Forsyth, *U. S. A.*
Madn. F. Abbott,
Saml. Humes Porter,
Andw. Porter,
Joseph Bertrand, junr.
Jno. H. Kinzie,
James Conner, *Interpreter*,
J. E. Schwarz, *Adjt. Gen. M. M.*

Articles supplementary to the treaty made at Chicago, in the State of Illinois, on the 26th day of September, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-three, between George B. Porter, Thomas J. V. Owen, and William Weatherford, commissioners on the part of the United States, of the one part, and the United Nation of Chippewa, Ottowa, and Potawatamie Indians, of the other part, concluded at the same place, on the twenty-seventh day of September, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-three, between the said commissioners, on the part of the United States,

waves of white men that crowded forward to the country west of Lake Michigan.

However much intrigue, corruption, dishonesty, and wrong

of the one part, and the chiefs and head men of the said United Nation of Indians, residing upon the reservations of land situated in the territory of Michigan, south of Grand river, of the other part.

ART. 1. The said chiefs and head men cede to the United States, all their land situate in the territory of Michigan, south of Grand river, being the reservation at Notawasepe, of 4 miles square contained in the 3d clause of the 2d article of the treaty made at Chicago, on the 29th day of August, 1821, and the ninety-nine sections of land contained in the treaty made at St. Joseph, on 19th day of September, 1827; and also the tract of land on St. Joseph river, opposite the town of Niles, and extending to the line of the State of Indiana, on which the villages of To-pe-ne-bee and Pokagon are situated, supposed to contain about forty-nine sections.

ART. 2. In consideration of the above cession, it is hereby agreed that the said chiefs and head men and their immediate tribes, shall be considered as parties to the said treaty to which this is supplementary, and be entitled to participate in all the provisions therein contained, as a part of the United Nation; and further, that there shall be paid by the United States the sum of one hundred thousand dollars, to be applied as follows:

Ten thousand dollars, in addition to the general fund of one hundred thousand dollars contained in the said treaty, to satisfy sundry individuals in behalf of whom reservations were asked, which the commissioner refused to grant. The manner in which the same is to be paid being set forth in the schedule "A," hereunto annexed.

Twenty-five thousand dollars, in addition to the sum of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars, contained in the said treaty, to satisfy the claims made against all composing the United Nation of Indians, which they have admitted to be justly due, and directed to be paid according to schedule "B," to the treaty annexed.

Twenty-five thousand dollars to be paid in goods, provisions, and horses, in addition to the one hundred thousand dollars contained in the treaty.

And forty thousand dollars to be paid in annuities of two thousand dollars a year, for twenty years, in addition to the two hundred and eighty thousand dollars inserted in the treaty, and divided into payments of fourteen thousand dollars a year.

ART. 3. All the Indians residing on the said reservations in Michigan, shall remove therefrom within three years from this date, during which time they shall not be disturbed in their possession, nor in hunting upon the lands as heretofore. In the mean time, no interruption shall be offered to the survey and sale of the same by the United States. In case, however, the said Indians shall sooner remove, the Government may take immediate possession thereof.

ART. 4. By the last clause of the 3d article of the treaty of St. Joseph, made on the 27th day of September, 1828, there is granted to Madeline Bertrand, wife

there was practiced at that Treaty of 1833, whether by Government officials or "sharks" outside of office, or whether or not such crime, from lack of moral principle or from indolent

of Joseph Bertrand, one section of land; and as the same has not been located, it is requested by the said chiefs and head men that it shall be purchased by the United States. It is therefore agreed that the same shall be purchased by the United States, if it can be done, for the sum of eight hundred dollars; also, the reservation in the treaty, concluded at camp Tippecanoe, dated the 20th of October, 1832, to Me-saw-ke-qua and her children, of two sections of land at Waw-us-kuk's village, shall be considered as a grant in fee simple to the said Me-saw-ke-qua, her heirs and assigns forever; provided that no sale of the same shall be valid, unless approved by the President of the United States.

The 4th article has been inserted at the request of the said chiefs; and as the individuals named are desirous of accompanying their friends on their removal to the west, it has been assented to by the commissioners, with the express understanding that the rejection of this article by the President and Senate of the United States shall not vitiate the treaty.

These supplementary articles, after the same shall have been ratified by the President and Senate of the United States, shall be binding on the contracting parties.

In testimony whereof, the said George B. Porter, Thomas J. V. Owen, and William Weatherford, and the undersigned chiefs and head men of the said United Nation of Indians, have hereunto set their hands at Chicago, the said day and year.

G. B. Porter,
Th. J. V. Owen,
William Weatherford,
To-pen-e-bee, his x mark,
We-saw, his x mark,
Ne-kaw-nosh-kee, his x mark,
Wai-saw-o-ko-ne-aw, his x mark,
Po-ka-gon, his x mark,
Kai-kaw-tai-mon, his x mark,
Pe-pe-ah, his x mark,
Ne-see-waw-bee-tuck, his x mark,
Kitchee-bau, his x mark,
Pee-chee-ko, his x mark,
Nai-gaw-geucke, his x mark,
Wag-maw-kan-so, his x mark,
Mai-go-sai, his x mark,
Nai-chee-wai, his x mark,
Aks-puck-sick, his x mark,
Kaw-kai-mai, his x mark,
Mans-kai-sick, his x mark,
Pam-ko-wuck, his x mark,
No-taw-gai, his x mark,
Kauk-muck-kisin, his x mark,
Wee-see-mon, his x mark,
Mo-so-ben-net, his x mark,
Kee-o-kùm, his x mark,
Maatch-kee, his x mark,
Kaw-bai-me-sai, his x mark,
Wees-ke-qua-tap, his x mark,
Ship-she-wuh-no, his x mark,
Wah-co-mah-o-pe-tuk, his x mark,
Ne-so-wah-quet, his x mark,
Shay-o-no, his x mark,
Ash-o-nees, his x mark,
Mix-i-nee, his x mark,
Ne-wah-ox-sec, his x mark,
Sauk-e-mau, his x mark,
Shaw-waw-nuk-wuk, his x mark,
Mo-rah, his x mark,
Suk-see, his x mark,

forbearance at Washington, had been nursed and encouraged, perhaps there was then no greater demonstration of iniquity than has often, on similar occasions, happened before. We

Quesh-a-wase, his x mark,
Pat-e-go-to, his x mark,
Mash-ke-oh-see, his x mark,
Mo-nase, his x mark,
Wab-e-kaie, his x mark,
Shay-oh-new, his x mark,
Mo-gua-go, his x mark,
Pe-qua-shuc, his x mark,
A-muwa-noc-sey, his x mark,
Kau-ke-che-ke-to, his x mark,
Shaw-waw-nuk-wuk, his x mark.

In presence of

Wm. Lee D. Ewing, *Sec. to the Commission*,
E. A. Brush,
Luther Rice, *Inter.*
James Connor, *Interpreter*,
Joseph Bertrand, jr. *Interpreter*,
Gho. Kercheval, *Sub Ind. Agt.*
Geo. Bender, *Major 5th Regt. Infy.*
D. Wilcox, *Capt. 5th Regt.*
J. M. Baxley, *Capt. 5th Infy.*
R. A. Forsyth, *U. S. A.*
L. T. Jamison, *Lt. U. S. A.*
E. K. Smith, *Lt. 5th Infy.*
J. L. Thompson, *Lt. 5th Inf.*
J. Allen, *Lt. 5th Inf.*
P. Maxwell, *Asst. Surgeon U. S. A.*
Geo. F. Turner, *Asst. Sur. U. S. Army*,
B. B. Kercheval,
Thomas Forsyth,
Daniel Jackson, *of New York*,
J. E. Schwarz, *Adjut. Gen. M. M.*
Robt. A. Kinzie,
G. S. Hubbard,
L. M. Taylor,
Pierre Menard, fils,
Jacob Beeson,
Samuel Humes Porter,
Edmd. Roberts,
Jno. H. Kinzie,
Jas. W. Berry,
Gabriel Godfroy, jr.
Geo. Hunt,
A. H. Arndt,
Andw. Porter,
Isaac Nash,
Richard J. Hamilton.

SHEDULE "A."

Referred to in the article supplementary to the treaty, containing the sums payable to individuals, in lieu of reservations of land.

Po-ka-gon,		$2,000
Rebecca Burnett,	Edward Brooks, trustee for each,	500
Mary Burnett,		250
Martha Burnett, (R. A. Forsyth, trustee,)		250
Madaline Bertrand,		200
Joseph Bertrand, junr.		200
Luke Bertrand, junr.		200
Benjamin Bertrand,		200
Lawrence Bertrand,		200
Theresa Bertrand,		200
Amable Bertrand,		200
Julianne Bertrand,		200
Joseph H. Bertrand,		100

beg to call the particular attention of the reader to that part of the extract above, from Mr. Latrobe's book, to which we have given *italics;* the paragraph, we believe, conveys a truthful and merited stricture.

Mary M. Bertrand,	$100
M. L. Bertrand,	100
John B. Du Charme,	200
Elizabeth Du Charme, (R. A. Forsyth, trustee,)	800
George Henderson,	400
Mary Nado and children,	400
John Bt. Chandonai,	1,000
Charles Chandonai, } For each of whom R. A. Forsyth is {	400
Mary Chandonai, } trustee, {	400
Mary St. Comb and children,	300
Sa-gen-nais,	200
Me-chain, daughter of Pe-che-co,	200
Alexis Rolan,	200
Polly Neighbush,	200
Francois Page's wife and daughter,	200
Pierre F. Navarre's children,	100
Jarmont (half-breed,)	100
Ten thousand dollars,	$10,000

Agreeably to the stipulations contained in the articles supplementary to the treaty, there have been purchased and delivered at the request of the Indians, goods, provisions, and horses, to the amount of fifteen thousand dollars (leaving the balance to be supplied hereafter ten thousand dollars.)

As evidence of the purchase and delivery as aforesaid, under the direction of the said commissioners, and that the whole of the same been received by the said Indians, and the said George B. Porter, Thomas J. V. Owen, and William Weatherford, and the undersigned chiefs and head men on behalf of the said United Nation of Indians, have hereunto set their hands the twenty-seventh day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirty-three.

G. B. Porter,
Th. J. V. Owen,
William Weatherford,
To-pen-e-bee, his x mark,
Wee-saw, his x mark,
Ne-kaw-nosh-kee, his x mark,
Wai-saw-o-ko-ne-aw, his x mark,
Ne-see-waw-be-tuk, his x mark,
Kai-kaw-tai-mon, his x mark,
Saw-Ka-Nosh, his x mark,
Tshee-tshee-chin-ke-bequay, his x mark,
Joseph, his x mark,
Shab-e-nai, his x mark,
Ah-be-to-ke-Zhic, his x mark,
E-to-wau-coto, his x mark,
Shab-y-a-tuk, his x mark,
Me-am-ese, his x mark,
Wah-be-me-mee, his x mark,
Shim-e-nah, his x mark,
We-in-co, his x mark,

In presence of

Wm. Lee D. Ewing, *Secretary to the Commission*,
R. A. Forsyth, *U. S. A.*
John H. Kinzie,
Madn. F. Abbott,
Saml. Humes Porter,
Joseph Bertrand, junr.
Andw. Porter,
J. E. Schwarz, *Adj. Genl. M. M.*
James Conner, *Interprt.*

On behalf of the chiefs and head men of the United Nation of Indians who signed the treaty to which these articles are supplementary, we hereby, in evidence of our concurrence therein, become parties thereto.

And, as since the signing of the treaty a part of the band residing on the reservations in the territory of Michigan, have requested, on account of their religious creed, permission to remove to the northern part of the peninsula of Michigan, it is agreed that in case of such removal the just proportion of all annuities payable to them under former treaties, and that arising from the sale of the reservation on which they now reside, shall be paid to them at L'arbre Croche.

Witness our hands the said day and year.

Saw-ka-nosh, his x mark,
Che-ohe-bin-quay, his x mark,
Ah-be-te-ke-zhic, his x mark,
Shab-e-nay, his x mark,
O-cheep-pwaise, his x mark,
Maug-e-sett, his x mark,
Shim-e-nah, his x mark,
Ke-me-nah-wah, his x mark,

In the presence of

Wm. Lee D. Ewing, *Secretary to the Commission*,
Jno. H. Kinzie,
Richd. J. Hamilton,
Robert Stuart,
R. A. Forsyth, *U. S. A.*
Saml. Humes Porter,
J. E. Schwarz, *Adjt. Genl. M. M.*
James Conner, *Interpr.*

The commissioners certify that when these supplementary articles were ready for signature, the original paper, of which the annexed is a copy, was presented by Messrs. Peter and James J. Godfroy, and the due execution of it was made satisfactorily appear to the commissioners, the subscribing witnesses, R. A. Forsyth and Robert A. Kinzie, being present. The chiefs and head men present recognizing this as a reservation, it was agreed that it shall be considered in the same light as though the purport of the instrument had been inserted in the body of the treaty; with the understanding that the rejection of it by the President and Senate of the United States shall not affect the validity of the treaty.

G. B. Porter,
Th. J. V. Owen,
William Weatherford.

(Copy of the instrument referred to in the above certificate.)

Know all men by these presents, that we, the undersigned chiefs and young men, of the Pottawatamie tribe of Indians, living at Na-to-wa-se-pe, in the territory of Michigan, for and in consideration of the friendship and sundry services rendered to us by Peter and James J. Godfroy, we do hereby, by these presents, give, grant, alien, transfer, and convey unto the said Godfroys their heirs and

assigns forever, one entire section of land, situate, lying, and being, on our reserve of Na-to-wa-se-pe, in the territory aforesaid, to be located by said God'roys wherever on said reserve they shall think it more to their advantage and benefit.

It is moreover the wishes of the undersigned chiefs and young men as aforesaid, that so soon as there shall be a treaty held between the United States and our said tribe of Pottawattamies, that our great father the President confirm and make good this our grant to them, and the said Godfroys, by issuing a patent therefor to them and to their heirs forever. In so doing our great father will accomplish the wishes of his children. Done at Detroit, this eighteenth day of May, A. D. one thousand eight hundred and thirty.

In witness whereof, we have hereunto signed, sealed, and set our hands and seals, the day and year last above written.

Penenchese, his x mark,	L. S.	Na-wa-po-to, his x mark,	L. S.
Pit-goit-ke-se, his x mark,	L. S.	To-ta-gas, his x mark,	L. S.
Nah-o-te-nan, his x mark,	L. S.	Pierre Morin, alias Perish, his x mark,	L. S.
Ke-a-sac-wa, his x mark,	L. S.		
Sko-paw-ka, his x mark,	L. S.	We-say-gah, his x mark,	L. S.
Ce-ce-baw, his x mark,	L. S.		

Signed, sealed, and delivered in the presence of us:

R. A. Forsyth,
Robt. A. Kinzie,
G. Godfroy,
Richard Godfroy,

Witnesses to the signatures of Pierre Morin, alias Perish, and Wa-say-gah.

Francis Mouton.

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, *Oct. 1, 1834.*

THO. J. V. OWEN, Esq.,
U. S. Indian Agent.

FATHER: Feeling a disposition to comply with the resolution of Senate of the United States, and the views of the Government in relation to an alteration in the boundaries of the country ceded to the United Nation of Chippewa, Ottowa, and Pottawatamie Indians at the treaty at Chicago, in the State of Illinois, concluded on the 26th and 27th days of September, 1833: we therefore propose, as the chiefs of the said United Nation, and for and on their behalf, that we will accept of the following alteration in the boundaries of the said tract of country, viz:— Beginning at the mouth of Boyer's river; thence down the Missouri river, to a point thereon; from which a due east line would strike the northwest corner of the State of Missouri; thence along the said east line, to the northwest corner of said State; thence along the northern boundary line of the said State of Missouri, till it strikes the line of the lands of the Sac and Fox Indians: thence northwardly along the said line to a point from which a west line would strike the sources of the Little Sioux river; thence aloug said west line, till it strikes the said sources of said river; thence down the said river to its mouth; thence down the Missouri river, to the place of beginning: *Provided*, the said boundary shall contain five million of acres; but should it contain more, then said boundaries are to be reduced so as to contain the said five millions of acres.

And, in consideration of the alteration of said boundary we ask that ten thou-

sand dollars should be paid to such commissioner, as shall be designated by us to receive the same west of Mississippi river, at such place on the tract of country ceded to the said United Nation as we may designate, and to be applied, as we may direct, for the use and benefit of the said nation. And the further sum of two thousand dollars to be paid to Gholson Kercheval, of Chicago, Ill., for services rendered the said United Nation of Indians during the late war between the U.S. Government and the Sacs and Foxes; and the further sum of one thousand dollars to George E. Walker, for services rendered the said United Nation, in bringing Indian prisoners from west of the Mississippi river to Ottowa, Lasselle county, Ill., for whose appearance at the circuit court of said county, said nation was bound.

The foregoing propositions are made with the expectation, that with the exception of the alteration in the proposed boundary, and the indemnity herein demanded as an equivalent for said exchange, the whole of the treaty made and concluded at this place on the 26th and 27th days of September, 1833, be ratified as made and concluded at that time, within the space of five months from the present date; otherwise it is our wish that the whole of the said treaty should be considered as cancelled.

In witness whereof, we, the undersigned chiefs of the said United Nation of Chippewa, Ottowa, and Pottawatamie Indians, being specially delegated with power and authority to effect this negotiation, have hereto set our hands and seals, at Chicago, in the State of Illinois, on the first day of October, A. D. 1834.

R. Caldwell,	L. S.
Kee-tshee-zhing-ee-beh, his x mark,	L. S.
Tshee-tshee-beeng-guay, his x mark,	L. S.
Joseph, his x mark,	L. S.
Ob-ee-tah-kee-zhik, his x mark,	L. S.
Wau-bon-see, his x mark,	L. S.
Kay-kot-ee-mo, his x mark,	L. S.

In presence of

Richd. J. Hamilton,	J. Grant, jr.
Jno. H. Kinzie,	E. M. Owen,
Dr. P. Maxwell, *U. S. Army*,	J. M. Baxley, *Capt. 5th Inf.*

Ratified upon the conditions expressed in the resolutions of the Senate, passed May 22, 1834, and February 11, 1832, which conditions as contained in the first named resolution are as follows:

"That the Senate do advise and consent to the ratification of the treaty made on the 26th day of September, 1833, at Chicago, by George B. Porter, and others, commissioners on the part of the United States, and the United Nation of Chippewas, Ottowas, and Pottawatamies Indians, and the supplementary articles thereto, dated on the 27th day of September, 1833, with the following amendments and provisions, to wit: 1st. amend the third article in schedule A, by striking out the word '*ten*' and inserting the word *five* as to each of the sums to be paid to Billy Caldwell and Alexander Robinson; so that the sum of five thousand dollars *only* will be paid to each of them, and the sum of ten thousand dollars, thus de-

ducted, to be paid to the Indians. 2d. All the debts mentioned in schedule B, in the same article, and which are specified in exhibit E, to the report of the committee, to be examined by a commissioner to be appointed by the President, with the advice and consent of the Senate, and the individuals to be paid only the sums found by said commissioner, to have been justly due; in no instance increasing the sum agreed to be paid; and whatever sum is saved by deduction or disallowance of the debts in exhibit E, to be paid to the Indians, and the residue to the claimants respectively. 3d. Strike out article 5th in the treaty. 4th. Strike out article 4th in the supplementary articles: and provided that the lands given to the said Indians, in exchange, in place of being bounded in the manner described in the treaty be so changed, that the first line shall begin at the mouth of Boyer's river, and run down the river Missouri to a point thereon, from which a line running due east will strike the northwestern corner of the State of Missouri; from that point due east, till it strikes said northwestern corner; then, along the northern boundary line of said State, till it strikes the line of the lands belonging to the Fox and Sac Indians; thence northwardly, so far as to make to the Indians full compensation for the quantity of land which will be thus taken from them on the southwestern part of the tract allowed them by the boundaries as at present described in the treaty; and provided, further, that this alteration of boundaries can be effected with the consent of the Indians. Also the said commissioner shall examine whether three thousand dollars, a part of the sum of seventeen thousand dollars, directed to be paid to Robert Stuart, agent of the American Fur Company, was to be paid and received in full discharge of all claims and demands which said company had against Gurdon S. Hubbard and James Kinzie; and if he finds it was to be so paid, that then the sum of fourteen thousand dollars, *only*, be paid, until said agent of said company give a receipt of all debts due, and demands which said company had against said Hubbard and Kinzie; and, upon giving such receipt, that then the said sum of three thousand dollars be likewise paid to said agent."

And those contained in the second named resolution are as follows:

"That the Senate do advise and consent to the alteration proposed by the chiefs of the United Nation of Chippewa, Ottawa, and Pottawatamie Indians, concluded at Chicago, in the State of Illinois, on the first day of October, 1834, to the treaty concluded between the commissioners on the part of the United States and the chiefs of the said United Nation on the 26th of September, 1833:—it being expressly understood by the Senate that no other of the provisions of the resolution of the Senate of the 22d day of May, 1834, ratifying the said treaty, shall be affected, or in any manner changed, by the said proposed alteration of 1st October, 1834, excepting the proposed alteration in the boundaries therein mentioned, and the sums of money therein stipulated to be paid."

[To add to the list of Indian conveyances to the United States, of territory embracing the locality of Chicago, we here take the occasion to present the following from a treaty concluded at St. Louis, August 24, 1816, between Ninian Edwards, William Clark, and Auguste Chouteau, U. S. Commissioners, and the Ottawas, Chippewas, and Pottawatamies, "residing on the Illinois and Melwakee rivers

and their waters, and on the southwestern parts of Lake Michigan." This treaty was to settle all dispute concerning a cession to the U. S. of land by the Sacs and Foxes in a treaty held and concluded at St. Louis, in November, 1804: "And they moreover cede to the United States all the land contained within the following bounds, to wit: Beginning on the left bank of the Fox river, of Illinois, ten miles above the mouth of said Fox river; thence running so as to cross Sandy creek ten miles above its mouth; thence in a direct line, to a point ten miles north of the west end of the Portage between Chicago creek, which empties into Lake Michigan, and the Depleines, a fork of the Illinois; thence in a direct line to a point on Lake Michigan, ten miles northward of the mouth of Chicago creek; thence along the lake, to a point ten miles southward of the mouth of the said Chicago creek; thence in a direct line to a point on the Kankakee, ten miles above its mouth; thence, with the said Kankakee and the Illinois river, to the mouth of the Fox river, and thence to the beginning."]

We copy below a few pages from C. F. Hoffman's *Winter in the West*, published in New York, 1835. Mr. Hoffman reached Chicago on or about the last day of the year 1833, spending here some two weeks. He had, as we infer, left New York in the month of October preceding, and, passing through New Jersey and Pennsylvania, reached the Ohio River at Wheeling, Va.; thence *via* Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Detroit, Chicago, Galena, Prairie du Chien to St. Louis, and returning by way of Cincinnati, Kentucky, Virginia, etc.:*

"CHICAGO, Jan. 1, 1834.

* * * * * *

"Our route was still along the shore; and after passing round the end of the lake and taking a northwardly direction, the way in which the icy blast would come down the bleak shore of the lake 'was a caution.' We galloped at full speed, every man choosing his own route along the beach, our horses' hoofs ringing the while as if it were a pavement of flint beneath them. The rough ice piled up on

* Charles Fenno Hoffman, a son of Judge J. Ogden Hoffman, was born in New York, 1806. At the age of eleven years, he was compelled to submit to the loss of a leg by amputation, caused, if we remember rightly, from a burn by a fire-ball on 4th July evening. He was yet an active rider on horseback, and a proficient in many other out-door exercises. He studied law, and practised it several years; but as an editor, became associated with Charles King, in the *N. Y. American*, and subsequently began the *Knickerbocker* magazine. Mr. Hoffman established a reputation as a brilliant and pleasing writer, as his many productions will testify; but it is sad to remember that for about 30 years past, from a mental disease, he has been retired from the world's acquaintance, and, if still living, is, we think, an inmate of an asylum for the insane.

the coast prevented us from watering our beasts; and we did not draw a rein till the rushing current of the Calaminc, which debouches into Lake Michigan some ten miles from Chicago, stayed our course. A cabin on the bank gave us a moment's opportunity to warm, and then being ferried over the wintry stream, we started with fresh vigor, and, crossing about a mile of prairie in the neighborhood of Chicago, reached here in time for an early dinner. Our horses this morning seem none the worse for this furious riding; their escape from ill consequences being readily attributable to the excellence of the road, and the extreme coldness of the weather while travelling it. For my own part, I never felt better than after this violent burst of exercise. We had not been here an hour before an invitation to a public ball was courteously sent to us by the managers; and though my soiled and travel-worn riding-dress was not exactly the thing to present one's self in before ladies of an evening, yet, in my earnestness to see life on the frontier, I easily allowed all objections to be overruled by my companions, and we accordingly drove to the house in which the ball was given. It was a frame-building, one of the few as yet to be found in Chicago; which, although one of the most ancient French trading-posts on the Lakes, can only date its growth as a village since the Indian war, eighteen months since.* When I add that the population has *quintupled* last summer, and that but few mechanics have come in with the prodigious increase of residents, you can readily imagine that the influx of strangers far exceeds the means of accommodation; while scarcely a house in the place, however comfortable looking outside, contains more than two or three finished rooms. In the present instance, we were ushered into a tolerably sized dancing-room, occupying the second story of the house, and having its unfinished walls so ingeniously covered with pine-branches and flags

* "The writer is informed by a gentleman recently from Illinois, that Chicago, which but eighteen months since contained but two or three frame-buildings, and a few miserable huts, has now five hundred houses, four hundred of which have been erected this year, and two thousand two hundred inhabitants. A year ago, there was not a place of public worship in the town; there are now five churches and two school-houses, and numerous brick stores and warehouses. The shipping-lists of daily arrivals and departures show how soon the enterprise and activity of our citizens have discovered and improved the capabilities of that port. There have been three hundred arrivals this year, and more than $50,000 worth of salt has been sold there this season, and of European and domestic merchandise to the amount of $400,000. A line of four steamboats of the largest class of lake-boats, and regular lines of brigs and schooners, are now established between that port and the principal ports of the lower lakes.

"It is gratifying to hear of such improvement in the western country, and to have predictions so recently made of the growth and prosperity of this point in particular, thus far more than fulfilled."

borrowed from the garrison, that, with the white-washed ceiling above, it presented a very complete and quite pretty appearance. It was not so warm, however, that the fires of cheerful hickory, which roared at either end, could have been readily dispensed with. An orchestra of unplaned boards was raised against the wall in the centre of the room; the band consisting of a dandy negro with his violin, a fine military-looking bass drummer from the fort, and a volunteer citizen, who alternately played an accompaniment upon the flute and triangle. Blackee, who flourished about with a great many airs and graces, was decidedly the king of the company, and it was amusing, while his head followed the direction of his fiddle-bow with pertinacious fidelity, to see the Captain Manual-like precision with which the soldier dressed to the front on one side, and the nonchalant air of importance which the cit attempted to preserve on the other. As for the company, it was such a complete medley of all ranks, ages, professsions, trades, and occupations, brought together from all parts of the world, and now for the first time brought together, that it was amazing to witness the decorum with which they commingled on this festive occasion. The managers (among whom were some officers of the garrison) must certainly be *au fait* at dressing a lobster and mixing regent's punch, in order to have produced a harmonious compound from such a collection of contrarieties. The gayest figure that was ever called by quadrille playing Benoit never afforded me half the amusement that did these Chicago cotillons. Here you might see a veteran officer in full uniform balancing to a tradesman's daughter still in her short frock and trousers, while there the golden aiguillette of a handsome surgeon flapped in unison with the glass beads upon a scrawney neck of fifty. In one quarter, the high-placed buttons of a linsey-woolsey coat would be *dos à dos* to the elegantly turned shoulders of a delicate-looking southern girl; and in another, a pair of Cinderella-like slippers would chassez cross with a brace of thick-soled broghans, in making which, one of the lost feet of the Colossus of Rhodes may have served for a last. Those raven locks, dressed *à la Madonne*, over eyes of jet, and touching a cheek where blood of a deeper hue, mingling with the less glowing current from European veins, tell of a lineage drawn from the original owners of the soil; while these golden treeses, floating away from eyes of heaven's own colour over a neck of alabaster, recall the Gothic ancestry of some of 'England's born.' How piquantly do these trim and beaded *leggins* peep from under that simple dress of black, as its tall, nut-brown wearer moves. as if unconsciously, through the graceful mazes of the dance. How divertingly do those inflated gigots, rising like windsails from that little Dutch-built hull, jar against those tall plumes which impend over them like a commodore's pennant on the same vessel. But what boots all these incongruities, when a spirit of festive good-humour animates every one present. 'It takes all kinds of people

to make a world' (as I hear it judiciously observed this side the mountains), and why should not all these kinds of people be represented as well in a ball-room as in a legislature? At all events, if I wished to give an intelligent foreigner a favourable opinion of the manners and deportment of my countrymen in the aggregate, I should not wish a better opportunity, after explaining to him the materials of which it was composed, and the mode in which they were brought together from every section of the Union, than was afforded by this very ball. 'This is a scene of enchantment to me, sir,' observed an officer to me, recently exchanged to this post, and formerly stationed here. 'There were but a few traders around the fort when I last visited Chicago, and now I can't contrive where the devil all these well-dressed people have come from!' I referred him to an old resident of three months' standing, to whom I had just been introduced, but he could throw no light upon the subject, and we left the matter of peopling Chicago in the same place were philosophers have put the question of the original peopling of the Continent. I made several new acquaintances at this New-year's ball, and particularly with the officers of the garrison, from whose society I promise myself much pleasure during my stay. The geographical position of Chicago is so important that I must give you a more minute description of the place in my next. Would that in folding this I could enclose you half the warm wishes for your welfare which the season awakens in my bosom.

"CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, Jan. 10, 1834.

"I have been here more than ten days, without fulfilling the promise given in my last. It has been so cold, indeed, as almost to render writing impracticable in a place so comfortless. The houses were built with such rapidity, during the summer, as to be mere shells; and the thermometer having ranged as low as 28 below zero, during several days it has been almost impossible, notwithstanding the large fires kept up by an attentive landlord, to prevent the ink from freezing while using it, and one's fingers become so numb in a very few moments when thus exercised, that, after vainly trying to write in gloves, I have thrown by my pen, and joined the group, composed of all the household, around the bar-room fire. This room, which is an old log-cabin aside of the main house, is one of the most comfortable places in town, and is, of course, much frequented; business being, so far as one can judge from the concourse that throng it, nearly at a stand still. Several persons have been severely frost-bitten in passing from door to door; and not to mention the quantity of poultry and pigs that have been frozen, an ox, I am told, has perished from cold in the streets at noonday. An occasional Indian,* wrapped in his blanket, and dodging about from

* "The Indians that frequent the neighborhood of Chicago (pronounced *Tshicawgo*), though not so numerous, are composed of the same mixture of different

store to store after a dram of whiskey, or a muffled-up Frenchman, driving furiously in his cariole on the river, are almost the only human beings abroad; while the wolves, driven in by the deep snows which preceded this severe weather, troop through the town after nightfall, and may be heard howling continually in the midst of it.

"The situation of Chicago, on the edge of the Grand Prairie, with the whole expanse of Lake Michigan before it, gives the freezing winds from the Rocky Mountains prodigious effect, and renders a degree of temperature, which in sheltered situations is but little felt, almost painful here.

> " 'The bleak winds
> Do sorely ruffle; for many a mile about,
> There's scarce a bush.'

"The town lies upon a dead level, along the banks of a narrow forked river, and is spread over a wide extent of surface to the shores of the lake, while vessels of considerable draught of water can, by means of the river, unload in the centre of the place. I believe I have already mentioned that four-fifths of the population have come in since last spring: the erection of new buildings during the summer has been in the same proportion; and although a place of such mushroom growth can, of course, boast of but little solid improvement in the way of building, yet contracts have been made for the ensuing season which must soon give Chicago much of that metropolitan appearance it is destined so promptly to assume. As a place of business, its situation at the central head of the Mississippi Valley will make it the New-Orleans of the north; and its easy and close intercourse with the most flourishing eastern cities will give it the advantage, as its capital increases, of all their improvements in the mode of living.

"There is one improvement to be made, however, in this section of the country, which will greatly influence the permanent value of property in Chicago. I allude to a canal from the head of Lake Michigan to the head of steam navigation on the Illinois, the route of which has been long since surveyed. The distance to be overcome is something like ninety miles; and when you remember that the head waters of the Illinois rise within eleven miles of Chicago River, and that a level plain of not more than eight feet elevation above the latter is the only intervening obstacle, you can conceive how easy it would be to drain Lake Michigan into the Mississippi by this route; boats of eighteen tons having actually passed over the

tribes which Major Long noticed ten years since. They are chiefly Pottawattamies and Ottawas, with a few Chippewas (ò-chè-pe-wàg) and a straggling Kickapoo or Miami; and a great admixture of the different languages (or rather dialects, for they are radically the same) of the three first prevails there. Among them are many who have borne arms against the Americans; and some who, doubtless, took a part in the massacre at the fall of the place in 1812."

intervening prairie at high water. Lake Michigan, which is several feet or more above Lake Erie, would afford such a never-failing body of water that it would keep steamboats afloat on the route in the driest season. St. Louis would then be brought comparatively near to New-York, while two-thirds of the Mississippi Valley would be supplied by this route immediately from the markets of the latter. This canal is the only remaining link wanting to complete the most stupendous chain of inland communication in the world. I had a long conversation this morning, on the subject, with Major H., the United States' engineer, who is engaged in superintending the construction of a pier at this place. He was polite enough to sketch the main features of the route, with his pencil, in such a manner as to make its feasibility very apparent. The canal would pass for the whole distance through a prairie country, where every production of the field and the garden can be raised with scarcely any toil, and where the most prolific soil in the world requires no other preparation for planting than passing the plough over its bosom. The most effectual mode of making this canal would be to give the lands along its banks to an incorporated company, who should construct the work within a certain time. The matter is now merely agitated at elections as a political handle.

"January 13.

"I had got thus far in a letter to you, when several officers of the garrison, to whom I am indebted for much hospitable attention and many agreeable hours, stopped opposite the door with a train of carioles, in one of which I was offered a seat to witness a pacing-match on the ice. There were several ladies with gentlemen in attendance already on the river, all muffled up, after the Canadian fashion, in fur robes, whose gay trimmings presented a rich as well as most comfortable appearance. The horses, from which the most sport was expected, were a black pony bred in the country, and a tall roan nag from the lower Mississippi. They paced at the rate of a mile in something less than three minutes. I rode behind the winning horse one heat, and the velocity with which he made our cariole fly over the smooth ice was almost startling. The southern horse won the race; but I was told that in nine cases out of ten, the nags from his part of the country could not stand against a French pony.

"In the middle of the chase, a wolf, probably roused by the sleigh-bells from his lair on the river's bank, trotted along the prairie above, within gunshot, calmly surveying the sport. The uninvited presence of this long-haired amateur at once suggested a hunt for the morrow, and arrangements were accordingly made, by the several gentlemen present, for that most exciting of sports, a wolf-chase on horseback.

"I was not present at the assembling of the hunt; and the first intimation I had of the game being afoot, was from hearing the cry of hounds and the shouting of a party of horsemen, as they clat-

tered along the frozen river, with two prairie wolves and one gray wolf running at full speed, about a pistolshot ahead of them. One wolf was killed, and another had made his escape, before I joined the party. But the third, the gray wolf, which had struck off into the prairie, was still fresh when I came into the hunt with an untired horse. But one of the hunters had been able to keep up with him, and him I could distinguish a mile off in the prairie, turning and winding his foaming horse as the wolf would double every moment upon his tracks, while half a dozen dogs, embarrassed in the deep snow, were slowly coming up. I reached the spot just as the wolf first stood at bay. His bristling back, glaring eyes, and ferociously distended jaws might have appalled the dogs for a moment, when an impetuous grayhound, who had been for some time pushing through the snow-drifts with unabated industry, having now attained a comparatively clear spot of ground, leaped with such force against the flank of the wolf as to upset him in an instant, while the grayhound shot far ahead of the quarry. He recovered himself instantly, but not before a fierce, powerful hound, whose thick neck and broad muzzle indicated a cross of the bull-dog blood with that of a nobler strain, had struck him first upon the haunch, and was now trying to grapple him by the throat. Down again he went, rolling over and over in the deep snow, while the *clicking* of his jaws, as he snapped eagerly at each member of the pack that by turns beset him, was distinctly audible. The powerful dog, already mentioned, secured him at last, by fixing his muzzle deeply into the breast of the prostrate animal. This, however, did not prevent the wolf giving some fearful wounds to the other dogs which beset him; and, accordingly, with the permission of the gentlemen who had led the chase, I threw myself from my horse, and gave the game the *coup de grace* with a dirk-knife which I carried about me. The success of this hunt induced us, upon the spot, to appoint another for this day.

"It was a fine bracing morning, with the sun shining cheerily through the still cold atmosphere far over the snow-covered prairie, when the party assembled in front of my lodgings, to the number of ten horsemen, all well mounted and eager for the sport. The hunt was divided into two squads; one of which was to follow the windings of the river on the ice, and the other to make a circuit on the prairie. A pack of dogs, consisting of a grayhound or two for running the game, with several of a heavier and fiercer breed for pulling it down, accompanied each party. I was attached to that which took the river; and it was a beautiful sight, as our friends trotted off in the prairie, to see their different coloured capotes and gayly equipped horses contrasted with the bright carpet of spotless white over which they rode, while the sound of their voices was soon lost to our ears, as we descended to the channel of the river, and their lessening figures were hid from our view by the low brush which in some places skirted its banks. The brisk trot in which we now

broke brought us rapidly to the place of meeting, where, to the disappointment of each party, it was found that neither had started any game. We now spread ourselves into a broad line, about gunshot apart from each other, and began thus advancing into the prairie. We had not swept it thus more than a mile, when a shout on the extreme left, with the accelerated pace of the two furthermost riders in that direction, told that they had roused a wolf. 'The devil take the hindermost' was now the motto of the company, and each one spurred for the spot with all eagerness. Unhappily, however, the land along the bank of the river, on the right, was so broken by ravines, choked up with snow, that it was impossible for us, who were half a mile from the game, when started, to come up at all with the two or three horsemen who led the pursuit. Our horses sunk to their cruppers in the deep snow-drift. Some were repeatedly thrown; and one or two, breaking their saddle-girths from the desperate struggles their horses made in the snow-banks, were compelled to abandon the chase entirely. My stout roan carried me bravely through all; but when I emerged from the last ravine, on the open plain, the two horsemen who led the chase, from some inequality in the surface of the prairie, were not visible; while the third, a fleet rider, whose tall figure and Indian headdress had hitherto guided me, had been just unhorsed, and abandoning the game afoot, was now wheeling off apparently with some other object in view. Following on the same course, we soon encountered a couple of officers in a train, who were just coming from a mission of charity in visiting the half-starved orphans of a poor woman, who was frozen to death on the prairie a day or two since—the wolves having already picked her bones before her fate became known. One by one, our whole party collected around to make inquiries about the poor children, and the two fortunate hunters soon after joined us, one of them with a large prairie wolf hanging to the saddle-bow.*

"It was now about eleven o'clock; we were only twelve miles from Chicago; and though we had kept up a pretty round pace, considering the depth of the snow, in coursing backward and forward since eight, our horses generally were yet in good condition, and we scattered once more over the prairie, with the hope of rousing more game.

"Not ten minutes elapsed before a wolf, breaking from the dead weeds which, shooting eight or ten feet above the level of the snow, indicated the banks of a deep ravine, dashed off into the prairie

* From the *Chicago Democrat* of Jan. 28, 1834: "Mrs. Smith, wife of a Mr. Smith residing at Blue Island, who left this place 2d of January (which was the coldest day we have experienced this winter) for her home, and when within a mile and a half of her dwelling, she sank benumbed and exhausted to rise no more. When found, she was dreadfully mangled and torn to pieces by the wolves. She has left a husband and five children to mourn her untimely end."

pursued by a horseman on the right. He made instantly for the deep banks of the river, one of whose windings was within a few hundred yards. He had a bold rider behind him, however, in the gentleman who led the chase (a young educated half-blood, of prepossessing manners, and well connected at Chicago). The precipitous bank of the stream did not retard this hunter for a moment, but dashing down to the bed of the river, he was hard upon the wolf before he could ascend the elevation on the opposite side. Four of us only reached the open prairie beyond in time to take part in the chase. Nothing could be more beautiful. There was not an obstacle to oppose us in the open plain; and all our dogs having long since given out, nothing remained but to drive the wolf to death on horseback. Away, then, we went, shouting on his track; the hotly pursued beast gaining on us whenever the crust of a deep snow-drift gave him an advantage over the horse, and we in our turn nearly riding over him when we came to ground comparatively bare. The sagacious animal became at last aware that his course would soon be up at this rate, and turning rapidly in his tracks as we were scattered over the prairie, he passed through our line and made at once again for the river. He was cut off, and turned in a moment, by a horseman on the left, who happened to be a little behind the rest; and now came the keenest part of the sport. The wolf would double every moment upon his tracks, while each horseman in succession would make a dash at, and turn him in a different direction. Twice I was near enough to strike him with a horsewhip, and once he was under my horse's feet; while so furiously did each rider push at him, that as we brushed by each other and confronted horse to horse, while riding from different quarters at full speed, it required one somewhat used 'to turn and wind a fiery Pegasus' to maintain his seat at all. The rascal, who would now and then look over his shoulder and gnash his teeth, seemed at last as if he was about to succumb—when, after running a few hundred yards in an oblique direction from the river, he suddenly veered his course, at a moment when every one thought his strength was spent; and gaining the bank before he could be turned, he disappeared in an instant. The rider nearest to his heels became entangled in the low boughs of a tree which grew near the spot; while I, who followed next, was thrown out sufficiently to give the wolf time to get out of view, by my horse bolting as he reached the sudden edge of the river. The rest of the hunt were consequently at fault when they came up to us; and after trying in vain to track our lost quarry over the smooth ice for half an hour, we were most vexatiously compelled to abandon the pursuit as fruitless, and return to the village with only one scalp as the reward of our morning's labour.

"It was with no enviable feelings, I assure you, that, on making my arrangements, an hour ago, to start in the new line of stage-coaches which has just been established between this point and St.

Louis, I found myself compelled to part with the friend to whom I was chiefly indebted for my share in the glorious sports I have just attempted to describe to you—the four-footed companion of my last six weeks' rambles."

Hon. John T. Kingston, in 7th vol. Wis. His. Coll., says:

"The writer was at Chicago early in the spring of 1835, before the opening of navigation on the Lakes, and saw Messrs. Newberry and Dole, who kept a flour and provision store on the corner of Dearborn and South Water streets, sell the last barrel of flour in the market for twenty-eight dollars.

"Probably no circumstance more fully shows the wonderful development of agriculture in the Western country than this fact—flour twenty-eight dollars a barrel in the spring of 1835; and in 1855, just twenty years from that date, Chicago was the greatest primary and provision market in the world."

We will close this somewhat extended chapter with a reference merely to the last war-dance here of the Pottawatomies, whom we may properly call the *Chicago Indians*, or the last of the tribes here nominally in possession. Judge John D. Caton, in a paper read before the Chicago Historical Society in 1870, and published in one of the pamphlets of the Fergus Historical Series, gives a sketch of that tribe, and a description of that *war-dance*, and from which we copy a few lines:

"The number who joined in the dance was, probably, about eight hundred. Although I cannot give the precise day, it must have occurred about the last of August, 1835.* It was the last war-dance ever performed by the natives on the ground where now stands this great city, though how many thousands had preceded it no one can tell. They appreciated that it was the last on their native soil—that it was a sort of funeral ceremony of old associations and memories, and nothing was omitted to lend to it all the grandeur and solemnity possible. Truly, I thought it an impressive scene, of which it is quite impossible to give an adequate idea by words alone."

---

* The day was Tuesday, August 18, 1835.

EARLY MAPS, AND THE LOCALITY OF CHICAGO.

Whatever may be said of early maps suggested, planned, or drawn,* the map of Father Marquette, a copy of a part of which appears opposite page 149, is no doubt the earliest one preserved which exhibits definitely the features of this part of the country. Yet Marquette, though he presented the line of a stream intended for the Chicago from the lake to the Desplaines River, he did not append to it its name, by which it was then known as well as since, in any of its varied orthography.

Inasmuch as two early maps at least are involved in the extracts or remarks which follow, we will take advantage of the occasion here to say, that in entertaining several questions regarding facts of history, we shall step outside the strict line implied in the title of this chapter. We therefore will here confess our incredulity where, in the 2d chapter of "LaSalle and The Discovery of the Great West," the noted historian, Francis Parkman, quotes the authority of an unknown writer, at a date equally mysterious, of a paper or historical sketch of LaSalle, and claims, or gives credit to the statement, that LaSalle visited the south end of Lake Michigan, and the

* Mr. Parkman (p. 16 of "LaSalle, and the Dis. of the Great West,") tells of Dollier and Galinée, two Sulpitian priests, who, in 1669, met Louis Joliet at a village near the west end of Lake Ontario; and that "Joliet showed the priests a map which he had made of such parts of the Upper Lakes as he had visited, and gave them a copy of it, telling them at the same time of the Pottawatomies, and other tribes of that region, in grievous need of spiritual succor."

Galinée, one of the priests above referred to, the year thereafter (1670) constructed a map (still in manuscript in Paris); but only gives a view of the region actually visited by them, the extent westward being Saut Ste. Marie.

"The map of Lake Superior, published in the Jesuit Relation of 1670–1671, was made at about the same time with Galinée's map. Lake Superior is here styled 'Lac Tracy ou Superieur.' Though not so exact as it has been represented, this map indicates that the Jesuits had explored every part of this fresh-water ocean, and that they had a thorough knowledge of the straits connecting the three Upper Lakes, and of the adjacent bays, inlets, and shores. The peninsula of Michigan ignored by Galinée is represented in its proper place."—*Appendix to Parkman's Dis. of the Great West.*

upper Illinois River or its tributaries, previous to the journey of Joliet and Marquette. We have previously suggested (see p. 145 of this vol.) that white men may have been here before the last-named gentlemen; but the evidence which Mr. Parkman presents, to prove that LaSalle was the individual who did so, is what we object to, and believe we have good reason to discredit the testimony. The other statement, that of reaching the Mississippi River likewise earlier than Joliet, we leave to Mr. Parkman himself to combat, which he does, while allowing the improbable other half of the story. We copy the following from Mr. Parkman's book. Speaking of LaSalle, he says:

Page 21.—"As for himself, the only distinct record of his movements is that contained in a paper entitled 'Histoire de Monsieur de la Salle.' It is an account of his explorations, and of the state of parties in Canada previous to the year 1678, taken from the lips of La-Salle himself, by a person whose name does not appear, but who declares that he had ten or twelve conversations with him at Paris, whither he had come with a petition to the Court. The writer himself had never been in America, and was ignorant of its geography; hence, blunders on his part might reasonably be expected. His statements, however, are in some measure intelligible, and the following is the substance of them."

[We omit what is said of LaSalle's journey to Central New York, Lake Erie, and the Ohio River. The date suggested by Mr. Parkman was 1669–'70.]

Mr. P. continues:

"But how was LaSalle employed in the following year? The same memoir has its solution to the problem. By this, it appears that the indefatigable explorer embarked on Lake Erie, ascended the Detroit to Lake Huron, coasted the unknown shores of Michigan, passed the Straits of Michillimackinac, and, leaving Green Bay behind him, entered what is described as an incomparably larger bay, but which was evidently the southern portion of Lake Michigan. Thence he crossed to a river flowing westward,—evidently the Illinois,—and followed it until it was joined by another river flowing from the north-west to the south-east. By this, the Mississippi only can be meant; and he is reported to have said that he descended it to the thirty-sixth degree of latitude, where he stopped, assured that it discharged itself not into the Gulf of California, but into the Gulf of Mexico; and resolved to follow it thither, at a future day, when better provided with men and supplies."

After endeavoring to enlighten us, and to make clear some part of the "Histoire," as well as to adjust supposable dates to an indefinite relation, Mr. Parkman closes the chapter as follows: "LaSalle discovered the Ohio, and in all probability the Illinois also; but that he discovered the Mississippi has not been proved; nor, in the light of the evidence we have, is it likely."

It is not without considerable misgiving on Mr. Parkman's account, regarding that "Histoire de Monsieur de la Salle," that we read his serious consideration and discussion of the merits of that paper, and the amount of credit awarded to it by him. Of course, we must esteem it an error and a defect in his interesting and valuable volume. We can scarcely avoid the conclusion arrived at in some other cases; and that the document spoken of must be classed with those of a quality to which we have alluded on a previous page (see *ante*, p. 155). Indeed, Mr. Parkman, speaking, we suppose, of the writer of the "Histoire," says: "But it comes to us through the medium of a person strongly biassed in favor of LaSalle, and against Marquette and the Jesuits."

Before giving our own reasons for placing no faith in the above-named "Histoire," or in Mr. Parkman's definition of its meaning, we will here quote what Mr. P. says of *two maps* in the appendix of his book, where appear notices, also, of various other maps, mostly unpublished, of the lake region of the West.

"Three years or more after Galinée made the map mentioned above, another, indicating a greatly increased knowledge of the country, was made by some person whose name does not appear. This map, which is somewhat more than four feet long and about two feet and a-half wide, has no title. All the Great Lakes, through their entire extent, are laid down on it with considerable accuracy. Lake Ontario is called 'Lac Ontario, ou de Frontenac.' Fort Frontenac is indicated, as well as the Iroquois colonies of the north shore. Niagara is 'Chute haute de 120 toises par où le Lac Erié tombe dans le Lac Frontenac.' Lake Erie is 'Lac Teiocha-rontiong, dit communément Lac Erié.' Lake St. Clair is 'Tsiketo, ou Lac de la Chaudière.' Lake Huron is 'Lac Huron, ou Mer Douce des Hurons.' Lake Superior is 'Lac Supérieur.' Lake Michigan is 'Lac

Mitchiganong, ou des Illinois.' On Lake Michigan, immediately opposite the site of Chicago, are written the words, of which the following is the literal translation: 'The largest vessels can come to this place from the outlet of Lake Erie, where it discharges into Lake Frontenac [Ontario]; and from this marsh into which they can enter, there is only a distance of a thousand paces to the River La Divine [Des Plaines], which can lead them to the River Colbert [Mississippi], and thence to the Gulf of Mexico.' This map was evidently made after that voyage of La Salle in which he discovered the Illinois, or at least the Des Plaines branch of it. The Ohio is laid down with the inscription, 'River Ohio, so called by the Iroquois on account of its beauty, which the Sieur de la Salle descended."

[After noticing the map of Marquette, as well as two other maps* which Mr. Parkman says were made by the Jesuits, he presents the following, which we copy:]

"Of far greater interest is the small map of Louis Joliet, made and presented to Count Frontenac after the discoverer's return from

* The following is from the appendix in Mr. Parkman's "LaSalle and the Discovery of the Great West."

"Not long after Marquette's return from the Mississippi, another map was made by the Jesuits, with the following title: *Carte de la nouvelle decouverte que les peres Iesuites ont fait en l'année 1672, et continuée par le P. Iacques Marquette de la mesme Compagnie accompagné de quelques françois en l'année 1673, qu'on pourra nommer en françois la Manitoumie.* This title is very elaborately decorated with figures drawn with a pen, and representing Jesuits instructing Indians. The map is the same published by Thevenot, not without considerable variations, in 1681. It represents the Mississippi from a little above the Wisconsin to the Gulf of Mexico, the part below the Arkansas being drawn from conjecture. The river is named 'Mitchisipi, ou grande Rivière.' The Wisconsin, the Illinois, the Ohio, the Des Moines (?), the Missouri, and the Arkansas, are all represented, but in a very rude manner. Marquette's route, in going and returning, is marked by lines; but the return route is incorrect. The whole map is so crude and careless, and based on information so inexact, that it is of little interest."

"The Jesuits made also another map, without title, of the four Upper Lakes and the Mississippi to a little below the Arkansas. The Mississippi is called 'Riuuiere Colbert.' The map is remarkable as including the earliest representation of the Upper Mississippi, based, perhaps, on the reports of Indians. The Falls of St. Anthony are indicated by the word 'Saut.' It is possible that the map may be of later date than at first appears, and that it may have been drawn in the interval between the return of Hennepin from the Upper Mississippi and that of La Salle from his discovery of the mouth of the river. The various temporary and permanent stations of the Jesuits are marked by crosses."

"Joliet, at about the same time, made another map, larger than that just mentioned, but not essentially different. The letter to Frontenac is written upon both. There is a third map, of which the following is the title: *Carte generalle de la France septentrionale contenant la descouuerte du pays des Illinois, faite par le S^r. Jolliet.* This map, which is inscribed with a dedication by the Intendant Duchesneau to the minister Colbert, was made some time after the voyage of Joliet and Marquette. It is an elaborate piece of work, but very inaccurate. It represents the continent from Hudson's Strait to Mexico and California, with the

the Mississippi. It is entitled *Carte de la decouuerte du S^r Folliet ou l'on voit La Communication du fleuue St. Laurens auec les lacs frontenac, Erié, Lac des Hurons et Ilinois.* Then succeeds the following, written in the same antiquated French, as if it were a part of the title: 'Lake Frontenac [Ontario] is separated by a fall of half a league from Lake Erié, from which one enters that of the Hurons, and by the same navigation, into that of the Illinois [Michigan], from the head of which one crosses to the Divine River [Rivière Divine; *i. e.*, the Des Plaines branch of the river Illinois], by a portage of a thousand paces. This river falls into the river Colbert

whole of the Atlantic and a part of the Pacific coast. An open sea is made to extend from Hudson's Strait westward to the Pacific. The St. Lawrence and all the Great Lakes are laid down with tolerable correctness, as also is the Gulf of Mexico. The Mississippi, called 'Messasipi,' flows into the Gulf, from which it extends northward nearly to the 'Mer du Nord.' Along its course, above the Wisconsin, which is called 'Miskous,' is a long list of Indian tribes, most of which cannot now be recognized, though several are clearly sub-tribes of the Sioux. The Ohio is called 'Ouaboustikou.' The whole map is decorated with numerous figures of animals, natives of the country, or supposed to be so. Among them are camels, ostriches, and a giraffe, which are placed on the plains west of the Mississippi. But the most curious figure is that which represents one of the monsters seen by Joliet and Marquette, painted on a rock by the Indians. It corresponds with Marquette's description. This map, which is an early effort of the engineer Franquelin, does more credit to his skill as a designer than to his geographical knowledge, which appears in some respects behind his time."

"*Carte de l'Amérique Septentrionale depuis l'embouchure de la Rivière St. Laurens jusques au Sein Mexique.* On this curious little map, the Mississippi is called 'Riuiere Buade' (the family name of Frontenac); and the neighboring country is 'La Frontenacie.' The Illinois is 'Riuiere de la Diuine ou Loutrelaise,' and the Arkansas is 'Riuiere Bazire.' The Mississippi is made to head in three lakes, and to discharge itself into 'B. du S. Esprit' (Mobile Bay). Some of the legends and the orthography of various Indian names are clearly borrowed from Marquette. This map appears to be the work of Raudin, Frontenac's engineer."

"*Carte des Parties les plus occidentales du Canada, par le Père Pierre Raffeix*, S.J. This rude map shows the course of Du Lhut from the head of Lake Superior to the Mississippi, and partly confirms the story of Hennepin, who, Raffeix says in a note, was rescued by Du Lhut. The course of Joliet and Marquette is given, with the legend 'Voyage et première descouverte du Mississipy faite par le P. Marquette et M^r. Joliet en 1672.' The route of La Salle in 1679, 1680, is also laid down."

"In the Dépôt des Cartes de la Marine is another map of the Upper Mississippi, which seems to have been made by or for Du Lhut. Lac Buade, the 'Issatis,' the 'Tintons,' the 'Houelbatons,' the 'Poualacs,' and other tribes of this region, appear upon it. This is the map numbered 208 in the *Cartographie* of Harrisse."

"Another map deserving mention is a large and fine one, entitled *Carte de l'Amerique Septentrionale et partie de la Meridionale . . . avec les nouvelles decouvertes de la Riviere Missisipi, ou Colbert.* It appears to have been made in 1682 or 1683, before the descent of La Salle to the mouth of the Mississippi was known to the maker, who seems to have been Franquelin. The lower Mississippi is omitted, but its upper portions are elaborately laid down; and the name *La Louisiane* appears in large gold letters along its west side. The Falls of St. Anthony are shown, and above them is written 'Armes du Roy gravées sur cet arbre l'an 1679.' This refers to the *acte de prise de possession* of Du Lhut in July of that year, and this part of the map seems made from data supplied by him."

[Mississippi], which discharges itself into the Gulf of Mexico.' A part of this map is based on the Jesuit map of Lake Superior, the legends being here for the most part identical, though the shape of the lake is better given by Joliet. The Mississippi, or 'Riuiere Colbert,' is made to flow from three lakes in latitude 47°, and it ends in latitude 37°, a little below the mouth of the Ohio, the rest being apparently cut off to make room for Joliet's letter to Frontenac, which is written on the lower part of the map. The valley of the Mississippi is called on the map 'Colbertie, ou Amerique Occidentale.' The Missouri is represented without name, and against it is a legend, of which the following is the literal translation: 'By one of these great rivers which come from the west and discharge themselves into the river Colbert, one will find a way to enter the Vermilion Sea (Gulf of California). I have seen a village which was not more than twenty days' journey by land from a nation which has commerce with those of California. If I had come two days sooner, I should have spoken with those who had come from thence, and had brought four hatchets as a present.' The Ohio has no name, but a legend over it states that La Salle had descended it."

The "Histoire," as we have seen, or by the assurance of Mr. Parkman, professes to give particulars of LaSalle's explorations, as well, also, to treat of the condition of parties in Canada, personally known to him, down to the year 1678.

LaSalle, as we understand, went to France in 1677, and sailed the following summer for Canada. He did not visit France again until 1683.

Now, we are informed by the interpretation of Mr. P. that it was in 1671, two years before Joliet and Marquette's voyage, which voyage the Government of Canada had taken considerable pains to set afoot, or rather *afloat*, that LaSalle, according to the writer of the "Histoire," had half or wholly accomplished the work; yet nobody in America seems to have known of it. Frontenac, the Governor, however, was a particular friend of LaSalle.

But *how* had "the indefatigable explorer embarked on Lake Erie, ascended the Detroit to Lake Huron, coasted the unknown shores of Michigan, passed the Straits of Michillimackinac, and, leaving Green Bay behind him, entered what is described as an incomparable larger bay, but which was evidently the southern portion of Lake Michigan?" Had he constructed an earlier *Griffon* than the one of which we have

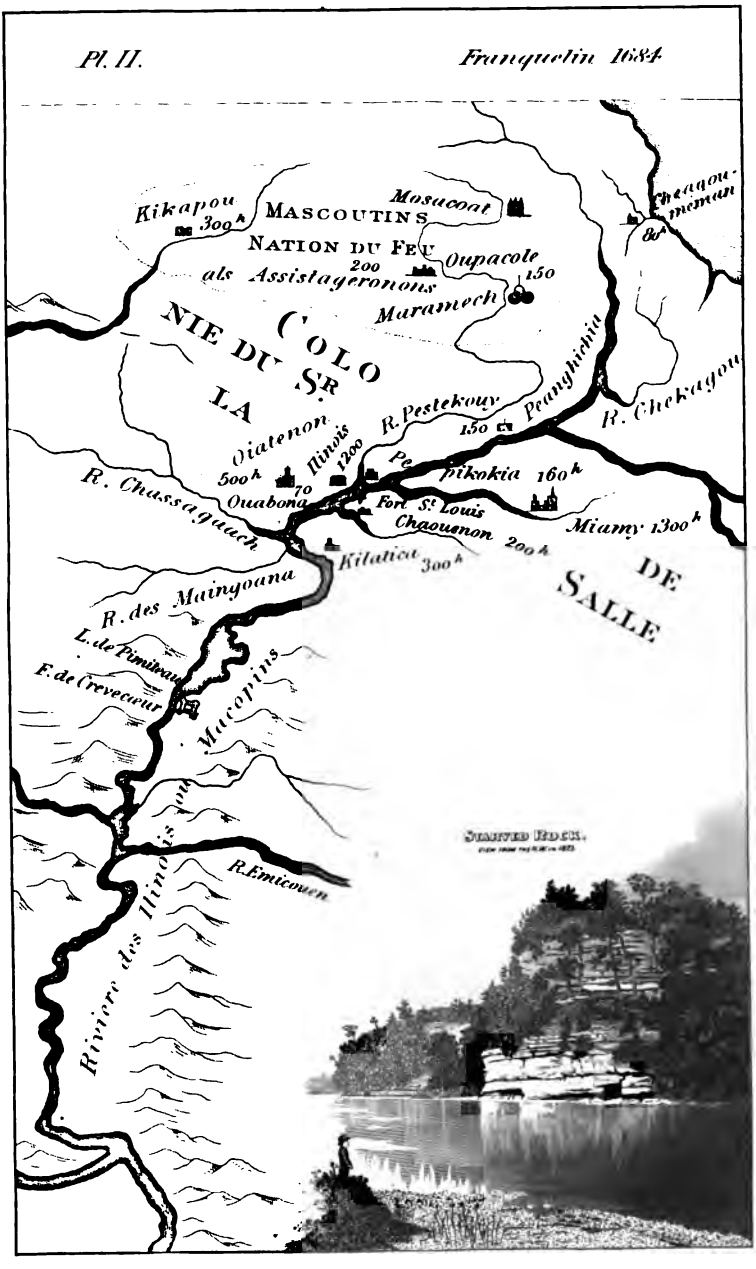
previously read, which made the passage of the lakes in 1679, eight years afterward? If so, is it not strange that none ever told of it? But possibly he came by canoe; if so, that voyage ought not to have been forgotten. That journey, if in the frail *bark*, was of necessity greatly lengthened by having to follow and keep near shore all the way; no long traverse could be made in canoe. We are quite well aware that LaSalle was equal to these tours, and greater; but we are considering the subject in connection with the evidence presented.

Mr. Parkman suggests that "the southern portion of Lake Michigan" was reached, and then the "*tres-beau havre*," which he supposes "may have been the entrance to the River Chicago." (In November, 1680, when taking Joliet to task, he did not call it *tres-beau havre*.) But why not let Green Bay, Fox River, Lake Winnebago, and the Wisconsin fill the description as well?

We might, however, propose a theory if indeed the "Histoire" was worthy of a theory; that would be this: Inasmuch as the "Histoire" presents no very rigid or precise dates, we are at liberty, in opposition to Mr. Parkman's ideas, to choose very reasonable ones if we please. We propose then that we adopt the year of 1683 or 4, a part of both of which years LaSalle passed in France during his last visit; and it was then that the information so loosely recorded was imparted to the writer of the "Histoire." Therefore, we would hint that we are saved further speculation as to the above-named journey, which began when "the indefatigable explorer embarked on Lake Erie," for that was when he went on board the identical *Griffon*, in the year 1679. The reader will please compare the two stories, and see how similar they are.

But if LaSalle had discovered and was really familiar with the route from Lake Michigan *via* the Chicago or other channel to the Mississippi in 1671, would he not very likely have somewhere told of it, intelligently and definitely, in some of his communications? His letter to Frontenac, dated November, 1680, is a long one; and he discusses the subject of the

Classified


Pl. II.
Franquelin 1684
Kikapou
300 h
MASCOUTINS
Mosacoat
NATION DU FEU
Oupacole
150
200
als Assistageronons
Maramech
Chaagoumemon
80
COLO
NIE DU S.R
LA
Oiatenon
Illinois
1200
R. Pestekouy
Panghichia
R. Chekagou
150
500 h
70
Ouabona
Fort St. Louis
Chaouanon
200 h
Miamy 1300 h
R. Chassagaach
Kilatica 300 h
DE
SALLE
R. des Maingoana
L. de Pimiteoui
F. de Crevecoeur
Maccoprins
R. Emiconen
Rivière des Illinois
SCULPTED ROCK.

Chicago route, which had been first communicated by Joliet, but he says nothing of his own earlier acquaintance with this locality in that letter or any other. Neither does Frontenac (see *ante*, p. 147); nowhere does he give him precedence in the matter before Joliet, and nothing appears in the publications of Shea, French, or Margry, that can be tortured into a meaning to the contrary.

Mr. Parkman, as we have seen, says: "Three years *or more* after Galinée made the map mentioned above, another, indicating a greatly increased knowledge of the country, was made by some person whose name does not appear."

Galinée made his map in 1670; adding the "*three years*" would make it the same year that Joliet returned from the Mississippi. But the convenient "or more" which Mr. Parkman appends, while it implies a doubt in his own mind as to *when* it was made, yet takes away the force of any suggestion which he appears to urge, that it was made from LaSalle's information and not that of the well-known tour of Joliet and Marquette. We are forced to assert that it seems an error, illy insisted on by Mr. P.; when speaking of this map, he says: "This map was evidently made after that voyage of LaSalle in which he discovered the Illinois, or at least the Desplaines branch of it."

The above quoted notices of the two maps are placed in the order as given by Mr. Parkman in the appendix of his book; but we beg the reader to compare the descriptions, as they were evidently by the same person, who was Louis Joliet. Certainly, Joliet compiled these maps, after his voyage of 1673, mainly from what he had personal knowledge of; and the first-named (by Mr. P.), or the larger one of the two, was probably the latest made.

We present opposite this page the likeness of a small portion of the map constructed by Franquelin in 1684.* We

* We extract the following notices from the Appendix in the "Discovery of the Great West:"

"The great map of Franquelin, the most remarkable of all the early maps of the interior of North America, though hitherto completely ignored by both

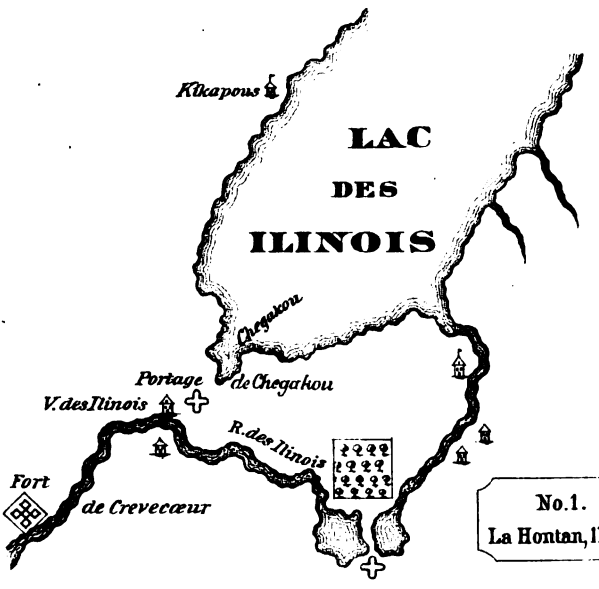
have copied it mainly from a representation which appears in Parkman's "Discovery of the Great West;" the picture of "Starved Rock," the site of LaSalle's Fort St. Louis,* we have added from a recent view of that noted spot. The details of this partial map are, in a measure, rude and inaccurate, but were improved it is understood in Franquelin's later maps. This map, we see, aims to represent Chicago under the name *Cheagoumeinan;* also the Illinois River and its tributaries, together with the Indian villages of various tribes gathered in the near vicinity of Fort St. Louis, numbering, according to LaSalle's report, some four thousand warriors. The name "R. Chekagou" appears; but we are a little in doubt whether or not intended for the Desplaines, or the sloughs and stream whose current sometimes ran westerly beyond Mud Lake. Mr. Parkman gives credit to LaSalle for the probable information furnished to Franquelin, of much which appears on

American and Canadian writers. It is entitled *Carte de la Louisiane ou des Voyages du Sr. de la Salle et des pays qu'il a découverts depuis la Nouvelle France jusqu'au Golfe Mexique les années 1679, 80, 81, et 82, par Jean Baptiste Louis Franquelin. l'an 1684. Paris.* Franquelin was a young engineer, who held the post of hydrographer to the king, at Quebec, in which Joliet succeeded him. Several of his maps are preserved, including one made in 1681, in which he lays down the course of the Mississippi,—the lower part from conjecture,—making it discharge itself into Mobile Bay. It appears from a letter of the Governor, La Barre, that Franquelin was at Quebec in 1683, engaged on a map which was probably that of which the title is given above, though, had La Barre known that it was to be called a map of the journeys of his victim La Salle, he would have been more sparing of his praises. 'He' (Franquelin), writes the Governor, 'is as skilful as any in France, but extremely poor, and in need of a little aid from his Majesty as an Engineer: he is at work on a very correct map of the country, which I shall send you next year in his name; meanwhile, I shall support him with some little assistance.'

"The map is very elaborately executed, and is six feet long and four and a half wide. It exhibits the political divisions of the continent, as the French then understood them; that is to say, all the regions drained by streams flowing into the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi are claimed as belonging to France, and this vast domain is separated into two grand divisions, La Nouvelle France and La Louisiane. The boundary line of the former, New France, is drawn from the Penobscot to the southern extremity of Lake Champlain, and thence to the Mohawk, which it crosses a little above Schenectady, in order to make French subjects of the Mohawk Indians. Thence it passes by the sources of the Susquehanna and the Alleghany, along the southern shore of Lake Erie, across Southern Michigan, and by the head of Lake Michigan, whence it sweeps north-westward to the sources of the Mississippi. Louisiana includes the entire valley of the Mississippi and the Ohio, besides the whole of Texas. The Spanish province

* The view of "Starved Rock" is copied from a photograph taken by the distinguished artist, W. E. Bowman, of Ottawa, Ill.

Pl. III.



No. 1.
La Hontan, 1703.

No. 2.
De L'Isle, 1700.

his map, on his arrival at the St. Lawrence from the Illinois in the fall of 1683.

We cannot avoid speaking further of that remarkable man, Réné Robert Cavelier de la Salle.

In April, 1682, at one of the mouths of the Mississippi, he had taken formal possession of the country in the name of Louis the Great and France. Possibly that was the most joyful day of his life; one grand accomplishment had crowned his efforts at length. Yet a final purpose and goal which he entertained, and he at least could plainly see,—the future occupation and settlement of the great valley to which and beyond it he gave the name *Louisiana*,—was now the main object and aim to which he bent his efforts. Frontenac, the Governor of Canada, a friend and supporter of LaSalle, was however recalled to France that same year of 1682, and his successor, Antoine Lefevre de la Barre, proved to him no

of Florida comprises the peninsula and the country east of the Bay of Mobile, drained by streams flowing into the Gulf; while Carolina, Virginia, and the other English provinces, form a narrow strip between the Alleghanies and the Atlantic.

"The Mississippi is called 'Missisipi, ou Rivière Colbert;' the Missouri, 'Grande Rivière des Emissourittes, ou Missourits;' the Illinois, 'Rivière des Ilinois, ou Macopins;' the Ohio, which La Salle had before called by its present name, 'Fleuve St. Louis, ou Chucagoa, ou Casquinampogamou;' one of its principal branches is 'Ohio, ou Olighin' (Alleghany); the Arkansas, 'Rivière des Acansea;' the Red River, 'Rivière Seignelay,' a name which had once been given to the Illinois. Many smaller streams are designated by names which have been entirely forgotten.

"The nomenclature differs materially from that of Coronelli's map, published four years later. Here the whole of the French territory is laid down as 'Canada, ou La Nouvelle France,' of which 'La Louisiane' forms an integral part. The map of Homannus, like that of Franquelin, makes two distinct provinces, of which one is styled 'Canada' and the other 'La Louisiane,' the latter including Michigan and the greater part of New York. Franquelin gives the shape of Hudson's Bay, and of all the Great Lakes, with remarkable accuracy. He makes the Mississippi bend much too far to the West. The peculiar sinuosities of its course are indicated; and some of its bends, as, for example, that at New Orleans, are easily recognized. Its mouths are represented with great minuteness; and it may be inferred from the map that, since La Salle's time, they have advanced considerably into the sea.

"He reproduced the map in 1688, for presentation to the king, with the title *Carte de l'Amérique Septentrionale, depuis le 25 jusq'au 65 degré de latitude et environ 140 et 235 degrés de longitude, etc.*" * * *

"Two later maps of New France and Louisiana, both bearing Franquelin's name, are preserved in the Dépôt des Cartes de la Marine, as well as a number of smaller maps and sketches, also by him. They all have more or less of the features of the great map of 1684, which surpasses them all in interest and completeness."

helper; indeed, he was one of the obstacles which beset the rugged path of the great explorer, who, in more than one sense, was never henceforth to reach the haven of his brilliant dreams.*

—

There is a map in "Blome's Britannia," said to have been designed (1673) by Sanson, geographer to the French King,

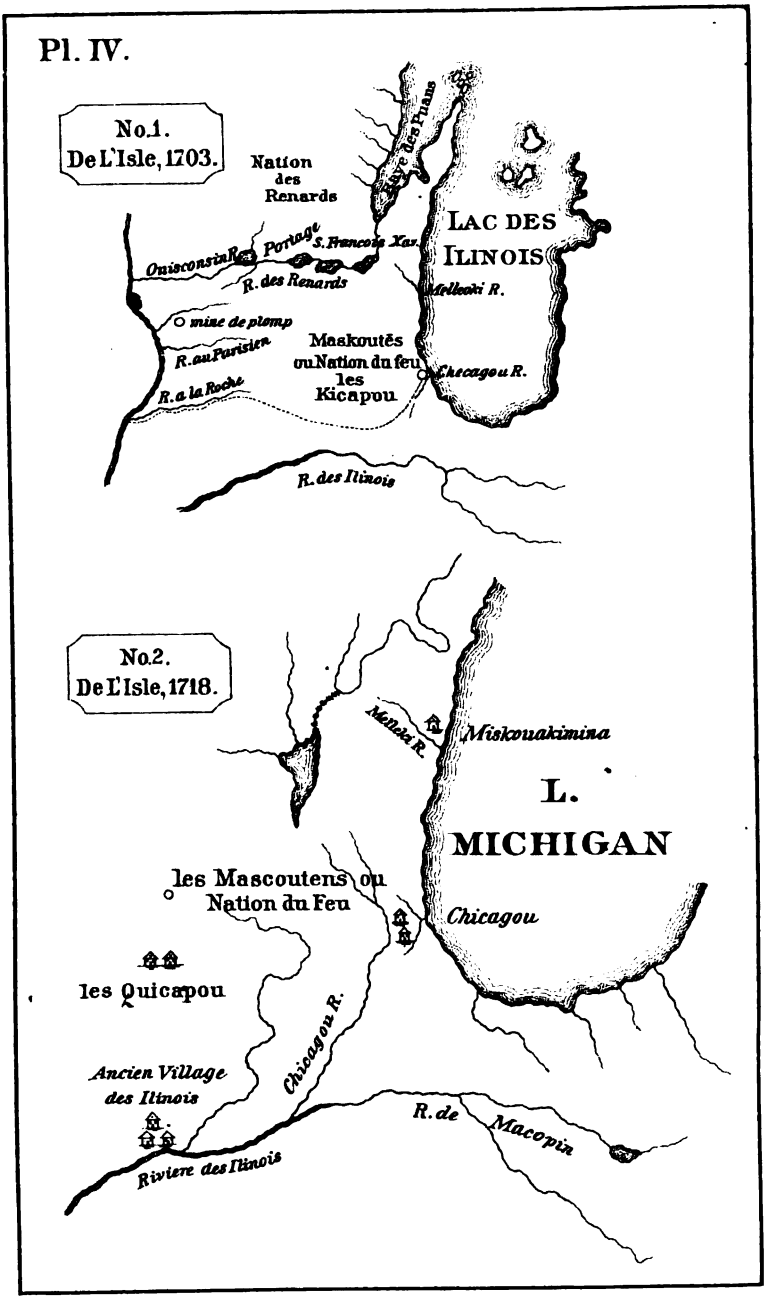
* We desire to say here, that in the volume before named, Mr. Parkman details in words of much interest the treatment extended to LaSalle by the new Governor, de la Barre, who was "advanced to a post for which he proved himself notably unfit." That treatment was harsh, ungentlemanly, and despicable. LaSalle was in the Illinois, yet he early felt the sting of the viper; but no words of the explorer could conciliate that rough son of Neptune. There appears in one of the volumes of Mr. Margry "*Lettre de La Salle a La Barre, Portage de Chicagou, 4 Juin, 1683.*" Mr. Parkman gives the greater part of the substance of the named letter as follows:

"The Iroquois are again invading the country. Last year, the Miamis were so alarmed by them that they abandoned their town and fled; but at my return they came back, and have been induced to settle with the Illinois at my fort of St. Louis. The Iroquois have lately murdered some families of their nation, and they are all in terror again. I am afraid they will take flight, and so prevent the Missouris and neighboring tribes from coming to settle at St. Louis, as they are about to do.

"Some of the Hurons and French tell the Miamis that I am keeping them here for the Iroquois to destroy. I pray that you will let me hear from you, that I may give these people some assurances of protection before they are destroyed in my sight. Do not suffer my men who have come down to the settlements to be longer prevented from returning. There is great need here of reinforcements. The Iroquois, as I have said, have lately entered the country; and a great terror prevails. I have postponed going to Michillimackinac, because, if the Iroquois strike any blow in my absence, the Miamis will think that I am in league with them; whereas, if I and the French stay among them, they will regard us as protectors. But, Monsieur, it is in vain that we risk our lives here, and that I exhaust my means in order to fulfil the intentions of his Majesty, if all my measures are crossed in the settlements below, and if those who go down to bring munitions, without which we cannot defend ourselves, are detained under pretexts trumped up for the occasion. If I am prevented from bringing up men and supplies, as I am allowed to do by the permit of Count Frontenac, then my patent from the king is useless. It would be very hard for us, after having done what was required, even before the time prescribed, and after suffering severe losses, to have our efforts frustrated by obstacles got up designedly.

"I trust that, as it lies with you alone to prevent or to permit the return of the men whom I have sent down, you will not so act as to thwart my plans. A part of the goods which I have sent by them belong not to me, but to the Sieur de Tonty, and are a part of his pay. Others are to buy munitions indispensable for our defence. Do not let my creditors seize them. It is for their advantage that my fort, full as it is of goods, should be held against the enemy. I have only twenty men, with scarcely a hundred pounds of powder; and I cannot long hold the country without more. The Illinois are very capricious and uncertain. . . . If I had men enough to send out to reconnoitre the enemy, I would have done so before this; but I have not enough. I trust you will put it in my power to obtain more, that this important colony may be saved."

Pl. IV.


No.1.
De L'Isle, 1703.
Nation des Renards
Ouisconsin R.
Portage
S. Francois Xav.
R. des Renards
mine de plomp
R. au Puriston
R. a la Roche
Maskoutēs ou Nation du feu les Kicapou
Riv.e des Prairies
LAC DES ILINOIS
Melleoüi R.
Chicagou R.
R. des Ilinois
No.2.
De L'Isle, 1718.
Meleki R.
Miskouakimina
L.
MICHIGAN
les Mascoutens ou Nation du Feu
Chicagou
les Quicapou
Chicagou R.
Ancien Village des Ilinois
R. de Macopin
Riviere des Ilinois

revised into English, by Richard Blome, in 1674. This map is in the Historical Society Library, at Madison, Wis. Mr. Durrie, the librarian of that Institution, informs us that Lake Michigan does not appear on it; "Lake Huron, or, as the map has it 'Karegondi or Sweet Water,' is down much out of shape; 'Lac des Puans' is on the map, abreviated, as well as Lake Superior. The Mississippi River is not found, as the date was prior to Marquette. The mouth and outlet of Chucagua River is given into Gulf of Mexico." [Was not this *Chucagua*, which is a name similar to one sometimes at an early day applied to the Mississippi River, the echo of a rumor of the existence of *the great river?*] Yet, at the rooms of the Chicago Hist. Soc., on a map entitled "Le Nouveau Mexique et La Floride; Par N. Sanson d'Abbeville, Paris, 1679," presumed to be by the same Monsieur Sanson as above, we cannot see either names "Chucagua" or "Mississippi." There are, it is true, two rivers thereon emptying into the Gulf, bearing the name "Del Spiritu Santo," (the old Spanish name for the Mississippi) but either of them is a poor representation of that river, if so intended. At the north, "Ontario ou Lac De St. Louis" and "Erie Lac" are drawn with a more natural appearance, but the features of the region to the westward, by the other great lakes, are not attempted to be given. Mr. Baldwin says, "Sanson was no doubt much indebted to maps still in manuscript;" and he refers to Mr. Parkman's notices; yet, that remarkable map* of Lake Superior and parts of Lake Huron and Michigan, prepared by Father Dablon, or other of the Jesuit missionaries, and which appears in their printed *Relations* of 1670-1, seems not to have imparted any instruction to M. Sanson.

We present (see No. 1 of Plate III.) a section from the map in an early edition of La Hontan's work, probably that of 1703.†

* A copy appears in the third volume of Mr. Bancroft's History.

† We will here take the occasion to say, that in presenting sketches or drawings of small areas from various maps we shall not attempt perfect *fac-similes*, yet

Mr. Baldwin tells us, "If Hennepin had a rival in literary fame, it was the Baron La Hontan, whose maps were as mendacious as the other's books."

But if La Hontan's "Dead River" or "Long River" and some other things upon his map, were *a fraud* not soon to be forgotten, the small section of his map, copied upon the plate referred to above, though not altogether free from distortion, yet, may not be accused as the other.

Of Father Hennepin, whose works, published in 1683 and 1697, each present a map, Mr. Baldwin says: he "did a good deal to debase the geographical accuracy of maps. His two maps correspond with his change of claims. His first shows the upper part of the Mississippi, having in the lower part a dotted line as a guess into the Gulf of Mexico. The other is carried to the Gulf, much abridged in length, but with the characteristic curves, islands, and cut-offs. The upper Mississippi is much alike in the two maps, though in the last, Lake Superior is more correctly shaped, and Lake Michigan less sprawling. The River Seignelay becomes the Illinois, and Fort des Miamis, and the river it was on, now St. Joseph, is moved from the east and correct side of Lake Michigan to the west. The portage is marked alike in both." Concerning the map in "Joutel's Journal of LaSalle's Last Voyage, London, 1714," he remarks that it "is little more than a sketch. The lower part bears marks of actual observation, though the Mississippi is not as correctly given in its course as in Hennepin's even. It is called Mississippi, or Colbert, with a note

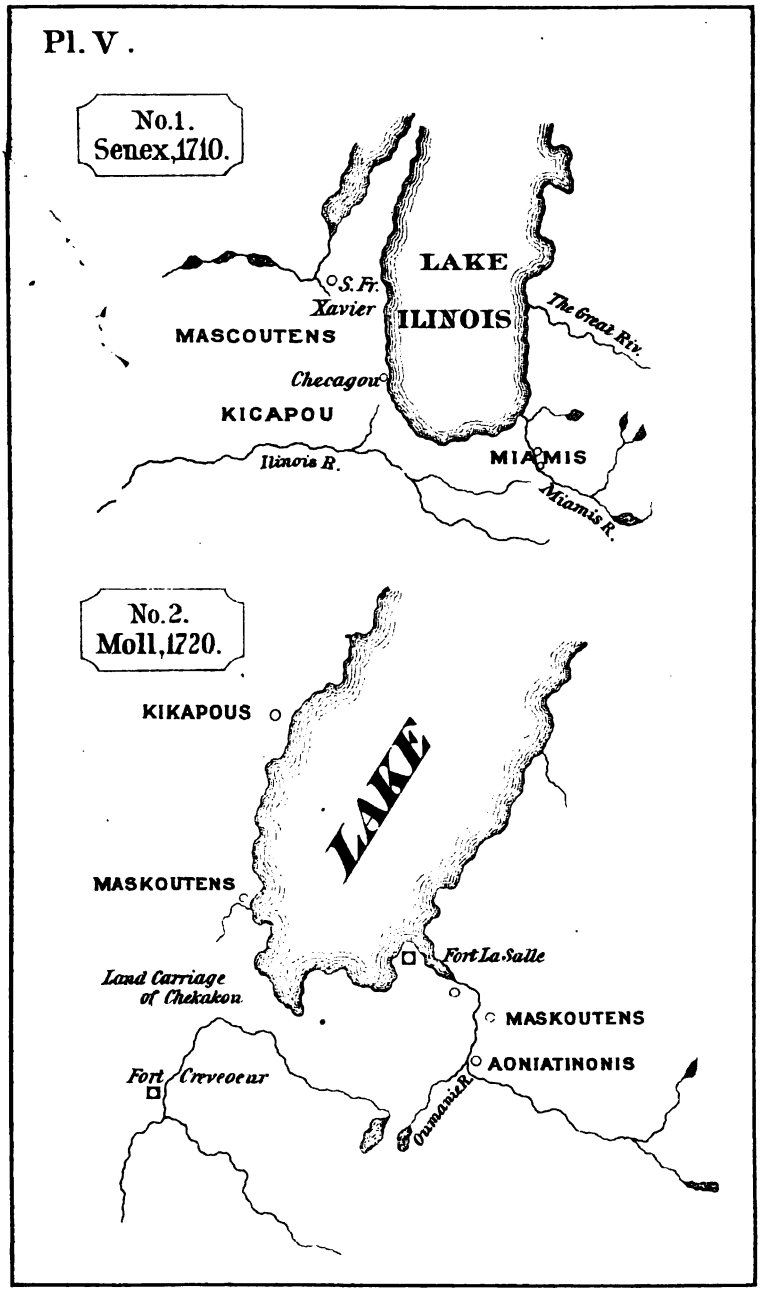
giving representations of the originals, sufficiently exact for all purposes to be desired.

From the examples in the maps quoted in our copies, some idea can be formed of the progress among the map-makers toward accuracy, in the two centuries past; yet it is believed that it was not every published map which might properly claim to be more truthful than its predecessor; indeed, such advances sometimes were *retrogressive.*

The compiler of this book, expresses his obligations to C. C. Baldwin, Esq., of Cleveland, O., not only for a copy of his Tract on the early maps of the west, but also for numerous tracings from ancient and rare maps in his possession, many of which are editions difficult to be found elsewhere.

Digitized by Google

Pl. V.


No.1.
Senex,1710.
LAKE
ILINOIS
S. Fr. Xavier
The Great Riv.
MASCOUTENS
Checagou
KICAPOU
Ilinois R.
MIAMIS
Miamis R.
No.2.
Moll,1720.
KIKAPOUS
LAKE
MASKOUTENS
Fort La Salle
Land Carriage of Chekakou
MASKOUTENS
AONIATINONIS
Fort Crevecoeur
Onnanien R.

that in the year 1712, 'it changed its name, and is called St. Louis.' The Missouri appears by that name. The river 'Ullinois, or Seignly,' is too far east. A branch of the 'Ramany' reaches below the west end of Lake 'Eria,' the direction and position of which is more correct than in Hennepin's, but it has square ends. The River 'Douo or Abacha (Ohio or Wabash) is far too small and too far south. M. Joutel returned along the Illinois. On the 19th of August, 1687, he passed the 'River called Houabache' (Ohio), 'said to come from the country of the Iroquois toward New England.'"

In the Library of the Chicago Historical Society are three original maps of M. De L'Isle, namely, those of 1700, 1703, 1718. Probably the first named was one of his earliest if not *the* earliest of his publications. Its title in part, is 'L'Amerique Septentrionale. Dressée sur les Observations de Mrs de l'Academie Royale des Sciences." The map represents the region from below Panama to the north of "Baye de Baffins." In No. 2, Plate III., we transfer a small fraction of it, including Lake Michigan. A creek, not there named, represents the Chicago. We quote the following from Mr. Baldwin's Tract: "A geographer, very celebrated in his time, was William De L'Isle, Royal Geographer to the French King. He was born in 1675, died in Paris, in 1726, and is considered the most learned geographer of France. He produced a large number of excellent maps, having wonderful industry, and was the authority for map-makers of all other countries. He seems to have worked modestly, and at his death was preparing a new map of America, which he hoped to be much better than those he had made already. * * * * * It is instructive to see how often De L'Isle's maps are mentioned in the Colonial despatches, and how many plans, even of the English Territories, taken from them, were sent to England."

De L'Isle's map of 1703, is entitled "Carte Du Canada ou de la Nouvelle France."

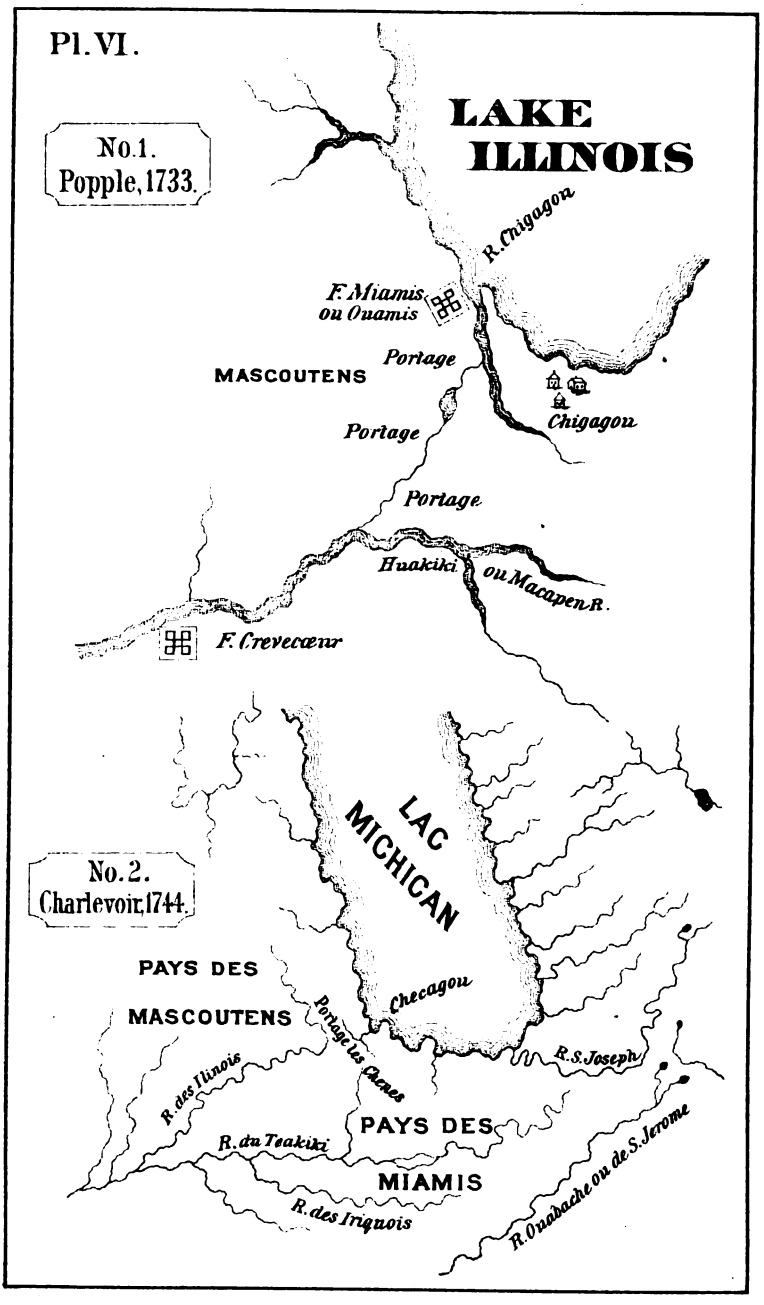
La Hontan's Long River, here "la Riviere Longue ou

Riviere Morte" or "Moingona," gains a place in this map, and appears with its lakes a more important stream than the Missouri. Yet we may readily see that those early maps abounded in errors and inaccuracies. In No. 1 of Plate IV, we have copied from the map referred to.

In the map of 1618, by M. De L'Isle, called "Carte De la Louisiane et du Cours du Mississipi," there is improvement in many particulars. La Hontan's Long River or the "Moingoina" in this map, has become of less extent and size than the Missouri. This map seems to be the same, or rather a reduced fac-simile of the one in Part 2, of B. F. French's Historical Collection of Louisiana. Mr. Baldwin refers to the fact that Governor Burnett, of New York, in his memoir in. 1720, to the Lords of Trade governing the English Colonies, complained that De L'Isle, in his map of 1718, makes encroachments on the Kings territories, since his map of 1703 was made. But we are not surprised at the Governor's exhibition of nervousness; he felt, no doubt, that upon his shoulders were borne up the honor and a large share of England's glory and territory in America; and now, the map-maker at least, had hedged out and barricaded, as the whole British possessions here, a mere strip of country along the Atlantic Coast, running from near Charleston, S. C., by way of a chain of mountains, and a yellow stripe to the south end of Lake Champlain. In our No. 2 of Plate IV., will be seen all that we have copied from this map.

In No. 1 of Plate V., we give a tracing from John Senex's map of 1710, with a representation of the locality of Chicago and vicinity. A "General Atlas of the World," published "London, 1721," was by the same author; one of the maps (that of Western America, with date 1719) is said to be "quite inaccurate;" another, of Louisiana, evidently much indebted to the maps of De L'Isle, is more correct.

We have a tracing from a map bearing the title "Nouvelle France," with name Gerard Van Keulen, Amsterdam, at-


Pl. VI.
No. 1.
Popple, 1733.
LAKE
ILLINOIS
R. Chigagou
F. Miamis
ou Ouamis
Portage
MASCOUTENS
Chigagou
Portage
Portage
Huakiki
ou Macapen R.
F. Crevecœur
LAC
MICHIGAN
No. 2.
Charlevoix, 1744.
PAYS DES
MASCOUTENS
Checagou
Portage les Cannes
R. S. Joseph
R. des Illinois
R. du Teakiki
PAYS DES
MIAMIS
R. des Iriquois
R. Ouabache ou de S. Jerome

tached. It is without date, but, seemingly, made early in the 18th century, probably before that above referred to, by John Senex. It has thereon Lake Michigan, with a stream in its proper locality, with cabins, and a name "les Checagou." The Desplaines river also appears, reasonable enough, unnamed, however; but a river, coming from the eastward, apparently about where the Kankakee should run, is given the name "Riv. de Checagou," and on its north bank *a dot*, evidently meaning a village, or somebody's place of residence, also named "Checagou."

Herman Moll, an English geographer, was the author of various maps, whose dates range from 1711 to 1720. From a map of the last-named date, we present a tracing in No. 2., Plate V.

In No. 1, Plate VI., we give a view from Henry Popple's Atlas, "America Septentrionalis," published London, 1733. "These maps," says Mr. Baldwin, "were undertaken with the approbation of the Lords of Trade, using all the maps, charts, and observations that could be found, and especially the authentic records and actual surveys transmitted by the governors of the British Plantations." Mr. B. yet adds, "The engraver has bestowed much labor upon them, but the progress is *backwards;*" many particulars are referred to.

Father Charlevoix, the missionary and traveller, passed along the east shore of Lake Michigan in 1721. His Journal or Letters, written during his passage through Canada, Illinois, etc., were published, with a map; his History of New France appeared in 1744, illustrated with maps; which work has been translated into English, with the addition of extended and valuable notes, by Hon. J. G. Shea, not many years since. Charlevoix acknowledged his indebtedness for the accuracy of his maps to N. Bellin, engraver of the department of Marine, and to the charts, etc., there gathered. It is understood, however, that the reduced fac-simile copy, in Mr.

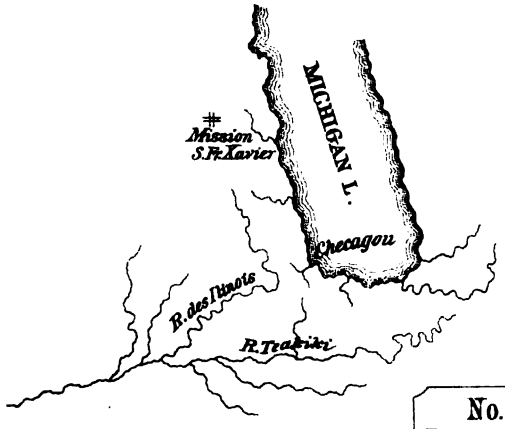
Shea's Charlevoix, is not as good as the original Bellin map. In No. 2., Plate VI., is given a small section, as transferred from a map in Charlevoix's work.

In No. 1, Plate VII., appears a small portion from a map in "Bowen's General Atlas," "London, 1752."

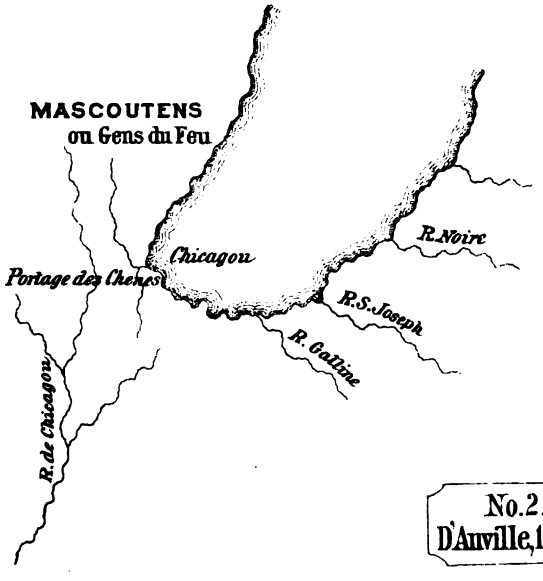
No. 2, Plate VII., is from D'Anville, a Frenchman, whose map is entitled "Canada, Louisiane, et Terres Angloises," 1755. D'Anville expresses his obligation to the map of Bellin (1744). In "Thomas Jeffrey's Natural and Civil History of the French Dominions in N. and S. America," London, 1761, he refers to the route by way of the Chicago to the Illinois, copying much of the language from Charlevoix's Journal, or the letter bearing date Sept. 17, 1721. The map in Jeffrey is said to be D'Anville's "improved," but it seems to us inferior in some respects to the earlier one.

In No. 1 of Plate VIII., we give a reduced extract from John Mitchell's map, "repeatedly printed, much used, and long of authority." We are quoting from Mr. Baldwin. "John Mitchell, M.D., F.R.S., came to Virginia early in the 18th century, as a botanist. He lived long in America, and died in England, in 1768. His large and elaborate map has a certificate from John Pownall, Secretary of the Board of Trade, and brother of Governor Thomas, that it was undertaken at his request, composed from drafts, charts, and actual surveys, transmitted from the different colonies by the governors thereof. This certificate is dated July 1, 1755. The various editions of the map generally have no date but this. It continued to be much thought of, and was used by the Commissioners in making the Treaty of Peace, in 1783, by which our country became a nation. The copy thus used, was not long since presented by the English Government to Hon. Chas. Francis Adams, who gave it to the American Geographical Society, and it hangs as a principal ornament in its lecture-room, in New York City." On this map we

Pl. VII.



No. 1.
Bowen, 1752.



No. 2.
D'Anville, 1755.

UNIV. OF CALIF.

notice the name "Quadoghe," apparently attached to a locality at south end of Lake Michigan; we do not remember seeing this name so applied on any other map of a previous date.

[We will here speak of a valuable manuscript chart or map, presented to the Chicago Historical Society, in the spring of 1859, by Mr. Geo. F. Rumsey. It was one of a collection of maps imported from Europe and offered for sale in Chicago, and this was purchased by Mr. R. It was executed with a pen and colored, and exhibited "with much clearness and accuracy the cantonment of the British forces in America, in the summer of 1768, and the proposed distribution of the same, consisting of 17 Regiments. Fort Chartres, in the Illinois territory, probably the most finished fortification west of the Alleghanies, was assigned a garrison of six companies. The various fortified posts in British America, with the number of the respective regiments and battalions, and the subordinations of the several commands. The westerly bounds of the principal Atlantic Colonies follow the ridge of the Appalachian range."]

We have in our possession "Bowles' Universal Atlas," by John Palairet, Agent to Their High Mightinesses The States General. Revised and improved by other eminent geographers. All the maps were designed to be sold separately as well, many of them having for part of their title, "Bowles' New Pocket Map," etc. Some of them bear the date of 1791; probably the one of U. S. was made about that date. The Desplaines is called "Chicagou;" "Quadoghe" has its place without any very definate appearance of what it is intended to mean, though believed to indicate the locality of an Indian tribe of that name, at some former date. We notice a stream, tributary to the Illinois, from its right or west bank below *the Rock*, is called *Chacagouche*. A dotted line upon said map, which we trace at least, from the "Uttaway," striking Lake Huron east of St. Mary's river, thence passing through the Straits and the middle of Lake Michigan to Chicago, and

down the Illinois and Mississippi to the Gulf; we hardly know whether it is intended to represent a route of travel, or a line of an Indian conveyance, or of disputed territory of a previous date.

[In 1862, the Chicago Historical Society added to their collections, Shelton and Kinsett's large map of the United States, of date 1816, exhibiting early surveys, with the forts, trading-posts, and Indian villages of the Northwest.]

We close this partial list of map-references with that from Carey's General Atlas, an extract of which appears in No. 2, Plate VIII.

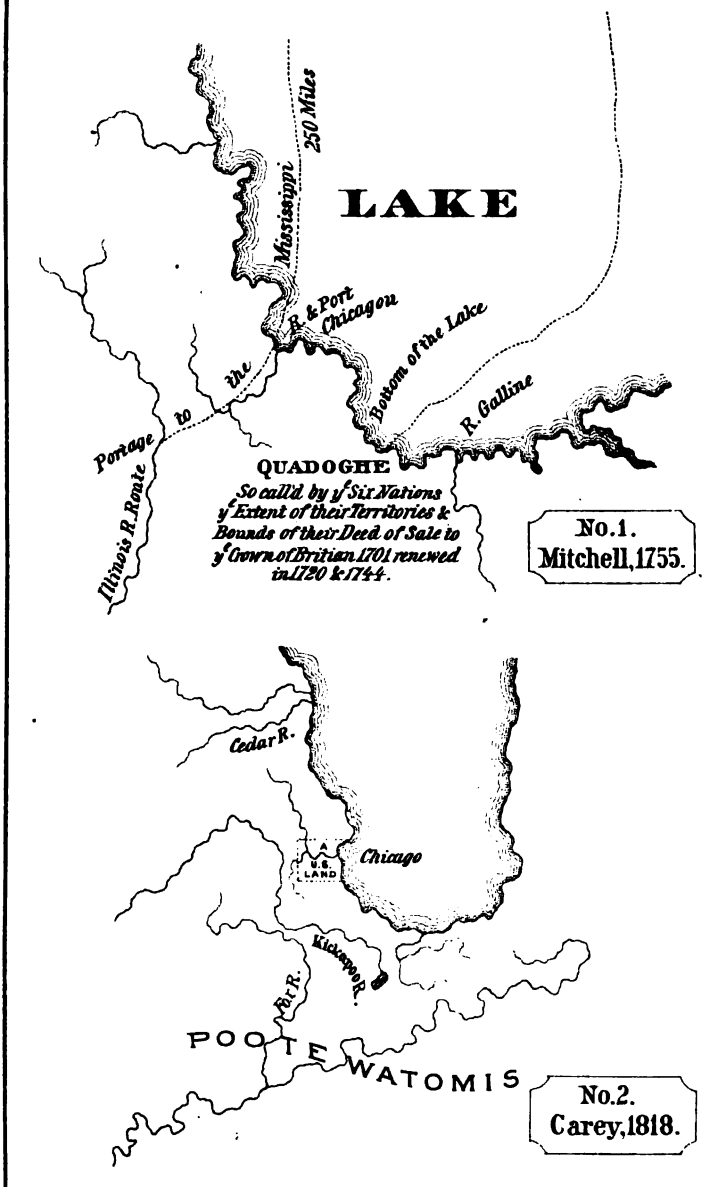
HON. E. M. HAINES, AND THE NAME CHICAGO.

A lengthy communication in the *Chicago Tribune* of Dec. 7, 1879, much of the substance of which, from other sources, appears elsewhere in these pages, closes with the following summary, as Mr. Haines' view of the gist of the matter:

"Mr. Lewis H. Morgan, in his excellent work entitled 'League of the Iroquois,' adds a large number of geographical names of Indian origin, with definitions. But many of them seem to have undergone such changes by corruption that their meaning, in our language, could not be traced. As to such words, he frankly adds 'signification lost.' Now, in regard to this word Chicago, after the various opinions which have been given as to its meaning, and since no satisfactory result can be reached, it would seem proper, rather than contend for any given opinion, unsupported by satisfactory evidence, that we should set it down 'signification lost.' At any rate, all must agree that the original word has undergone changes by corruption, and just what the original word was, and what its meaning in our language may have been, we have now no means of showing beyond mere conjecture.* E. M. HAINES."

* Yet after all, a condition of *doubt*, it must be allowed, is a rather unsatisfactory one with many minds. A very old native of the West has already told us in these pages, without hesitation, that "Chicago means *the place of the skunk;*" and we wish to suggest that one of the early St. Louis Indians, of whom we have heard, was unquestionably prepared, on his hasty flight homeward, to utter an equally unhesitating assurance of a similar purport, to wit: Great chief, squaw

Pl. VIII


250 Miles
Mississippi
LAKE
R. & Port Chicagou
Bottom of the Lake
R. Galline
Portage to the Illinois R. Route
QUADOGHE
So call'd by y^e Six Nations y^e Extent of their Territories & Bounds of their Deed of Sale to y^e Govern.t of Britian 1701 renewed in 1720 & 1744.
No.1.
Mitchell, 1755.
Cedar R.
Chicago
U.S. LAND
Wisconsin R.
Pat. R.
POOTE WATOMIS
No.2.
Carey, 1818.

EARLY INDIAN DEED; "CHICAGO, OR GARLIC CREEK."

To Mr. Forsythe we must acknowledge indebtedness for the following copy of an early conveyance; it is apparently genuine, though we are not informed *where* the parchment was resurrected. The gentlemen, grantees of the instrument, certainly had an eye to business in thus providing themselves each a farm of such liberal dimensions at the cost of a few hundred yards of shoddy, some blankets, gun-flints, and brass kettles. Those two nice little parcels of land were bounded by *Heron Creek, Hilly Plains, Crab-tree Plains, Big Buffalo Hoofs, seven leagues or thereabouts (some hoofs* those!), to the Ohio and Mississippi; also, from the mouth of the Illinois River to *Chicagou* or *Garlic Creek;* thence to an ancient

pappoose, arrived here at night from St. Louis; great chief does n't work, he great warrior, rests while squaw puts up wigwam; big chief has weakness like other men, sometimes gets hungry, wants to eat now; great chief rises and walks out to find place for squaw to cut wood—to build fire—to get his supper; great chief high warrior, holds head lofty, looks for north star towards Milwaukie, stept on something, did n't see it, but something hit him, little chemical-squirt-engine, perhaps,—no, fire-patrol was n't here yet; twas n't a cologne-bottle either; big chief did n't find wood for squaw, who did n't make fire, did n't get supper, big chief did n't want supper, had n't wanted any, is n't going to Milwaukie, but leaves hurriedly in the other direction.

We might say *that* Indian had no doubts struggling with *his* opinion. But another legend, leading to a faith quite as decided in another quarter, may be told as follows: A big brawny brave, bare-legged, miserably moccasined, and almost as poorly breeched as one of the classic cupids of Canova, had n't now any squaw, for, as he was too lazy to hunt, she therefore took a divorce, and henceforth he had to paddle his own canoe, or in other words, to grub for himself. He therefore came to Chicago and grovelled for garlics. He ate them raw as well as roasted; he breakfasted, he lunched, he dined, and supped on them, and became frouzy, fat, and fetid; indeed, he wore a string of onions like pearls around his neck. The Indians sometimes called him "*old Garlic*," but most usually he was known by the term "*She*-kaug," not only for the reason that he was partial to onions, but because he had come down from the lofty position of a brave to that of a woman, to dig in the dirt for the coveted bulbs; the Indian women perform the servile drudgery and hard work, which the braves never do. We will add, that it is supposed that this was the same chief that was long ago drowned in Chicago River, of whom the Indians told Mrs. Kinzie.

battle-field, and two remarkable hills, as well as the *Foggy Spring* and the *White Buffalo Plain.* We cannot attempt to place these metes and bounds; it is enough to assert that they encircled the *head* as well as the *caudal extremity*, and nearly *everything between them*, of what is now the State of Illinois. The Treaty of Greenville, twenty-two years afterwards, securing to the American Government "six miles square at the mouth of Chikago River," was a mere bagatelle to the other; yet the fact that such an institution as an *American Government* had existence, we suppose, was sufficient to take the wind out of the other *sale.*

Nearly twenty years ago, there was presented to the Chicago Historical Society an old manuscript, which bore date at Fort Gage, in the "Illinois country," 1773, the same year and place as in the deed below. The document was called a "national protest," but beyond that we are not informed of its purport; it was, no doubt, burned with the Society's Library. It has occurred to us that the execution of the conveyance named may have called out this *protest;* but whether or no our supposition may be correct, we do not know of any more creditable employment for a protest to be engaged in, than to attack such a stupendous steal as the one embodied in the deed.

The remarks of the *Chicago Tribune* regarding this deed, relating to the signification of the name *Chicagou*, are rather ingeniously *put*, and the conclusion arrived at is that the matter is now forever settled by four certain words in that deed, though placed there, possibly, by the presumptuous whim of a notary's clerk. Yet, even supposing there may be better authority for those words—that of aboriginal prescript—we cannot perceive why one Indian's caprice should receive credit before all others. Present opinion concerning the subject is far from being a unit, and we know there were varied early ideas also. The venerable Grignon, himself part Indian, whose great-grandfather, De Langlade, is supposed to have been in De Ligney's expedition against the Fox Indians, in 1728, received from his grandfather numerous facts

in Western history, and he gave a different definition from that of the Fort Gage man.*

"*To the Editor of The Chicago Tribune.*

"CHICAGO, Jan. 2.—Many articles have been published in *The Tribune* as to the origin and meaning of the word Chicago, but in every instance, so far as I know, the writers have failed to furnish any direct evidence derived from the Illinois nations of Indians as to what they understood the word to mean. We have had the opinions of many men who, it is claimed, were perfectly familiar with the Indian language, and yet no two of them agree. * *

"The meaning of the word 'Chicagou,' as defined in the Indian

* One thing we believe may be relied on, that is the utter untrustworthiness of much of what is called *Indian tradition.* No Indian whose complacency has been secured, or whose confidence has been won, was ever at a loss to give for anything a reason, whether truthful, curious, or absurd. Possibly in attempting to account for this we may suggest, that if there is any trait in the composition of the Indian mind that may be termed a marked one, it is that known as *the imaginative.* It is, perhaps, common with most of the Indian tribes, whether in our own land or others; it is, very likely, one of the resources of a condition of ignorance and consequent superstition, looking or reaching out for some ray of a hopeful possibility. Not so much of the actual as the ideal is the burthen of their leisurely gossip; it is little of history to which they cling, and that little is preserved in memory by a few belts or strings of wampum. No fact that may have happened beyond a few generations past can be related by them with any definiteness of particulars and detail. If the many Indian tribes of North America were, as we suppose, descendants of the Tarter clans in Northern Asia, we get no light upon the subject from that part of the race living in this hemisphere. No response from Indian pen or lips comes to us as to *who*, *how*, *when* or *whence*, unless, possibly, in similar shape to that of David Cusick's *History of the Six Nations.* Cusick was educated at Yale College, and, in 1825, issued the pamphlet referred to; it comprises something less than forty pages, and has very little history in it, but much of the wonderful. These wonders commence upon the title-page; for instance, "the foundation of the Great Island, now North America;" the "Creation of the Universe," etc. His book tells us of huge "Stonish Giants," the "Flying Head," the "Lake Serpent," and numerous other grotesque and extraordinary things. It only demonstrates, however, the prevalence of the trait to which we have referred; and we may remark, that Schoolcraft's books abounds in examples also; and Mrs. Kinzie's Wau-bun has a few; others may be seen in nearly every volume of Indian life.

The nomadic habits of the Indians, mutation of place and condition, furthermore, have deprived tradition of any worth, where other circumstances might have given some value. To those two prominent factors, *war* and *strong drink*, assisted on by white mens' cupidity and counsel, the tribes might often, no doubt, have charged their debasement and ruin.

deed following, is conclusive that in its application to the Chicagou Creek it means garlic.

"The deed is a matter of interest, not only on account of the light it throws upon the meaning of the name of our city, but as being a very ancient conveyance of a large portion of the Northwest and from matters of historical interest incidentally mentioned in it. JOHN FORSYTHE."

"*To all people to whom these presents shall come, Greeting:* Know ye that we, Tomaroa, or Gabriel; Petaguage, or Michael; Maughquayah, or John Baptiste; Couroway, Kicounaisa, or Fish; and Tontowaraganih, or Peter, sometimes called La Cloche, or the Bell, Kaskaskias Chiefs; Maughquinthepe, or Bear's Head; otherwise called the Black Dog; Meinquipaumiah, Achiswewah, and Eschawinikiwah, Pervariahs and Cahoquias Chief; Chiefs and Sachems of the different tribes of the Illinois nations of Indians, and being and effectually representing all the tribes of the said Illinois Indians, send greeting:

"WHEREAS, William Murray, of the Illinois country, merchant, one of the grantees hereinafter named, as well for himself as on the parts and behalfs of the several other grantees hereinafter also named, did at several conferences publicly held with us, the said Chiefs and Sachems, at Kaskaskias Village, in the Illinois country aforesaid, treat and confer with us, the said Chiefs and Sachems, for the purchase of certain quantities or tracts of land belonging and appertaining unto us and to the several tribes or nations of Indians whom we represent; and

"WHEREAS, We, the said Chiefs and Sachems, have deliberately and maturely considered for ourselves, and consulted with the natives of our several tribes or nations, of the requests and proposals made as aforesaid by the said William Murray, for himself and others, to us, the said Chiefs and Sachems; and

"WHEREAS, We, the said Chiefs and Sachems, as well as the other natives of our several tribes or nations, are fully satisfied and contented (for the consideration hereinafter mentioned) to grant and confirm unto the said William Murray, and to the other grantees hereinafter named, the several tracts or quantities of land, hereinafter bounded and described:

"Now know ye, therefore, that we, the said Chiefs and Sachems of the several tribes of the Illinois Indians aforesaid, in full and public council assembled, at Kaskaskias Village aforesaid, for and in consideration of the sum of five shillings, to us in hand paid by the said William Murray, and for and in consideration of the following goods and merchandise to us, the said Tomaroa, Petaguage, Maughquayah, Couroway, Kicounaisa, Tontowaraganih, Maughquinthepe, Achiswewah, Meinquipaumiah, and Eschawinikiwah, paid and delivered in full council aforesaid, that is to say, 260 strouds, 250 blankets, 350 shirts, 150 pairs of stroud and half-thick stockings,

150 stroud breech-cloths, 500 pounds of gunpowder, 4000 pounds of lead, one gross of knives, thirty pounds of vermilion, 2000 gun-flints, 200 pounds of brass kettles, 200 pounds of tobacco, three dozen gilt looking-glasses, one gross of gun-worms, two gross. of awls, one gross of fire-steels, sixteen dozen of gartering, 10,000 pounds of flour, 500 bushels of Indian corn, twelve horses, twelve horned cattle, twenty bushels of salt, and twenty guns, the receipt whereof we do hereby acknowledge, have granted, bargained, sold, aliened, released, enfeoffed, ratified, and fully confirmed, and by these presents do grant, bargain, sell, alien, release, enfeoff, ratify, and fully confirm unto the said William Murray, Moses Franks, and Jacob Franks, of the City of London, in the Kingdom of Great Britain, Esquires; David Franks, John Inglis, Bernard Gratz, Michael Gratz, Alexander Ross, David Sproat, and James Milligan, all of the City of Philadelphia, in the Province of Pennsylvania, merchants; Moses Franks, of the same city, attorney at law; Andrew Hamilton and William Hamilton, of the same city, gentlemen; Edmund Milne, of the same city, goldsmith and jeweler; Joseph Simons and Levi Andrew Levi, of the Town of Lancaster, in the County of Lancaster, and Province aforesaid, merchants; Thomas Minshall, of York County, and Province aforesaid, Esquire; Robert Calender and William Thompson, of Cumberland County, and Province aforesaid, Esquires; John Campbell, of Pittsburg, Westmoreland County and Province aforesaid, merchant; George Castles, of the Illinois country aforesaid, and James Rumsey, late of the same county, merchants, their heirs and assigns, in severalty, or unto his Most Sacred Majesty George III., by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, King, defender of the faith, etc., his heirs, and successors, for the use, benefit, and behoof of all the said several above-named grantees, their heirs and assigns, in severalty as aforesaid (by whichever of these tenures the said grantees may most legally hold the same), the two several tracts or parcels of land hereinafter described and bounded, *viz.*:

"One tract or parcel of land, situate, lying, and being on the east side of the River Mississippi, beginning at the mouth of the Heron Creek, called by the French the River of Mary, being about a league below the mouth of the Kaskaskias River; thence a northward of east course, in a direct line back to the Hilly Plains, eight leagues or thereabouts, be the same more or less; thence the same course, in a direct line, to the Crabtree Plains, seventeen leagues or thereabouts, be the same more or less; thence the same course, in a direct line, to a remarkable place known by the name of the Big Buffalo Hoofs, seven leagues or thereabouts, be the same more or less; thence the same course, in a direct line, to the Salt Lick Creek, about seven leagues, be the same more or less; then, crossing the said creek about one league below the ancient Shawanese town, in an easterly or a little to the north of east course, in a direct line to the

river Ohio, about four leagues, be the same more or less; then down the Ohio, by the several courses thereof, until it empties itself in the Mississippi, about thirty-five leagues, be the same more or less; and then up the Mississippi, by the several courses thereof, to the place of beginning, thirty-three leagues or thereabouts, be the same more or less; and also one other piece or parcel of land, situate, lying, or being on the east side of the Mississippi, beginning at a place or point in a direct line opposite to the mouth of the Missouri River; thence up the Mississippi, by the several courses thereof, to the mouth of the Illinois River, about six leagues, be the same more or less; then up the Illinois River, by the several courses thereof, to *Chicagon*,* or *Garlick Creek*, about ninety leagues, or thereabouts, be the same more or less; then nearly a northerly course, in a direct line, to a certain place remarkable, being the ground on which an engagement, or battle, was fought about forty or fifty years ago between the Pewaria and Renard Indians, about fifty leagues, be the same more or less; thence, by the same course, in a direct line, to two remarkable hills close together, in the middle of a large prairie, or plain, about fourteen leagues, be the same more or less; thence a north by east course, in a direct line, to a remarkable spring, known by the Indians by the name of Foggy Spring, about fourteen leagues, be the same more or less; thence the same course, in a direct line, to a great mountain to the northward of the White Buffalo Plain, about fifteen leagues, be the same more or less; thence nearly a southwest course, in a direct line, to the place of beginning, about forty leagues, be the same more or less; and also all minerals, ores, trees, woods, underwoods, water, water-courses, profits, commodities, advantages, rights, liberties, privileges, hereditaments, and appurtenances whatsoever, to the said two several tracts or parcels of land, belonging, or in anywise appertaining, and also the reversion and reversions, remainder and remainders, rents, issues, and profits thereof, and of every part and parcel thereof, and all the estate, right, title, and interest, use, property, possession, claim, and demand of them, the said Tomaroa, Petaguage, Maughquayah, Couroway, Kicounaisa, Tontowaraganih, Maughquinthepe, Achiswewah, Meinquipaumiah, and Eschawinikiwah, Chiefs and Sachems aforesaid, and of all and every other person and persons whatsoever, of or belonging to the said nations, of, into, and out of, the premises, and every part and parcel thereof; to have and to hold the said several tracts or parcels of land, and all and singular the said granted or bargained premises, with the appurtenances, unto them, the said William Murray, Moses Franks, Jacob Franks, David Franks, John Inglis, Bernard Gratz, Michael Gratz, Alexander Ross, David Sproat, James Milligan, Moses Franks, Andrew Hamilton, William Hamilton, Edmund Milne, Joseph Simon, Levi Andrew Levi, Thomas Minshall, Robert Calender, William Thompson, John Campbell,

* So printed, *Chicagon*, in *Tribune* copy.

George Castles, and James Rumsey, their heirs and assigns, forever, in severalty, or unto his said Majesty, his heirs and successors, to and for the use, benefit, and behoof of the said grantees, their heirs and assigns, forever, in severalty, as aforesaid; and the said Tomaroa, Petaguage, Maughquayah, Couroway, Kicounaisa, Tontwaraganih, Maughquinthepe, Achiswewah, *Meinquipaumiah*, and Eschawinikiwah, for themselves, and for their several tribes of the Illinois nations, and all and every other nation and nations, tributaries and dependants on the said Illinois Indians, and their and every of their posterities, the said several tracts of land and premises, and every part thereof, against them the said Tomaroa, Petaguage, Maughquayah, Couroway, Kicounaisa, Tontowaraganih, Maughquinthepe, Achiswewah, *Meinquipaumiah*, and Eschawinikiwah, and against the said Illinois nations, and their tributaries, and dependants, and all and every of their posterities, unto the said William Murray, Moses Franks, Jacob Franks, David Franks, John Inglis, Bernard Gratz, Michael Gratz, Alexander Ross, David Sproat, James Milligan, Moses Franks, Andrew Hamilton, William Hamilton, Edmund Milne, Joseph Simon, Levi Andrew Levi, Thomas Minshall, Robert Calender, William Thompson, John Campbell, George Castles, and James Rumsey, their heirs and assigns, in severalty, or unto His said Majesty, his heirs and successors, to and for the only use, benefit, and behoof, of the said grantees, their heirs and assigns in severalty, as aforesaid, shall and will warrant, and forever defend, by these presents.

"In witness whereof, we, the said Chiefs and Sachems, in behalf of ourselves, respectively, and in behalf of all the different tribes of the Illinois Indians as aforesaid, have hereunto set our hands and seals, in the presence of the persons subscribing as witnesses hereunto, at a public council held at Kaskaskias Village aforesaid, this 5th day of July, in the thirteenth year of his Majesty's reign, and in the year of our Lord 1773:

"TOMAROA, or GABRIEL
(being baptized), a Chief of the Kaskaskias. His X mark.

PETAGUAGE, or MICHAEL
(being baptized), a Chief of the Kaskaskias. His X mark.

MAUGHQUAYAH, or JOHN BAPTISTE
(being baptized), a Chief of the Kaskaskias. His X mark.

COUROWAY,
a Chief of the Kaskaskias. His X mark.

KICOUNAISA, or FISH,
a Chief of the Kaskaskias. His X mark.

TONTOWARAGANIAH, or PETER
(being baptized), a Chief of the Kaskaskias. His X mark.

MAUGHQUINTHEPE, or BLACK DOG,
a Chief of the Pewariahs. His X mark.

ACHISWEWAH,
a Chief of the Pewariahs. His X mark.
ESCHAWINIKIWAH,
a Chief of the Pewariahs. His X mark.
MEINQUIPAUMIAH,
a Chief of the Cahoquias. His X mark.

"Sealed and delivered in the presence of us. The word (thousand) in the twenty-eighth line of the first page being first written upon an erasure. The word (course) in the fifteenth line and the word (Murray) in the twenty-eighth line of the second page being first interlined; and also (Meinquipaumiah), the last subscribing Chief of the Cahoquias, his name was first interlined in two places in the first page, and the same Chief's name was also interlined in three places in the second page of these presents before signing.

"Sealed and delivered in presence of us. All the foregoing interlineations, erasure, and writing on the erasure being first made, the considerations in the above-written deed-poll being also delivered in our presence to the said Chiefs, the said deed was translated or explained by Richard Winston in French to Michael Dannee, inhabitant of the said Village of Kaskaskias, and to Piero Bloit, Indian interpreter for the Crown, who explained and interpreted the same to the said Indian Chiefs in council. The said Michael and Piero Bloit, interpreters, cannot write their names.

"DATCHSERUT,
J. MERIER,
LAPIER,
PATT. KENNEDY,
J. MORRIS,
WM. CONNELL,
PAGE,
LACHENAY,
VIVIERT,
Capitaine le Milice,
RICHARD WINSTON,
French Interpreter.

"KASKASKIAS, *Illinois Country*, *ss.*

"Personally appeared before me, Richard Winston and Michael Dannee, of the country aforesaid, inhabitants, and Piero Bloit, Indian interpreter for his Majesty at this place, who, being solemnly sworn upon the Holy Evangelists, do depose and say as follows, viz.: The said Richard Winston deposeth and saith that he acted as French interpreter during the negotiation of the purchase of the lands in the foregoing deed-poll, bounded and described; that he, the said Richard Winston, did, to the best of his knowledge and understanding, faithfully interpret and explain in the French language, to the said Michael Dannee and Piero Bloit, the purport or tenor of the aforesaid deed-pool, the considerations therein expressed, the boundaries of the lands thereby bargained and sold to the grantees therein named, and was a subscribing witness to the executing of the same deed, as well as present at the delivery of the consideration in the said deed mentioned. The said Michael Dan-

nee and Piero Bloit depose and say that they both acted as Indian interpreters in the said transaction; that they, to the best of their knowledge and understanding, did faithfully interpret and explain to the several chiefs whose marks are affixed to the foregoing deed or grant, the purport of the same, as it was interpreted or explained to the deponents in the French language by the said Richard Winston; that the said Michael Dannee and Piero Bloit were present at the executing the aforesaid deed or grant, but that they cannot write their names.

"RICHARD WINSTON,
MICHAEL DANNEE, His X mark.
PIERO BLOIT, His X mark.
HUGH LORD,
Captain Eighteenth Regiment, Commandant Illinois country.

"FORT GAGE, July 20, 1773.

"Enregistre au Livre V., en mon etude, aux Kaskaskias, pages 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, et 29. Deuxieme Septembre, 1773.

"VIEERAULT LEMERANCE, Notaire Public."

THE LAST OF THE WILD BEARS.

The last wild bear killed in Chicago, and the first also, as far as *we* know, (for we remember no other told of in white or red men's chronicles), was the one shot in the autumn (October 6) of the year 1834.

We may state, that his bearship was roused to a consciousness of personal identity, by the fact, that he was encountered by Sam George, the baker,* who happened to be rambling through the thicket, or woods, in the neighborhood of Randolph Street, somewhere between LaSalle St. and the River. The timber along the east side of the South Branch, then reached, in places, down north as far as Randolph Street. Whichever individual, whether bruin or Sam George, was the most surprised, we cannot say; but the first-named, whether to show his remote or immediate kinship to the biped who had now approached him, or, perhaps, with the design of

* Samuel C. George, we believe, that year (1834) had a business connection with E. H. Hadduck and Josiah P. Cook, in a bakery, corner of Lake and LaSalle Streets.

exhibiting his dexterity in a wrestling feat, reared himself up on two feet, with all the dignity of a senator in Congress about to deliver a speech. George, however, did n't wait for any further formalities; he, very likely, bethought him that his oven must be getting hot, and that his bread might be *dough*, unless he left immediately, which we are assured he did. The "settlement" was not far distant, but for the first half-minute or so, till he got clear of the brush, it was understood that Samuel George neither spoke, nor groaned, nor breathed; but there are few individuals so determinedly quiet, who, upon some occasions, do not accept the necessity of making *a bluster*. Therefore, as George emerged into the clearing, or, as sometimes termed, *into the daylight*, his voice was heard; he *yelled*, and *whooped*, and *hollered*, and *pow-wowed;* some thought the fellow was crazy, or else slightly elevated, but the facts in the case soon transpired, and it was plain enough that Sam George had seen, if not the de'il himself, certainly *a bear*, or some other gentleman in black. Chicago, in those days, was fast casting its chrysalis, but the wild deer, and the wolf, and the Indian, still lingered about, and many a settler who had journeyed to what they termed this far-away frontier, had brought hither from Ohio or New York, Pennsylvania or Vermont, his trusted rifle or shot-gun, or, possibly, the old musket or queen's arm, that had been his grandfather's, which long graced the chimney above the fireplace, at the ancestral home. In short, many had the shooting-irons ready loaded; and, of a crowd of villagers, whom the *hallo-belloo* had aroused, among the first who answered the summons, were Ashbel Steele, who kept the Illinois House, or some other tavern on Lake Street, and John Sweeney, a carpenter, who had arrived here in the spring of that year. Bailey Courtney, a tailor, was also electrified with the news, and Courtney had a dog, and the dog too was excited, and they all hastily pushed forward to the onslaught. Coming in sight of the bear, we may say that Steele got the first shot at the "varmint," which had started off on a trot, but the charge failed to hit him, and, as the dog was yelping at him furiously,

he was induced to climb a tree. Sweeney's turn now came, and as the bear was quietly resting at the base of a limb, he had the advantage of the previous marksman, and, as he says, he deliberately took aim at the bear's head, "just back of his ears." Mr. S. assures us, that before he had time to blow the smoke from his rifle, bruin came tumbling down very carelessly, with no apparent caution, as to which side uppermost he might reach the ground. Thinking that it may be desired, by future generations, to know the particular spot where bruin boldly bled, we will tell them that it was on LaSalle Street, where Adams Street crosses; the streets there, at that time, though laid out, were not improved; LaSalle Street being cleared up only as far south as Madison Street; so says Mr. S. Some persons, with a redundant stock of impertinent curiosity, may wish to be enlightened concerning that instinct of the bear which led him to cling so desperately to LaSalle Street, but as we are not learned in the matter, we must refer them to a Board of Trade man. Regarding the fate of the Chicago bear of 1834, it is almost needless to remark, that the shot was a beautiful one, the trophy a distinguished one, and the event, we conclude, will be ever-memorable and historic. Briefly we may say, the bear was dead; he was drawn by an ox team on a sled to the meat-market of Edward Simons, on Lake Street, where his weight was found to be 400 lbs., and where he was skinned and dressed as neatly as a sensible bear could wish. Mr. S. informs us that he has but one regret concerning the matter, which is, that the hide, paws, and jaws were not preserved for the Chicago Historical Society. It is proper to say, that the prevailing and notable food of the village then for some days, was bear's meat; all the taverns and most of the private houses had each a piece; every frying-pan and gridiron in the settlement, it is presumed, was, for a season, redolent and reeking with bear's fat. The villagers had a pride in the matter, because the product was that of their own groves; they fully felt that fatness followed and filled their forests and their fields.

Mr. S. desires to correct the report which was erroneously

given to Mr. Calhoun, the publisher of the *Chicago Democrat*, to the purport, that the bear *ran*, after falling from the tree, and that two shots were fired at him while so running, one of them piercing his heart, and that this was at or near the corner of Jackson and Market Streets. There were but two shots fired, all told; and as the second one entered his brain there was no attempt at running, nor any need for further shots. This will also correct the statement in Gov. Bross' History.

Mr. S. wishes to add, that many of those who had come to that bear-hunt, were scarcely satisfied that it was so soon over; so they, at once, organized for a wolf-hunt, which proved a success, something like twenty wolves having been brought in at evening.*

WEATHER IN 1820.

[The unusual temperature of the months just now passed—Jan., Feb., March (1880), seem to have had their counterpart sixty years ago (1820); as we notice, from a record of which the following is a copy.]

Meteorological Journal kept at Chicago by Dr. Alex Wolcott.

1820.		Daylight.	9A.M.	2P.M.	9P.M.	WIND.	WEATHER.
Jan.	1,	4°	11°	10°	0°	W. N. W.	Cloudy; light snow; first ice in the river, 14 inches thick; none in the lake.
"	2,	10	14	25	12	W. N. W.	Clear.
"	3,	4	9	13	14	W. S. W.	Clear.
"	4,	9	14	19	9	W.	Clear.
"	5,	9	5	4	10	W. N. W.	Clear.
"	6,	11	4	15	28	S. S. W.	Clear.
"	7,	36	36	39	36	S. W.	Cloudy.
"	8,	32	32	34	33	N. N. E.	Cloudy.

* It is hardly necessary to say, that we are indebted to the old settler, the slayer of the bear, Mr. John Sweeney himself, living at No. 320 West Harrison Street, still a hale and hearty gentleman, now in his 70th year, for the substance of the above. Mr. Sweeney's reputation, however, need not rest upon the number or the size of the bears that he has killed; but, as an upright citizen and a good mechanic, who has superintended the construction of more wooden bridges than any other man in the West. His bridges, it is said, hide no deceit, and therefore have never fallen.

"	9,	32	33	36	34	N. E.	Cloudy.
"	10,	32	31	31	25	N. E.	Snow-storm.
"	11,	14	14	16	2	N.	Clear.
"	12,	17	15	2	12	S. S. W.	Clear.
"	13,	20	24	25	12	W. S. W.	Clear.
"	14,	14	15	15	15	N.	Snow-squalls.
"	15,	12	14	15	10	N. N. W.	Clear; lake covered with moving ice, as far as the eye can see.
"	16,	20	20	21	21	E. N. E.	Snow-storm.
"	17,	14	14	25	10	W. N. W.	Clear.
"	18,	14	18	15	6	W.	Cloudy.
"	19,	10	0	10	2	W. N. W.	Clear.
"	20,	6	12	25	13	W.	Clear.
"	21,	20	22	26	28	E. N. E.	Snow-storm.
"	22,	7	11	12	5	N. W.	Clear.
"	23,	20	4	0	3	W.	Clear.
"	24,	2	6	18	16	W.	Clear.
"	25,	4	3	9	7	W.	Clear.
"	26,	16	19	26	28	E. S. E.	Snow-storm.
"	27,	18	21	25	8	S. W.	Cloudy.
"	28,	8	1	11	10	W. N. W.	Clear.
"	29,	12	20	31	18	W.	Cloudy; ice 18 inches on river.
"	30,	6	6	4	5	W.	Clear.
"	31,	6	5	3	17	W. N. W.	Clear; snow 22 inches deep.
Feb.	1,	12	0	14	16	S. E.	Cloudy.
"	2,	22	25	29	20	E. N. E.	Snow-storm; ice 18¾ inches on river.
"	3,	10	7	9	7	W.	Clear.
"	4,	0	5	25	24	E. S. E.	Clear.
"	5,	30	36	40	40	S. W.	Clear.
"	6,	11	12	32	24	S.	Clear.
"	7,	28	33	42	30	W. S. W.	Clear.
"	8,	30	34	40	32	E.	Cloudy and mist; snow during the night fell 6 inches.
"	9,	30	34	34	31	E.	Clear.
"	10,	31	32	39	32	E.	Cloudy.
"	11,	28	32	38	34	S.	Clear.
"	12,	32	39	34	20	N. E.	Cloudy.
"	13,	12	22	39	32	W. S. W.	Clear.
"	14,	34	39	37	36	E.	Cloudy; some rain with thunder.
"	15,	36	38	39	36	E.	Cloudy; some rain with thunder.
"	16,	38	42	47	33	S. W.	Clear.
"	17,	27	27	28	22	W.	Light clouds.
"	18,	10	22	28	30	E.	Cloudy.
"	19,	32	36	46	24	W.	Clear.
"	20,	15	22	24	16	W.	Clear.
"	21,	8	20	37	38	S. W.	Clear.
"	22,	34	40	45	32	W.	Clear.
"	23,	28	37	46	36	S. W.	Cloudy; rain and hail with thunder.
"	24,	30	33	40	39	E.	Clear.
"	25,	44	50	59	54	S. W.	Clear.
"	26,	50	49	38	36	S. W.	Cloudy; tempest of wind with flurries of rain and hail.

"	27,	30	31	34	28	W. N. W.	Clear.
"	28,	20	28	30	39	S. E.	Clear.
"	29,	28	36	50	37	S. W.	Clear.
Mar.	1,	32	35	36	18	N. N. W.	Clear.
"	2,	8	15	25	20	N. N. W.	Clear.
"	3,	26	30	36	22	W. N. W.	Cloudy.
"	4,	19	28	42	36	S. W.	Clear.
"	5,	30	32	36	23	N. E.	Cloudy.
"	6,	13	19	25	14	N. N. W.	Clear.
"	7,	16	17	24	18	E. N. E.	Cloudy; light snow.
"	8,	17	24	23	21	N. E.	Cloudy.
"	9,	22	24	26	23	N. N. E.	Cloudy.
"	10,	24	26	31	24	N. N. E.	Cloudy.
"	11,	22	24	29	31	E. N. E.	Cloudy.
"	12,	28	32	33	32	E. S. E.	Cloudy; light snow.
"	13,	32	37	39	34	E. N. E.	Cloudy.
"	14,	32	36	36	33	E. N. E.	Cloudy; light snow.
"	15,	26	32	...	...		

PROPOSITION OF THE LAND-OFFICE OF 1830.

[We extract the following copy of a letter which we find in a volume of the American State Papers, being a proposition to establish a town at Chicago, Illinois.]

Communicated to the U. S. Senate, March 25, 1830.

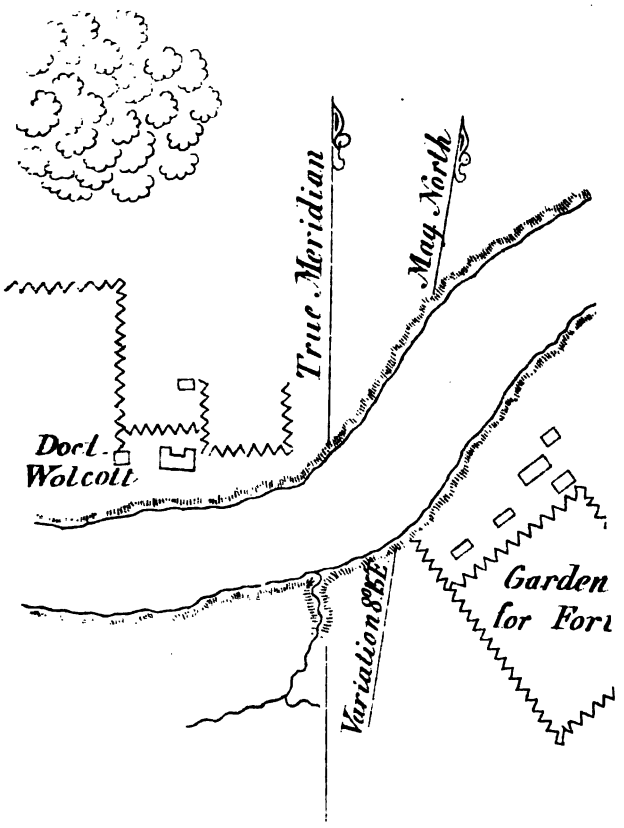
"GENERAL LAND-OFFICE, *March 22, 1830.*

"SIR:—I take the liberty to enclose you a diagram, exhibiting the survey of the public lands lying on Lake Michigan, at the mouth of Chicago Creek, and would recommend that an act be passed, authorizing the President to lay off a town at this point. Section 9 has been allotted to the State of Illinois, under the act granting to her certain lands for the purpose of making a canal.

"Should the United States establish a town at the mouth of the Creek, the State would probably derive much benefit by extending the lots into section 9, as Chicago Creek affords a good harbor through the whole of this section.

"It is understood that the waters of Lake Michigan may be drawn into the Illinois River, by a thorough cut of moderate length, and not more than seventeen feet deep at the summit; when this is effected, and the bar on the outside of the mouth of Chicago Creek is so deepened as to admit into the harbor with facility, vessels of the largest class navigating the lakes, Chicago must inevitably become one of the most important depots and thoroughfares on the Lakes.

"The Government are about bringing into market, a vast extent of country between Lake Michigan and the Mississippi river, which as to advantages of local position, fertility of soil, healthfulness of



PROPOSED PLAN

FOR IMPROVING THE MOUTH OF CHICAGO RIVER.

Drawn by
F. Harrison Jr. U.S. Assist. Civil Engineer.
Feby. 24th 1830.
Wm. Howard U.S. Civil Engineer.

climate, and mineral resources, is not perhaps excelled by any other tract of country of equal extent in the United States. The deepening of the inlet of the harbor of Chicago would essentially facilitate the sale of these lands, and promote the settlement of the country.

* * * * * *

"With great respect, your obedient servant,

"GEO. GRAHAM."

EARLY SCHOOLS OF CHICAGO.

IN compiling this article, we will preface it with the remark, that no one at the present day, who attempts to give particulars and facts concerning the early schools of Chicago, can afford to neglect the information conveyed in the historical sketch accompanying the Report* of Mr. Wm. H. Wells, Superintendent, to the Board of Education, bearing date

March 20, 1858. We have availed ourself of the opportunity, by the loan of that document by Mr. W. to copy freely from its pages, knowing that "it embodies the result of extensive inquiries among those who were personally engaged in the schools and those who were instrumental in their welfare."

While the substance or the greater part of the value of our chapter is made up of extracts from Mr. Wells' Sketch, we have added a few items from other sources, and, occasionally, made additional or more extended extracts from the letters used by Mr. W., which were addressed to him some years ago, and the use of which communications he kindly conferred upon us.

We copy here from Mr. Wells' Sketch:

"The first regular tuition given in Chicago, was in the winter of 1810–11, by Robert A. Forsyth,† late Paymaster in the United

* The Fourth Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Schools of the City of Chicago.

† Robert A. Forsyth was a cadet in Sept., 1814; Paymaster in the army, 1821; dismissed under act, 1823; Paymaster in 1846, and died at Detroit, 21 Oct., 1849.

States Army; and the first pupil was our present respected citizen, John H. Kinzie, Esq. The teacher was about thirteen years of age, and the pupil six. The principal aid employed in this course of private lessons was a spelling-book, that had been brought from Detroit to Chicago in a chest of tea.

The first school, taught in Chicago, was opened in the fall of 1816, by William L. Cox, a discharged soldier, in a log-building, belonging to John Kinzie, Esq. The house had been occupied as a bakery, and stood in the back part of Mr. Kinzie's garden, near the present crossing of Pine and Michigan Streets, just east of the Lake House. The children composing this school, were John H. Kinzie, with two of his sisters and one brother, and three or four children from the Fort.

There was a small school in the Garrison, taught by a sergeant, about 1820.

In 1829, Charles H. Beaubien, son of J. B. Beaubien, Esq., Agent of the American Fur Company, taught a small family school, near the Garrison, embracing the children of Messrs. J. B. and Mark Beaubien."

Mr. Russell E. Heacock, of whom there is some notice on a previous page of this book, and to whom Mr. Forbes alludes in the letter below, probably taught in Fort Dearborn in 1827, or at least, previous to May of the ensuing year, when he was living at or near where Bridgeport is now.

Mr. Stephen Forbes, who opened a school in 1830, addressed Mr. W. a letter, relating to the subject; we omit Mr. Wells' summary of the information contained therein, and give the letter entire.

NEWBURGH, CAYAHOGA COUNTY, O.,
March 12th, 1858.

W. H. WELLS, ESQ.—Dear Sir:

In reply to your inquiries relative to the school I taught in Chicago at an early day. I can now only say that I commenced school in June, 1830, and taught in all one year, assisted by Mrs. Forbes.

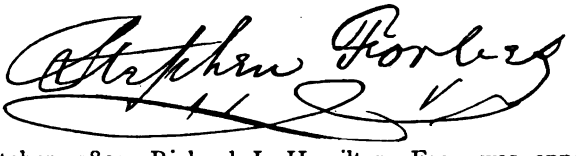
Elvira Forbes

I was employed by Jno. Bt. Beaubien, then Ag't of the Am. Fur Co., to teach his children, Lieut. Hunter, of Fort Dearborn, to teach the children belonging to the Fort, and the people living near the Fort sent their children also. The house I taught in, and where I also resided, belonged to J. B. Beaubien, Esq., was situated on the east side of Michigan Avenue, near the east end of Randolph Street, was a large, low, and gloomy building containing five rooms, and formerly occupied by the sutler of the Fort. My school consisted of about twenty-five scholars, from four years of age up to twenty, and were taught only the simple branches of an English education. I think there was a school taught in the Fort, previous to this time, by R. E. Heacock, Esq., who, with other settlers, occupied rooms there while it was vacated, previous to Maj. Fowles' arrival with U. S. soldiers, in the fall of 1828. I did not receive any public money for teaching; the sale of the school section, which is now a part of the City of Chicago, did not take place until the fall of 1833, and the first sale of Gov't lands, on the Chicago Land District, did not take place until June, 1835; consequently, there was no public money at the time I taught.

A gentleman, by the name of Foot, succeeded me in teaching. I

do not now recollect who taught the first *public school*, neither do I remember when the schools became *entirely free;* these facts must be a matter of record, and if so, will be found in the School Commissioner's Office for Cook County, Ill.

I do not think of any incidents or anecdotes having reference to the schools, at that early day, worthy a place in your statistics. Chicago was then a small place, and a great way off; the few settlers then were a mixed community, speaking a variety of languages, and, like those in most new settlements, generally poor. The most Quixotic of us all never thought or dreamed of the great changes and improvements to be made there in one quarter of a century. I regret that I cannot answer your inquiries more definately and satisfactory; the only excuse I can offer is, that an active life in other occupations, and a part of the time spent in different sections of the country, has had a tendency to obliterate what little knowledge I once had on this subject.* In haste, 'Very Respectfully Yours, etc., etc.



In October, 1831, Richard J. Hamilton, Esq., was appointed

Commissioner of School Lands for Cook County, and the School Fund remained in his charge till 1840.

* Stephen Forbes was born in Wilmington, Vt., 26 July, 1797; his parents were John and Anna (Sawyer) Forbes. He married in Newburgh, O., 25 March, 1830, Elvira (born in Moncton, Vt., 30 Nov., 1806), daughter of Noble and Aurilla (Booth) Bates. Mr. Forbes first came to Chicago in the summer of 1829. and returned to Ohio the ensuing fall; came back to Chicago in the spring of 1830, and taught school three months, and then went to Ohio again, and returned here with Mrs. Forbes in the month of September, of that year. They lived in the Dean house, so called, just by the outlet of the river. The boats, which unloaded the vessels, turned in there just by this house. The house was a block or timber-built one, being of logs hewed on two sides, with two main rooms, with an addition of one room. The school was kept in this house, Mrs. Forbes and her class occupying one room, and Mr. F. and the boys the other. Of the children of this school, a boy and girl came from the garrison; the girl, whose name was Julia Shuttleworth, was the daughter of an Englishman, a soldier in the fort. The other scholars were mostly French or half-breeds. Late in 1831, Mr. F. removed to where Riverside is now, or near there, where the Laughtons lived, but returned to Chicago in 1832, in consequence of the Indian troubles. David

The following is from Mr. Wells' Report; yet a statement or two seems to be qualified somewhat by the letter of Mr. Watkins, and a note on a subsequent page of this article.

In the spring of 1833, Col. Hamilton and Col. Owen employed Mr. John Watkins to instruct a small school in the North Division, near the old Indian Agency House, in which Col. Hamilton then resided. Its location would now be marked by the crossing of Wolcott and North Water Streets. The same two gentlemen afterward built a house, in which Mr. Watkins continued his school, on the north bank of the river, just east of Clark Street. This was the first house built for a school in Chicago.

In the pamphlet called "Reception of the Settlers of Chicago, by the Calumet Club, May, 1879," appears the letter below, as from John Watkins.

JOLIET, Ill., 22d June, 1879.

Messrs. Silas B. Cobb, Franklin D. Gray, Mark Kimball, Marcus C. Stearns, James H. Rees, Frederick Tuttle, and Joel C. Walter, Committee of Reception, Calumet Club.

GENTLEMEN:—If your invitation had reached me in time, the infirmities of age would have prevented my attendance. Nevertheless, I thank you for your kind remembrance. It certainly would have afforded me great pleasure to have embraced such a golden opportunity to meet old friends whom I can never expect to meet again on earth.

I arrived in Chicago in May, 1832, and have always had the reputation of being its first school-teacher. I never heard my claim disputed. I commenced teaching in the fall, after the Black-Hawk

and Bernardus H. Laughton were Indian-traders, and a few years before, had a store at Hardscrabble on the Chicago South Branch. The wife of the last-named gentleman was a sister of Mrs. Forbes. Mr. Forbes returned to live at Laughton's, but where both those gentlemen died within a few weeks of each other; he helped to bury them. Mr. F. was the first sheriff of Cook County, elected by the people, 1832.

These items, with others, we received from Mr. F. at an interview on his 81st birthday, July 26, 1878. The above portraits were copied from photographs taken about 1868; the autograph signature of Mr. F. is the same as the one which accompanies his letter; that of Mrs. F. was written in her 72d year.

Mr. F. had a paralytic attack some years since, but continued to walk out frequently in pleasant weather. He died suddenly of apoplexy, in Chicago, at the house of his son-in-law, Nathan S. Peck, on Tuesday evening, 11 Feb., 1879.

We add here that several of the morning papers of the City spoke of Mr. F. as "S. V. R," or "Stephen Van Rensselaer Forbes." With the knowledge of Mr. Forbes' signatures at intervals of many years, we conclude that his name was, as he wrote it, "Stephen Forbes."

war, 1832. My first school-house was situated on the North-Side, about half-way between the lake and the forks of the river, then known as Wolf Point. The building belonged to Col. Richard J. Hamilton; was erected for a horse-stable, and had been used as such. It was twelve feet square. My benches and desks were made of old store boxes. The school was started by private subscription. Thirty scholars were subscribed for. But many subscribed who had no children. So it was a sort of free-school, there not being thirty children in town. During my first quarter I had but twelve scholars, and only four of them were white. The others were quarter, half, and three-quarter Indians. After the first quarter, I moved my school into a double log-house on the West-Side. It was owned by Rev. Jesse Walker, a Methodist minister, and was located near the bank of the river where the north and south branches meet. He resided in one end of the building, and I taught in the other. On Sundays, Father Walker preached in the room where I taught.

In the winter of 1832–3, Billy Caldwell, a half-breed chief of the Pottawatomie Indians, better known as Sauganash, offered to pay the tuition and buy books for all Indian children, who would attend school, if they would dress like the Americans, and he would also pay for their clothes. But not a single one would accept the proposition conditioned upon the change of apparel.

When I first went to Chicago, there was but one frame building there, and it was a store owned by Robert A. Kinzie. The rest of the houses were made of logs. There were no bridges. The river was crossed by canoes.

I was born in Scipio, Cayuga County, New York, in 1802. I left Chicago in 1836, and have resided in Joliet and vicinity ever since. I had the acquaintance, when in Chicago, of Col. Richard J. Hamilton, Thomas Owen, (Indian Agent), George W. Dole, John Wright, P. F. W. Peck, Philo Carpenter, John S. C. Hogan, Col. John B. Beaubien, Mark Beaubien, John H., Robert A., and James Kinzie.

I will now give you the names of some of my scholars: Thomas, William, and George Owen; Richard Hamilton; Alexander, Philip, and Henry Beaubien; and Isaac N. Harmon, now a merchant in Chicago.

I remember Stephen R. Beggs, who sometimes preached in Father Walker's building, where I taught school.

Respectfully yours,
JOHN WATKINS.

The following from Mr. Wells' Sketch, is a copy of the Petition for the sale of the School Lands; the date of the paper does not appear:

The undersigned, your petitioners, inhabitants of Congressional Township Thirty Nine, north, Range Fourteen, east, represent that

they are desirous of having Section Number Sixteen in said Township sold, for the purpose for which it was given; and your petitioners are of the opinion, that it would promote their interest by selling said Section on a credit of one, two, and three years, under the provisions of the act authorizing a credit on sales of School lands, and at an interest of not less than ten per centum per annum, payable semi-annually in advance."

We are informed that "This petition received ninety-five signatures, embracing most of the principal citizens of the town."

[We have heard it intimated, that the above-named petition, though ostensibly signed by ninety-five citizens, yet really fell much short of that number, if genuine signatures and citizenship only were to be taken into account. That spirit of patriotism, it has been suggested, may possibly have been prevalent, which perceived a small and incidental public benefit and interest, by directly furthering a greater one, that of their individual selves.

We need not speculate, however, concerning the mania of that speculative era, but will take the occasion to say, that there was at least one gentleman, then and still a resident of Chicago, who did not sign that petition. Mr. Philo Carpenter opposed the sale of the School Section at that time; and when he found a sale determined on, he used all the arguments at his command, to prevail upon the Commissioner to sell alternate Blocks in said Section, retaining one-half at least, until some future day. It was, however, of no avail, but it may be added, that Chicago long since discovered the great mistake.]

Mr. Wells, in his Report of 1858, says:

"The School Section of the original Township is situated near the centre of the City. In October, 1833, all but four of the one hundred and forty-two Blocks of this Section, were sold at auction, for $38,865, on a credit of one, two, and three years. The remaining four Blocks are now valued at about $700,000. The value of that portion which was sold is now estimated at about $12,000,000.

Eliza Chappel

In the autumn of 1833, Miss Eliza Chappel, now the wife of Rev'

Jeremiah Porter, of Green Bay, opened an Infant School, of about twenty children, in a log-house, on South Water Street, a short distance west of the grounds belonging to the Fort. A portion of the children attending this school were from the families connected with the Garrison.*

In the latter part of the same year, 1833, Mr. G. T. Sproat came from Boston, and opened an English and Classical School for boys, in a small house of worship, belonging to the First Baptist Church, on South Water Street, near Franklin.†

In March, 1834, Miss Sarah L. Warren, now Mrs. Abel E. Carpenter, of Warrenville, was engaged, as an assistant, in Mr. Sproat's school.‡

* In an early number of the *Chicago Democrat*, we observe the following notices:

"INFANT SCHOOL.

"By order of the Board of Trustees, Dr. Temple will deliver a lecture on Caloric, in the Baptist Church, on Monday evening, 31st inst., at 6 P.M. Admittance, 25 cents. Infant-School children will attend free of any charge. The necessary arrangements for Tickets, etc., will be made by Maj. H. S. Handy.

"Chicago, March 12, 1834. R. J. HAMILTON, *Pres't.*"

In an advertisement, dated March 12, 1834, patrons and subscribers are requested to attend an examination at the Infant School-House.

Signed, J. T. TEMPLE, *Sec'y.*

---

† The following advertisements appear in the *Chicago Democrat:*

The Chicago English and Classical Academy, corner of Water and Franklin Streets. G. T. SPROAT, *Preceptor.*

January 7, 1834.

Also, under date of February 21, 1834:

Chicago Academy,

G. W. SNOW,
E. B. WILLIAMS,
D. GRAVES,
} Trustees

G. T. SPROAT, *Preceptor.*

‡ The following is a copy of a letter addressed to Mr. Wells:

"Mr. WELLS—Sir:

"Agreeable to request, I take the earliest convenient opportunity of trying to answer some of your inquiries. As near as my memory serves me, Mr. Granville Temple Sproat was the first school-teacher in Chicago; he taught in the upper part of the house where the Baptists held their meetings, on Water Street, up toward the point, I should think about the corner of Water and Franklin Streets. Mr. P. F. W. Peck could, I presume, tell you the place where the house stood. In the winter of 1833, I was teaching in Yankee Settlement, and there became acquainted with Rev. A. B. Freeman, of Chicago, and, through his influence, I obtained a situation as assistant in the Sproat School. I find, by referring to my

The Infant School of Miss Chappel met with general favor in the town, and in the summer of 1834 it was removed, for better accommodations, to the First Presbyterian Church. Though called an Infant School, and composed mostly of young children, a portion of the scholars were ten or twelve years of age.

By the School Law of 1833, the county commissioner was required to apportion the interest derived from each Township School Fund, among the several teachers in the town, according to the number of their scholars residing in the township, and the number of days each scholar was instructed; on condition, however, that the Trustees of the several schools should first present a certificate that the teachers had given gratuitous instruction to all such orphans and children of indigent parents, residing in the vicinity, as had been presented for that purpose.

In 1834, an appropriation was made to Miss Chappel from the School Fund of the town, and the school taught by her at that time, in the First Presbyterian Church, on the west side of Clark Street, between Lake and Randolph, was properly the *first public school of Chicago.*

journal, that I went into the school March 21st, 1834; Mr. S. had then been teaching 4 or 6 weeks. I do not know anything about the re-organization of the school. I remember school-meetings were frequent, and think Dr. John Temple was one of the trustees. We were paid quarterly from the *public fund*, by applying to Col. Hamilton; my salary was $300 a year, and I think the gentleman teacher $600. I taught in the same school from March, 1834, to June, 1836, during which time there was 5 male teachers. Mr. Sproat was succeeded by Dr. Henry Van Derbogart, who remained in school till August, 1834; next, Mr. Thomas Wright, and then a young man—whose name I have forgotten—was in only a few weeks, and next, Mr. James McClellen. I think Miss Chapel and Miss Lucy Beach must have commenced that infant school late in the spring or early in the summer of 1834; they taught in the Presbyterian Church, and then I think the next school was on the west side, taught by Mr. Watkins.

I boarded at Eld. Freeman's; his house must have been situated some 4 or 5 blocks S.-E. of the meeting-house, (Mr. Snow was one of his neighbors), with scarce a house between. What few buildings there were then, were mostly on Water Street. I used to go across without regard to streets. It was not uncommon, in going to and from school, to see prairie-wolves, and we could hear them howl any time in the day. We were also frequently annoy'd by *Indians*, but the great difficulty we had to encounter was *mud*. No person, now, can have a just idea of what Chicago mud used to be; rubbers were of no account. I got me a pair of *Gent's* Brogands, and fastened them tight about the ankle, but would go over them in mud and water, and was obliged to get a pair of men's boots made.

"Through the multiplicity of cares, I have forgotten many incidents respecting the schools which were of interest to us then, and perhaps might be to you now, and which, were circumstances to bring them out, I could call to mind.

"With willingness to answer any further inquiries, I remain,

"Yours,

T. L. Carpenter

"Warrenville, March 6th, 1858."

Miss Chappel's school at length became a boarding-school for older pupils, and a considerable number came from other townships, and boarded with her and her assistants. One object of the school, at this time, was to train up teachers for the common-schools in the new settlements. The Infant Department was still continued, and both branches of the school occupied the same room in the church, being separated by a curtain.

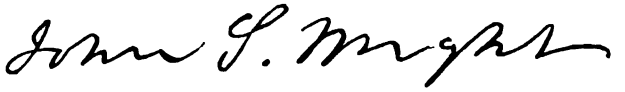
In the winter of 1834–5, Miss Chappel* resigned her charge, and the school passed into the hands of Miss Ruth Leavenworth, afterward Mrs. Joseph Harmon.

* Miss Chappel returned to the State of New York, and June 16, 1834, in Rochester, N. Y., she married Rev. Jeremiah Porter, of Chicago. We present above a likeness of that lady, from a photograph taken in 1879.

Mr. Wells said in a note: "Mrs. Porter's passion for teaching is so strong and abiding, that after the lapse of a quarter of a century she had returned to her former employment; and is at the present time engaged as a teacher in one of the Primary Schools at Green Bay." This was in 1858; yet in a letter from Mr. Porter to the compiler of this book, fifteen years afterward, dated Fort Sill, Indian Territory, August 27, 1873, speaking of Mrs. P., he said, "She began to teach in her native town, Geneseo, N.Y., *more than fifty years ago*, and now, after being the mother of nine children, and laboring in the hospitals of our country for three and a-half or four years, and then carrying on the Rio Grande Female Seminary, at Brownsville, Texas, for three years, she is now, at this very hour, teaching at this Post, *from love of teaching and doing good.*"

Referring to the school of Miss Leavenworth, Mr. Wells says:

"This school received much sympathy and aid from John S. Wright, Esq., who built a house for its use at his own expense.



This house was situated on the west side of Clark Street, just south of Lake.* It was first occupied by Miss Leavenworth's school.

"The school taught in the Baptist Church, on Water Street, became a public school in 1834." [Mr. Wells, in a note, expresses his regret that he is "not able to speak more definately of the distinction between public and private schools at this period. The books which were kept by Col. Hamilton from 1833 to 1837, and which passed into the hands of his successor, I have not been able to find."] "During this year (1834), Mr. Sproat was succeeded by Henry Van Derbogart, M.D., who also resigned before the close of the year, and was succeeded by Mr. Thomas Wright. In 1835, the school was

committed to the care of Mr. James McClellan. Miss Warren was engaged as an assistant in this school, from March, 1834, to June, 1836.

In the winter of 1834-5, Mr. George Davis had a school over a

store, on Lake Street, between Dearborn and Clark. In 1835, Mr. Davis taught a public school in the Presbyterian Church, on Clark Street; and the school of Mr. Watkins, which had now become a public school, was also continued on the north side of the river.

* The following is a note from p. 263 of John S. Wright's "Past, Present, and Future:"

"To Mr. W. H. Wells, to whom, as Superintendent, we are so much indebted for the present efficient system of public schools, am I indebted for the knowledge that that building was the first erected specially for school purposes. But the honor is due to my sainted mother. Having then plenty of money, it was spent very much as she desired. Interested in an infant school, she wanted the building, and it was built."

Yet the structure, on the north side, before-named, as built by Cols. Owen and Hamilton, it would seem, was a competitor for the honor of being "the first house built for a school in Chicago."

"In February, 1835, an act was passed by the Legislature of the State, in relation to Schools, in Township Thirty-nine North, and Range Fourteen East." [The provisions contained in that act are here omitted.]

"In November, 1835, the town was divided into four School Districts. District No. 1 was in the North Division of the City, and the designation of the other districts was entirely different from that which has since been adopted. The whole number of schools in the town at that time, including both public and private schools, was seven.

"In the spring of 1836, Miss Leavenworth's school, which had been taught in Mr. Wright's building, was discontinued, and Miss Frances L. Willard opened, in the same place, a school for the instruction of young ladies in the higher branches of education. Miss Louisa Gifford, now Mrs. Dr. Dyer, was afterward employed as an assistant, and a Primary Department was opened.

"In the spring of 1837, this school, which had now become a public school, passed into the hands of Miss Gifford, and Miss Willard opened another school, of a similar character.

"In 1836, and till March, 1837, Mr. John Brown taught a private school in the North Division, near the corner of Dearborn and Wolcott Streets.

"In March, 1837, Mr. Edward Murphy* opened a private school in the same building."

* The letter which follows, from which Mr. W. gave an extract, we give in full. We are inclined to think that there are various inaccuracies of statement in Mr. M.'s communication, as well as in those of some of the other letter writers; but as many years had passed by when they wrote, it is not, perhaps, surprising. As to teaching *the first* District or Public School, there were several names claimed for the distinction. Mr. Wentworth, in his Calumet Club speech, said that John Watkins "taught our first district school, and was the first clerk of our first school district."

"EVANSTON, *March 11, 1858.*

"H. W. WELLS, ESQ.—Dear Sir:

"Yours of the 6th inst., came to hand; it will afford me much pleasure to furnish you with any aid in my power, relative to the early history of schools in Chicago. At the request of a few prominent citizens, who wrote me to London, Canada West, I arrived in Chicago early in March, 1837, and opened a select school near the corner of Dearborn and Wolcott Streets, N. Division. My predecessor was Mr. John Brown, from whom I rented the school-room, during his unexpired lease of the premises. Some of Mr. Brown's pupils beat him severely, in consequence of which he resigned.

"An incident, connected with the opening of my school, may not be out of place. I addressed the pupils, some thirty-six in number; pointed out the necessity of strictly observing the rules by which the school should be governed, and that a departure from the strict observance of those rules, w'd subject any pupil to a merited chastisement. The day after, I placed an oak sapling, an inch in diameter, on my desk; that afternoon, a Mr. Sheppard, who owned the building, came into the school-room, and seeing the walls decorated with caricatures and

"Mr. McClellan, who took charge of the school in the Baptist Church, on Water Street, in 1835, continued to teach a public school till 1838.

"In March, 1837, Chicago became a city. By the conditions of the charter, the Common Council were made Commissioners of Schools for the city, They were to appoint, annually, not less than five, nor more than twelve, School Inspectors. The legal voters of each School District were to meet annually and elect three Trustees

the likeness of almost every animal, from a rabbit to an elephant, got in a raging passion, and used rather abusive language. I explained; he became more violent. I walked to my desk, took the sapling, and shouted '*clear out*,' which he obeyed by a rapid movement. This trifling incident effectually calmed down the belligerent propensities of the ringleaders, some of whom now occupy honorable and respectable positions in society.

"I taught till the ensuing August, at $10 per quarter, for each pupil.

"Meantime, pursuant to an advertisement in the columns of two weekly papers then published in Chicago, the *Democrat* and ————, I offered myself as a candidate, and obtained the enclosed certificate to teach a district school, *the first taught or established in Chicago.* The trustees, namely, Dr. E. S. Kimberly, Theophilus Greenwood, and Jacob Russell, rented my school-room, at $56 per year; the Dr. and Mr. Greenwood personally notified each householder that the school was free for all, and employed me at eight hundred dollars per year, exclusive of all necessary materials. I continued to teach till about Nov. 10, 1838, when I rec'd a written notice that the funds were exhausted, having been loaned out to irresponsible persons.

"Up to March, 1838, where I taught, was designated District No. 4; in the early part of 1838, it was changed to District No. 5, (see enclosed receipt), and late in 1839, or early in 1840, to District No. 7. Subsequently, I took no interest in school affairs, having been elected Coroner for two continuous terms.

"I will now endeavor to answer some of your questions from memory. Thomas Wright taught select school, should think in 1835 and early in 1836; John Brown from the winter of 1836 till March, 1837; no other school in Chicago.

"Edward Murphy from early in March, 1837, till Nov. 10, 1838, five months select school, taught District school fifteen months; during eight or nine months of this period, no other school in Chicago.

"Chauncey Baker taught District school a few months in S. Division, small room.

"Geo. C. Collins taught select school; built school-house at his own expense in the spring of 1838, the first school-house ever built in Chicago, previous to that date; subsequently, taught District school till funds were exhausted.

"Calvin DeWolf and Thomas Hoyne, Esqs., taught school at an early period; being then unacquainted with those gentlemen, I cannot say when or where they taught.

"—— Bennet taught District school in Mr. Collins' school-house, don't recollect when; should think in 1839.

"The most prominent Board of Inspectors, were Thomas Hubbard, Thomas Wright, both able mathematicians, N. H. Bolles, and Rev. —— Hinton.

"The most active and zealous in the organization of schools, as trustees, were Dr. E. S. Kimberly, Theophilus Greenwood, N. H. Bolles, the latter an Inspector, and subsequently, Henry L. Rucker, chairman of Committee on Schools.

"The successors of Bolles, Hubbard, etc., were Rev. T. O'Meara, Catholic Priest, of Chicago, Rev. —— Berrien, Methodist, an estimable and accomplished gentleman; subsequently, I. N. Arnold, J. Y. Scammon, and Wm. Jones.

"The District school, of which I was appointed teacher, became entirely free, on or about the 10th of August, 1837, to children from each Division of Chicago.

"I was the first teacher who rec'd the first appropriation from school funds,

of Common Schools, as before. The first Board of Inspectors, after the incorporation of the city, was elected May 12, 1837. It consisted of the following members: Thomas Wright, N. H. Bolles, John Gage, T. R. Hubbard, I. T. Hinton, Francis Peyton, G. W. Chadwick, B. Huntoon, R. J. Hamilton, W. H. Brown. The teachers in the public schools in 1837, beside those already named, were Miss Sarah Kellogg, and Messrs. A. Steel Hopkins, George C. Collins, Hiram Baker, C. S. Bailey, and Samuel C. Bennett. The school of

either Mr. Bennet, or myself, taught the longest, I don't know which, previous to 1840. District No. 1 commenced at Fort Dearborn, and extended into 2d ward; don't know the lines of demarkation between the Districts, nor of more than seven districts; I know the South Division was divided into three districts; the West Division to two, and North Division to two, making seven in all.

"You say that Col. Hamilton's accounts, previous to June, 1837, are lost. I am of the opinion that no accounts, relative to District schools, were filed in his office prior to that date, as no teacher received an appropriation till the fall of 1837.

"You ask my idea of the size and character of the different schools; school-room, where I taught, corner of Dearborn and Wolcott* Streets, 24 x 30 greatest No. of 120 at any time.

"Geo. C. Collins' school, some four blocks south of Market, on State Street, about 24 x 36 feet; good classical scholar; superficial in English department; lacked decision of character.

"Chauncey Baker, literary attainments limited for a scholar.

"C. DeWolf and Thomas Hoyne, no doubt well qualified.

"Mr. Bennet, an able and efficient teacher, decision of character, eminently qualified to conduct a school.

"Thomas Wright, an able mathematician. Secretary of Board of Inspectors.

"John Brown, classical scholar, in English department limited.

"My salary was $800 per year.

"Chauncey Baker, $500 per year.

"G. C. Collins, $500 per year.

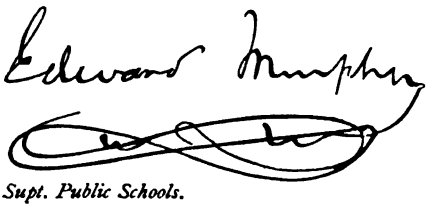
"Salary of the others, don't know, sh'd think $500 per year.

"The above-named gentlemen, except Mr. Bennet and myself, are now members of the legal profession.

"I would have written sooner, but having arrived at home on Saturday last, after an absence of over three months, will plead my excuse.

"I remain, Dear Sir, with sentiments of respect,

"Yours very truly,



"W. H. WELLS, ESQ., *Supt. Public Schools.*

"excuse haste."

[Mr. Edward Murphy was born in Ireland, 1805, had lived in Chicago and vicinity since 1837, and died at Rogers' Park, Jan. 25, 1875.]

* Error; Dearborn and Wolcott were parallel streets.

Miss Kellogg, and those of Messrs. Collins and Bennett, were in the South Division; that of Mr. Bailey was in the West Division.

"In 1838, public schools were taught by Messrs. McClellan, Murphy, Bennett, Collins, Bailey, Calvin DeWolf, and Thomas Hoyne. Mr. DeWolf succeeded Mr. Bailey, in the West Division.

"In 1839, the School Fund was mostly unproductive, and the schools were in a depressed condition.

"In 1839, a special act was passed by the Legislature, in relation to the Common Schools of Chicago, which laid the foundation of our present school system. By this act, the School Fund of Chicago was transferred from the charge of the School Commissioner of the county, and placed entirely under the control of the Common Council of the City. The Council were also empowered to raise money, by taxation, for the support of schools, and for the purpose of supplying the inadequacy of the fund for the support of teachers.

"It was made the duty of the Council to appoint seven School-Inspectors for the City, and three Trustees for each school district.*

"In February, 1840, William H. Brown, Esq., was appointed School Agent, and assumed the charge of the School Fund of the city. This office he continued to hold for a period of thirteen years, and during the first portion of this time, he declined receiving any compensation for his services. It is worthy of remark, that Mr. Brown did not make a single loan by which the School Fund suffered a loss.

"The first Board of School Inspectors, under the new organization, was composed of William Jones, J. Young Scammon, Isaac N. Arnold, Nathan H. Bolles, John Gray, J. H. Scott, and Hiram Hugunin. The first meeting of this Board was held in November, 1840, and William Jones was elected Chairman. It is at this date that the written Records of the public schools commence.

"In December, 1840, an ordinance, in relation to the public schools, was prepared by J. Young Scammon, of the Board of In-

spectors, and adopted by the Common Council.

"The only public school teachers, employed at this time, were A. G. Rumsey, and H. B. Perkins, in the South Division; A. D. Sturtevant, in the West Division; and A. C. Dunbar, in the North Division. The salary paid to each of these teachers was $33.33 a month.

* "For the form of this act," says Mr. Wells, "drawn up with more than ordinary care and discrimination, the city is indebted to the pen of J. Y. Scammon, Esq."

"From the regulations adopted by the Board of Inspectors in April, 1841, it appears that the schools were kept five days and a half a week, with 'a recess of a few minutes' each half-day; and the amount of vacation allowed in a year, was four weeks.

"Instruction in Vocal Music was first introduced into the public schools in January, 1842. The first teacher employed was Mr. N. Gilbert. Instruction in this department, appears for a time to have met with considerable opposition. In January, 1843, it was ordered by the Common Council, that the School Inspectors 'dispense with the services of a Music Teacher, as soon as it can be done, consistently with the present contracts.'

* * * * * *

"In 1844, the first public school-house was erected, on Madison Street, between Dearborn and State. This important measure was, in a great degree, accomplished by the well-directed efforts of Ira Miltimore, Esq.,* who was, at that time, a member of the Common

* "JANESVILLE, *March, 15, 1858.*

"W. H. WELLS—Dear Sir:

"Your letter of the 10th ult., containing some inquiries in regard to the early history of the present school system in Chicago, is before me, and I regret that I cannot, from recollection, now give you as minute a history as the subject demands. I think it will be admitted, by all who have carefully observed the progress and influence of the school system of your City, that the measure was wise in its conception, though at the time when it was adopted, it was regarded by at least seven-eighths of the people as extravagant and visionary, and had I now access to the City Records, I could satisfy you that no measure so important and happy in its results was ever carried through the Council by so small a minority, not only in the Board, but with citizens generally.

"The educational interests of Chicago, as well as the great North-west, had become the subject of deep solicitude on the part of a few, some years prior to 1844, but no very definate plan had been matured till about this time, when it was decided to adopt the present system, and after a very excited and protracted struggle, both in and out of the Board, School-house *Number one*, on Madison Street, was erected, which I think was the first school-house ever built by the City. Previous to this, we had rented small buildings as best we could, but this time, the singular result of our Charter Election favored our plans.

"The new Council was composed of twelve Aldermen, and stood, I think, as follows: six Democrats, five Whigs, and one Liberty man. I was again returned from the Third Ward, but at this time by the Liberty party, (which, by the way, I think was the first man, if not the only one, ever elected on that ticket in Chicago.) The Mayor was with us on the school question, and some of the members were elected on local interests, as for instance, John P. Chapin and A. Rossiter were elected on the *lake-shore-protection* issue, also, to bring forward the measure for planking Lake Street. Others were elected by the *wharfing interests*, and then there were a number of important appointments to be made by the Council, and Chicago, even then as now, had many citizens whose patriotism would force them to forego all personal or pecuniary considerations, and for the good of their country, accept those little offices, and upon these several appointments as well as measures, the Council was nearly equally divided, and as I chose to make the school interests my favorite measure, and as I represented the *Lone-Star-Party*, and as the Council then stood, I clearly saw that my vote would be often wanted to reconcile so many interests, and determined to take advantage of these circumstances, and by applying some of those tactics so familiar with politicians of Illi-

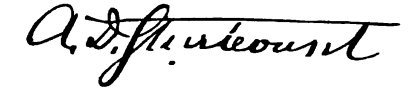
Council. The house was regarded by a large portion of the citizens, as a monument of folly; and the Mayor elected, the following year, recommended in his inaugural address, that the Council should either sell the house or convert it into an Insane Asylum; and build one, two, or more small houses, suited to the wants of the city. This building is now occupied by the Dearborn School.

* * * * * *

"In January, 1841, the public schools were taught by four male teachers. In January, 1846, five years later, there were three male

nois (*viz.:* by log-rolling), and set the ball in motion. Immediately after the organization of the new Board, and prior to the election of its officers, I consulted with the School Commissioners, which I think consisted of J. Y. Scammon, Mark Skinner, and Squire Meeker, as to the best plan of a school-house of Board No. 1; and after preparing several rough sketches, I submitted them to Alexander Loyd, who drew the plans and specifications for House No. 1, as it was finally built. Before the next meeting of the Board, I was solicited by most of the members, to give my support to their favorite men or measures, each urging the importance of his scheme, as well as the care and consistency with which I could do so, as I was the only man from my party in the Board, and could not expect to accomplish anything alone. The Whigs said, that with my vote they could get a tie on every question, and as the Mayor was elected on the people's ticket, they would stand an equal chance; besides, they were more favorable to my principles. The Democrats thought they were quite as favorable to my party, and could do more for any measure that I wished to get through, and if I voted with them, they could carry their points every time. To a majority, I explained my favorite measure, and if I could have their hearty support to it, I would support the Lake-shore protection, and other measures, which, in fact, I was in favor of and had been for years, as my vote on the record showed, and I was not a little amused to find nearly all of them professing to be deeply interested in the subject of schools, and willing to do anything, consistent with economy, to advance them. I also stated to them that I was but one-twelfth of the Board, I should require that the plans of the House I then had, should be adopted, and the whole matter settled before the appointments were made, to which they assented. I then had a resolution drawn up, providing for the adoption of the plans, and authorizing the Committee on Schools, together with the Mayor, to advertise, receive proposals, and enter into contract with responsible parties with proper securities, to build the House according to the plans and specifications. At the next meeting, after the Mayor had announced the standing Committees, (I was appointed Chairman of the School Committee), I moved to suspend the Rules and regular order of business, and then moved the adoption of my resolutions, both of which were carried. We then proceeded to close up the balance of the programme. The next day, a notice to contractors appeared, and before the next meeting the contract was duly executed. The mason-work was awarded to A. C. Wood, and the joiner work, painting, etc., Eathan Wetherby. A large amount of material was also delivered on the ground, and the foundation commenced. At the next meeting, a remonstrance numerously signed, praying the Council to reconsider their proceedings on the School question, and abstain from such a wanton waste of money. One of the members who voted with us, moved to reconsider, and was set back when the Mayor informed him that the whole matter was under contract, and the motion would not be entertained. At this stage of the affairs, the opposition commenced howling, and Miltimore was made the scape-goat to bear the sins of the whole Council. You may well suppose I had something of a load, but, by the perseverance of the friends of the measure, and the contractors, the House was completed, and the School successfully organized, during that administration. The friends of education then waited with some anxiety, to see what

teachers and six female teachers; in January, 1851, four male teachers and twenty female teachers; and at the present time, March, 1858, there are seventeen male teachers and sixty-two female teachers. The teachers that have been longest engaged in the public schools, are Mr. A. D. Sturtevant, sixteen years; and Mr. A. G. Wilder, fourteen years."*



would be the complexion and policy of the next Board on that subject. Mr. Garret was next mayor, and in his inaugural, he recommended that the Council should sell the Big School-House, or convert it into an Insane Asylum, and build one, two, or more small houses, suited to the wants of the City. But I think that the Mayor and opposition made more noise than capital out of this subject, as the next year witnessed the erection of another of these monuments of folly, as he termed it.

"I have already extended this communication too long, yet, had I the records before me, I could add many interesting facts, and, in connection, will only say, too much credit cannot be awarded to the following gentlemen, for their efforts in the cause of education at this particular crisis: J. Y. Scammon, Mark Skinner, Squire Meeker, William H. Brown, A. S. Sherman, Alderman Tallmadge, Wm. Jones, A. W. Ingalls (who was appointed principal of School No. 1, at its first organization), John P. Chapin, John Gray.

"Most Respectfully,"

[Ira Miltimore was born in Windham, Vt., in 1813; he learned the trade of a millwright, and came to Chicago in 1836. Mr. M. was employed by the Canal Commissioners to construct the pumping-works at Bridgeport, securing the availability of the canal for navigation in 1848. He was also the builder of the old hydraulic works, which supplied the South Side with water from the lake. In 1838, he was elected Alderman of the 3d Ward, and, as shown above, was the projector and originator of the first school-building constructed by the City government. Mr. Miltimore had been a resident of Janesville, Wis., several years before the late war, and he was Captain of Company E, 33d Wis. Infantry, during the Rebellion, was at the seige of Vicksburg, etc. He died in Janesville, Wis., June 8, 1879.]

* Mr. Wells says in reference to the above, which comprises the greater part of his historical notice of the early schools: "I have attempted only an outline sketch, but I trust it will aid in perpetuating the memory of at least a few of those who have labored to plant the pillars on which our present system of popular education rests. When in the far-distant future, the philosophic historian shall write the history of our city; when the character and the acts of successive generations shall be weighed in the scales of impartial judgment; when material wealth shall be regarded in its true light, as a means to an end; when social enjoyment, and intellectual cultivation, and moral worth shall be rightly estimated, as essential elements of prosperity in every community—then will the wisdom of those who have laid the foundations of our public-school system be held in grateful remembrance; then will the names of Scammon and Brown and Jones and Miltimore and Moseley and Foster and their coadjutors be honored as among the truest and most worthy benefactors of Chicago."

Before closing this chapter, we will refer to the school of the late Rev. A. W. Henderson, a Presbyterian Clergyman,

who established here, in the fall of 1843, "the first young ladies' seminary of a higher grade." This institution, called the "Chicago Female Seminary," subsequently on Clark St., between Madison and Monroe Streets, and many of our older residents will remember the "low, roomy, wooden structure, embowered in trees, and cut off from the street by a high board fence,"—the school-premises of Mr. Henderson. After some four years of successful labor in this school, Mr. Henderson* retired from it, and resumed his work in the pulpit.

A long-time resident of Chicago, assures us that many of Mr. Henderson's pupils "are now gracing their own elegant homes" in Chicago and elsewhere. We have no doubt of it; yet, are there not many in *humble* homes, who worthily and courageously adorn their position? It is certainly to be considered a part, which the office of education gives, to grace elegant homes, when possessed; though it must, perhaps, be remembered that there is yet an important and may be a still

* Abner W. Henderson was born in Bridgewater, N. Y., in the year 1812. His parents subsequently removed to Schenectady, and he entered Union College at the age of thirteen years, and graduated four years thereafter, having taken front rank in scholarship. He pursued his theological studies privately, under the guidance of his pastor, and after licensure, he occupied the Home-Mission field a year or more in the State of Georgia. From a lung difficulty, he was obliged to suspend his missionary labors, and returning to the North, he opened a female seminary, in the village of Whitesboro, N. Y. During his residence in Whitesboro, he married the daughter of Dea. Seth Eddy, a prominent merchant of Stillwater, N. Y. Subsequently, he taught in Utica, N. Y., and in the autumn of 1843, he removed to Chicago, and opened a seminary for young ladies. After four or five years, he resumed his ministerial labors, several years in Morris, Ill., and also in Elgin. Returning to Chicago, he was, subsequently, Chaplain in the Army, during the late War; afterward, with his family, he passed some four years in Europe, but returned to this City in 1869. Mr. Henderson died in Chicago, Oct. 18, 1872; in the words of Rev. Dr. Patterson, who preached his funeral sermon, "In all his career through life, Mr. Henderson bore with him the characteristics of a righteous man."

loftier service, which a true and christian education confers. We allude to the power which it gives the pupil in the vicissitudes of her life journey, in the voyage of future years, whether amid the storms of adversity, or in the flattering beauty of an oft-changeful prosperity; the power of self-respect and self-control, the power of resource, not only for work, but for mental pastime; the power of principle to bless the world, not to curse it; these are what education lends to life's voyager, whether the skies prove fair or adverse, whether in the elegant abode, or in the home of the lowly.

BEAUBIENIANA.

The name *Beaubien*, is one which we must esteem as of no slight antiquity, as well as celebrity, in the West, and along the shores of Lake Michigan. Near, if not quite, eighty years since, our late fellow-citizen, Col. John B. Beaubien, beneath the shades of the forest of Grand River, of Michigan, had taken his "degrees" of knowledge, "to read, write, and to cypher;" he had learned to converse with the red men in their own native tongue; he had chaffered for furs at the Milwaukie; and he had plighted his troth to the Indian maiden, *Mah-naw-bun-no-quah.* It was Governor Cass who once said in a lecture:—

"It is difficult, at this day, to trace the causes of the attachment and aversion, which were respectfully manifested by the various tribes for the French and English. The interest of the former generally predominated, and they seem to have had a peculiar facility in identifying themselves with the feelings of the Indians, and in gaining their affections. * * * Whatever may have been the cause, the fact is certain, that there is in the French character a peculiar adaptation to the habits and feelings of the Indians, and to this day, the period of French domination is the era of all that is happy in Indian reminiscence."

That the Canadian French did, and do, readily assimulate in many of their ways and habits to those of Indian life, while lending at the same time, to the red men, a portion of their

own language and customs, is patent to every one that has had the opportunity to observe. For more than two centuries past, the Indian villages, the wilderness trails, and the water-paths of the North have been familiar with the echoes of the songs of the French as well as those of the whoop of the savage. "*Bon Jour, Bon Jour*" is still the recognized passing salutation from Indian as well as white men's lips; you hear it from the bark canoe, the Mackinaw boat, and the pirogue.

But of the house of *Beaubien;* far back, many generations ago, over the sea in sunny France, there lived a wealthy and noted family, from which, paternally, all our American *Beaubiens*, it is believed, have descended. Yet "Beaubien" was not the original family name; and when we say that *Trotier* was the former and real patronymic of the clan, we are telling, perhaps, what may be news to every Beaubien in the western world. The old home of the family, it is said, was at St. Martin d'Ige, in the Department of Perche. The family *Beaubien* received (as did each of still other branches with other names) its designation from certain estates or *fiefs* of the Trotiers.*

We are unable to tell in what year the first of the Beaubiens, who came to America, sailed from his native land; but we have been told, by one of the family in Michigan, that the emigrant ancestor from LaBelle France was the grandfather of our former citizen, the late Jean Baptiste Beaubien, and also bore the same name. The names of eight children have

* We have procured the above old-world items from a reliable source. It is proper to state, however, that in a late work comprising two volumes, printed in the French language, entitled "*Les Canadiens De L'Ouest,*" *by Joseph Tasse, Montreal, 1878*, which contains a notice of Col. J. B. Beaubien, there appears, besides several other things which we know to be incorrect, the name "Cuillerier" given as the true family name rather than Beaubien, when said family settled in Detroit, which statement we believe also to be an error.

To those specially interested, we would direct for further particulars, a reference to the Genealogical Dictionary of Abbé Tanguay; a search, also, at the National Library of the Marine, as well as the National Records of Paris, might give them further light.

been communicated to us as the sons and daughters of that head of the family in the new world; namely, Jean Baptiste, Jr., Joseph, Jean Marie, Lambert, Antoine, Genevive, Marien, and Susan. It was understood that this household pitched their tent at Detroit, after something of a sojourn upon the St. Lawrence. It is not the purpose of this article, to embrace a comprehensiveness which would involve the necessity of a search of the public records either at home or abroad; therefore, we say little of the family during those earlier years, but we would recommend, to whom it may concern, a search among the archives of the ancient town of Detroit, to be found in the Clerk's Office of that city. We notice that there is a Beaubien Street in Detroit. Jean Marie Beaubien, the uncle of Jean Baptiste, seems to have been a builder, as we observe that he erected, on the north shore of Lake St. Clair, in the year 1790, a saw-mill and dwelling for Meldrum and Parke, of Detroit.

It is understood that *our* late Col. J. B. Beaubien was the son of the above-named Joseph Beaubien, and was born in Detroit about the year 1778, or possibly a year or so later. That he early caught the spirit of adventure, and as a trader's assistant, pushed his way far into the wild woods and waters of the North-west, we are well assured. Possibly, he may have been at the Treaty of Greenville, for we observe among the signatures, of the witnesses to that document, that of "Jn. Beau Bien;" if it was not his own autograph, perhaps his uncle's or other relative. In what year he was first a clerk for the late Joseph Bailly, the fur-trader, upon the Grand River of Mich., we are not informed; but it was there, under Mr. B.'s instruction, with the aid of birch-bark and charcoal, which supplied the place of pen and paper, or slate and pencil, that he perseveringly acquired the greater part of the education which he possessed. From Augustus Grignon's Recollections (v. 3, Wis. His. Soc. Coll.) we conclude that Mr. Beaubien was selling goods to the Indians at Milwaukie but little later than the year 1800; possibly he was then acting for Mr. Bailly. In what year Mr. Beaubien wedded his first bride, with name

certainly more musical than that of Pocahontas, we cannot say; yet her son, Medore B. Beaubien, was born in the summer of 1809, and his brother, Charles Henry, was still older. Mr. Wentworth, in one of his lectures, says: "Gen. John B. Beaubien was living at Mackinaw, when the Fort there was surrendered to the British, in 1812; if so, probably the sojourn was intended as temporary merely; Mackinaw was a central depot of supplies, and he may have been awaiting goods or orders.

Though the home of Mr. Beaubien, as would appear by a subsequent note in this article, was that same year of 1812, at Chicago, and so continued for many years, yet, of necessity at that day, the fur-trader was quite a traveler, almost as migratory as the Indians themselves, one season in one place and the next in others.

It is to be presumed that Mrs. Mah-naw-bun-no-quah Beaubien, the first wife of the future Col., had departed this life previous to the year 1812, for we are told that in that year he formed a new alliance, in his marriage, with Miss Josettie, the daughter of Francis Laframboise,* whose home is claimed to have been at Chicago. The young lady, it has been said, was raised in the family of the elder John Kinzie, and was believed to have accompanied them to St. Joseph, after the battle and surrender in August, 1812; she is referred to, in "Wau-bun," as in the boat, but the boat, after the defeat, returned with the passengers to the river. We have heard doubts expressed, by some incredulous individuals, regarding the statement that Mr. B. afterward that year, with his new

* Francis Laframboise, Sen., the father of Mrs. John B. Beaubien, it is believed, was the same mentioned by Mr. Burnett (*ante, p. 65*) as at Milwaukee, and was brother, we think, of Alexis Laframboise, who is supposed to have been the husband of Mrs. Madeline L., as named on p. 33 of this volume. We were informed by Medore Beaubien, that Francis Laframboise, Sen., as he understood, purchased of John Crafts, the trader, when he (Crafts) left there, the location of Hardscrabble, on the south branch of Chicago River, and that Mr. L. (and he believed F. L., Jr., also) died at that place; the dates we did not learn. We see, in the appendix to one of Mr. Wentworth's lectures, the names of both F. L., Sen. and Jr., at an election here in August, 1826.

bride, made his home at Chicago. But Medore B. B. told us that his father and himself were at Chicago in the spring of 1813. Medore at that time, though but a youngster of not quite four years, distinctly recollects strolling with his father over the blackened remains and ruins of the burned Fort Dearborn. The year after (1814), we learn from Judge Witherell's Reminiscences (v. 3, Wis. His. Soc. Coll.) that J. B. Beaubien was temporarily at Detroit, and one of a hastily gotten up volunteer company, collected by Gen. Cass, to attack a party of Indians who had approached the town and committed several murders. Judge Witherell said:

"They were ready at the first blast of the bugle, mounted on ponies, such as could be had (for there were but few left), and armed with all varieties of weapons—rifles, shot-guns, war-clubs, and tomahawks, swords, and spears, and whatever instrument of death could be had—they mustered for this fight. I knew nearly every one of them personally, and a better lot of fellows, for the business they were on, could not well be got together."

The names of some twenty-seven are given, including John B. and Lambert Beaubien, several of the Meldrums, James Riley and his two brothers, etc. We will add that they encountered the red-skins on that occasion, and killed several of them.

The various movements of Mr. Beaubien, in the line of his occupation, in much definiteness of detail, cannot at this day be written; we can merely pick up an item here and there. The following extracts regarding his residence in Chicago, are found in the *Chicago Magazine* of 1857:

"In 1817, J. B. Beaubien came to this City and purchased of Mr. Dean, an army contractor, the house and enclosure, containing a garden and field, near the Fort, which was known as the Dean house, for which he paid the sum of one thousand dollars. Col. Beaubien built another house upon this place, and continued the occupant of it till 1836. Upon the Lake Shore, a little distance south of the Fort, Col. Beaubien resided in the cabin which he had purchased of the American Fur Company, in 1817—which he had elevated to the dignity of a homestead, and which was now familiarly known among the settlers by the name of the 'Wigwam.' Near this residence was his store, in which the American Fur Company kept a stock of goods for the Indian trade. Further south, the old Dean house had started on the way to ruin."

"In 1823, the factory houses adjoining, or on the same premises, were sold, by order of the Secretary of the Treasury, to Wm. Whiting, who sold the same to the American Fur Company, and of whom Col. Beaubien purchased the buildings of the factory for the sum of five hundred dollars. Mr. Beaubien, by these purchases, became the owner and occupant of all the premises of the so-called Reservation, outside of the Fort, and claimant to the lands not covered by the buildings of the government."

Mr. Hubbard says (see *ante*, page 31):

"In fall of 1819, the company (Am. Fur Co.) transferred Jean Baptiste Beaubien from Milwaukee to this point, for the purpose of opposing Mr. Crafts. He erected his trading-houses at the mouth of Chicago River, then about the foot of Harrison Street. In 1822, Crafts succumbed, and engaged himself to the American Fur Company, taking a charge. Mr. Beaubien was under him. Subsequently, the Company bought, from the U. S., the factory house, located just south of Fort Dearborn, to which Beaubien removed with his family."

He says, furthermore, that Mr. B. afterward

"Bought out the Company's right of trade with the Indians."

There are some slight variations or disagreements in the above quotations; and if they do not contradict the evidence presented in the affidavits, which appear in a lengthy note to this article, we may say that the above extracts do not go to strengthen the claim that Col. Beaubien was the purchaser of a building at Chicago in 1812, and a resident here at that time.

By the note to follow, and before referred to, Mr. Letendere says Mr. Beaubien was living at Chicago in 1815, when he commenced to work for him. [Yet we are knowing to the suggestion of one skeptical person, who has hinted as much as to say that Mr. Letendere was a very old, though well-meaning French *voyageur*, who could scarcely be relied on to date back very accurately, more than sixty years; and that a few years in that far distant past, would make no material impression upon his mind, one way or the other.]

Col. Ebenezer Childs, late of LaCrosse, Wis., passed through Chicago in 1821, and found here Col. Beaubien and Mr. Kinzie, whose familles were the only ones living here outside the Fort. He was here again in 1827, but scarce any but those two families were yet here.

In the summer of 1822 (*ante p. 35*), Col. B. had a consignment of goods, from the Am. Fur Co., on his own account, "for his trade at Milliwakie."

Mr. J. H. Fonda, of Prairie du Chien, said he was at Chicago in 1825, and the principal inhabitants were Mr. Beaubien, Mr. Ouilmette, and Gurdon S. Hubbard of the Am. Fur Co., the latter occupying the Fort.

A gentleman came to Chicago in 1828, on the Schooner *Napoleon*, with Oliver Newberry, the vessel lying outside. "The whole neighborhood was a bog," said he, but Col. Beaubien, who was here, told him the Commissioners were coming to lay out the City, "City!" was his response, "I wouldn't give five hundred dollars for all the land my eye can cover."

In the winter of 1831–2, Col. Beaubien was president of the village debating society, the meetings being held within the Fort, and "although not very conversant with Jefferson's Manual," he yet filled the position "with much efficiency and dignity," as Richard J. Hamilton informed Lt.-Gov. Bross. During the Indian excitement in 1832, Mr. B. had command of a company of some 25 mounted men, who as scouts, did duty for a short time.

[The above portrait is a copy from a miniature picture in

possession of the family, said to be taken for Col. Beaubien; the original picture is on a metallic plate, but when and where painted, or the name of the artist, we have been unable to learn.]

It is said that the Col. was the owner of the first four-wheel pleasure carriage which appeared in Chicago.

In the third number of Mr. Calhoun's paper, we observe that he advertised a caution to trespassers who might be disposed to meddle with Fractional Section 29, T. 39 North, R. 14 East, generally known as "Hardscrabble."

He officiated as administrator of an estate. That Col. Beaubien had the popular regard, there seems not any doubt; "he had quite a military air or manner," says one of our early settlers; "we all liked the Col.," says another; he was one of the "indispensable personages in the early day," we have been told. Indeed, he was indebted to this amiable sentiment among the people, for the title of Colonel,* which is generally

* The election of Mr. J. B. Beaubien to the office of Colonel, is related in the following story, which has received the title of "The Punch Bowl of Ogden Avenue;" and though a prominent gentleman in a lecture upon early Chicago history, has recited, as having happened on an occasion of a later year, an occurrence in part somewhat similar, yet the earlier event which we are now to detail, should not be robbed of its renown, either by the playful plagiarism of the orator, or the ingenious conceit of such as essay to manufacture tradition.

In the year 1834, it is said, and so believed, that the military commandant of the State of Illinois, gave orders that the militia of Cook County should be duly organized and officers elected. It has been told that there were in Chicago, at that time, some gentlemen who, like the immortal Falstaff, did not fancy that sort of exercise known as military drill, and they professed to cherish an abiding horror of all the concomitants of "the wrinkled front of grim visage war." Yet there were others of different tastes; those who saw in the exact practice of military exercises, a most useful aid to a manly carriage and a healthful constitution, and even professed to believe that in such drills were the foundations of many important virtues, such as subordination, courtesy, etc., etc. But it has been ungraciously suggested that a love of "pomp and circumstance," which some waspish persons interpret "fuss and feathers," obviously cropped out in the desire to achieve, on this occasion, military title. Be this as it may, the election was to be held, and the opposing parties were those that *wanted to train* and *those that did'n't;* Mr. Beaubien, we may say, was the candidate of the latter. The election was held at the house of Mr. Laughton, who kept a tavern on what was since called the South-Western Plank Road, or, more recently, Ogden Avenue, and

used in connection with his name. It is true he was subsequently given the rank of *General*, but no body believes that it conferred any greater honor, indeed, we think the "General" was *generally* sunk in the more familiar term of "Colonel."

If Col. Beaubien occupied, though with occasional absences, and quietly held possession for the space of a quarter of a century or so, with none to molest or make him afraid, the

near where the beautiful suburb of Riverside is now, on Saturday, June 7th, 1834. A large share of that part of the population of Chicago, subject to military duty, turned out *en masse*, it is said, on that occasion. It has been also reported that they took with them, as an important part of their outfit, one keg of brandy, four packages of loaf sugar, and sixteen dozen lemons. It will be proper here to say, that Mr. Beaubien was then and there elected above all aspirants for the honored position of Colonel of the bloody 60th Regiment of Illinois Militia; and it was quite in keeping with the custom of those days to celebrate the victory of the successful candidate. At the base of the bluff, then, near the house, was a fine spring. A dam was made across the outlet, and the brandy, lemons, and sugar were all emptied into the basin so formed, and the mixture duly and properly stirred up. We have been assured, that of drink and drinkers, much and many were found at that novel punch-bowl. Col. B. was, it is said, quite satisfied with the honor conferred on him, and meeting the proclivities, or wishes, of his constituents, he, for a long period, never called out, for drill or inspection, the strength of his forces.

[We have yet heard the statement made that Col. B. did, upon one occasion, call out the troops; such, at least, must be the inference, judging from one of the Colonel's speeches, at the close of a drill or muster, given as follows: "Boys, you have been good soldiers to-day; so you will all go down to my friend, George Chocksfield, and take some whiskey; George he got some good; I try it, this morning."]

It will be proper to say, that we have heard a different version of the above story, something like the following: A party of gentlemen, evidently bent on a spree, met at the Sauganash tavern one evening, and with very little effort, soon made way with a basket or two of Champagne. Yet the question of payment was not so easily adjusted as the disposition of the wine. Among the matters discussed during the sitting, however, was that of the Governor's late order concerning military organization; and it was an eminently expedient proposition of one of the party, then present, to suggest that Mr. J. B. Beaubien be fixed on, as a candidate, for the office of Colonel of our regiment. By said *fixing*, it was urged, would be involved the settlement and payment, by the candidate, of the aforesaid wine bill. The idea was a taking one, the motion was carried, and a committee appointed to wait upon Mr. B., and invite his immediate attendance. It is need-

pasture-lot or common, the plantation or garden, and the buildings pertaining to that homestead, which fields in part were called, by the Government "the reservation," the succeeding forty years could not, in such peaceful terms, be so classed, whether those years were threaded by the Col. himself, or, after his final departure, by any of the princes or heirs of the house of Beaubien.

The particulars, which appear in the notes,* will convey

less to say that Mr. B. readily fell into the snare, yet he did; Dr. Egan made the speech to the candidate, regarding the choice of the meeting. The Doctor had the ability, and so his address was worthy of the occasion; he referred to Cæsar and Napolean, Black Hawk, Alexander the Great, King Philip, the Cid, and General Jackson. According to the obvious mode of the times, Mr. B. ordered the champagne, to express his thanks; yet the bill for the drink on the occasion, greatly surprised the candidate, when it came to be presented. Regarding the "punch bowl," this account says it was a barrel set in the ground, which caught the water from the spring, and when, after the election, the company was about to leave, there was still unused a quantity of the brandy, sugar, and lemons. It was therefore decided that the surplus should be thrown into the barrel and stirred up with the dirt at the bottom, and that every man then present, should, with his old felt hat, his beaver, or wolf-skin chapeau, dip therefrom and drink, or else suffer the penalty of having his head ducked into the caldron. We can believe, as was told, that their return to town was a furious ride, with yells "hideous and howling o'er the heath." Who were the owners of the broken necks, or mashed heads, if such there were, we cannot say; yet, though we would speak of those *ancients* with great care, to avoid all slander, we must fearlessly assert, that that most properly behaved cavalcade, which rode out to election from Chicago, on that pleasant June morning, was, on its return at evening, *traditionally* drunk.

* The foundation of the claim of John B. Beaubien, and of his heirs after his decease, to lands formerly a part of, or pertaining to, Fort Dearborn, will be shown in this note, the greater part of which we copy from a pamphlet, entitled, "*The Argument of Wm. H. Standish, before Congress, explaining the Beaubien Title to the Lake Front Lands, at Chicago, in Section 10,*" *etc.*, (*Washington, 1878.*)

We do not give the argument of Mr. S., as detailed in the pamphlet referred to, any farther than will convey an idea of the historical facts in the case, or slightly more than what the affidavits present.

The land in question, and to which the Bill in Congress proposed granting a pre-emption to the heirs of the late John B. Beaubien, was a part of that ceded to the U. S. by the Treaty of Greenville, 3 Aug., 1795.

"It was not entered as a reservation until 1824, and from August, 1812, to July 1816, was not a post of any kind, and had no buildings on of the Government, or soldiers, or agents of the Government in possession."

We will here give the following abstract of title, copied from a communication to the press, and presumed to be authentic:

sufficiently in detail, an idea of the pursuit and efforts which were followed (possibly, still continued) in behalf of what was

"Fractional Section 10, embracing the territory bounded by Madison and State Streets, Chicago Avenue and the Lake, was, on the first of October, 1824, reserved from sale, for military purposes, by order of John C. Calhoun, then secretary of war. These boundaries include what is now known as Fort Dearborn and Kinzie's Additions, and accretions from the Lake. Previous to this time, John Baptiste Beaubien had entered upon and, at the time of the reservation, occupied a part of the tract, on the south side of the river. In 1831, Robert A. Kinzie was permitted to enter at private sale, the north fraction of fractional Section 10, or so much of the Section as lay north of the river; (Mr. Beaubien's claim at same time at Palestine, Ill., for that part lying south of the river was rejected). In 1834, Beaubien undertook to pre-empt all that portion of the reservation lying south of the river, including Fort Dearborn, and known as the south-west fractional quarter; and in 1835, he obtained a certificate, from the Register of the Land Office at Chicago. He conveyed to Murray McConnell, a well-known and eminent lawyer of Illinois, who brought the ejectment suit of Jackson *vs.* Wilcox, who was an officer in command at Fort Dearborn. In that case, the Supreme Court of the United States, decided that the land was not subject to entry, and that the absolute title was in the United States. Afterwards, in 1839, the Secretary of War determined to sell a portion of the reservation, and sent a Mr. Birchard, then Solicitor of the Treasury, to Chicago to survey, plat, and sell the same. He made and recorded the original plat of 'Fort Dearborn Addition to Chicago.' On this map, Michigan Avenue was projected to the river, through land then occupied by the buildings of Fort Dearborn, but the tract, so occupied, was reserved from sale and surrounded by dotted lines lettered 'line of reservation.' Upon this map, also, the strip of ground between Randolph and Madison Streets, east of and including Michigan Avenue, was designated as 'public ground, forever to remain vacant of buildings,' and, by a memorandum added to the map, it was declared that 'the public ground between Randolph and Madison Streets, and fronting upon Lake Michigan, is not to be occupied with buildings of any description.'"

In 1845, on motion of Ald. Scammon, the Street Commissioner of Chicago was directed to remove "the obstructions at the north end of Michigan Avenue." Mr. Scammon's theory, at that time, evidently was, that, by the recording of the plat, and by virtue of the act of the Legislature of Illinois, of Feb. 27, 1833, the fee in Michigan Avenue rested in the City of Chicago, in trust for the public, and subject to the control of the municipal authorities. As this proposed action involved the destruction of a part of the U. S. buildings, the Attorney-General interposed and applied for an injunction to restrain the action of the Street Commissioner. The case went to the Supreme Court of the United States upon a certificate of division in opinion between the Judges of the District and Circuit Courts upon the question "whether making and recording the map did not convey the legal estate in the streets to the City of Chicago, so as to authorize said City to keep them open." The Supreme Court decided that the making and recording of the map had no such effect, and that the fee was in the United States."

claimed, not only as a plain legality, but as a merited equity. We may remark, however, without presuming to express any

The argument in favor of the U. S. Senate Bill, No. 773, in the 45th Congress, for the relief of the heirs of Jean Baptiste Beaubien, was accompanied by the following affidavits as collateral proofs, etc.

AFFIDAVIT OF MADORE B. BEAUBIEN.

STATE OF KANSAS, }
County of Shawnee, } ss.
City of Silver Lake, }

Madore B. Beaubien, being first duly sworn, makes oath and says that he resides at said town of Silver Lake; that he is past sixty-eight years of age, and that he was the second son of Colonel John B. Beaubien, otherwise named Jean B. Beaubien, now deceased; and who was an early pre-emption settler on the southwest fractional quarter of Section 10, township 39, north range 14, east of the third principal meridian in the now City of Chicago, County of Cook, and State of Illinois.

Affiant states that his memory of the matters hereafter stated runs back to the spring of 1813, and these matters and things herein stated as having occurred prior to that date are based on such information as affiant, after the spring of 1813, obtained from his father and from his stepmother, Josettie Beaubien, and the other people then living in and near the aforesaid fractional quarter section of land, and are true according to such knowledge and the best of said affiant's belief.

With this qualification, affiant states that in the year 1812, the father of affiant purchased from the rightful owner thereof a dwelling-house on the aforesaid fractional quarter section of land that had been built thereon about the year 1804, and used and occupied from and after the year 1804, and from and after said last date a piece of ground on said fractional quarter section of land, and in and about said house by the rightful owner and occupier of said house had from year to year been cultivated.

Affiant personally recollects that early in the year 1813 the father of affiant, and with affiant, and with the stepmother of affiant, and then the wife of the father of affiant, were all residing in the said house on said tract of land, that, as before stated, had been purchased by him during the year 1812, and that each year thereafter the said John B. Beaubien occupied said house and land a portion of each year, and at all times from and after that date spoke of the same as their home, even when absent from it; that in 1817, or thereabouts, the said John B. Beaubien purchased another house on said tract of land of one Dean, and from and after that date during his yearly stays at the now Chicago, Illinois, ceased to occupy and use the aforesaid house that had been built about 1804, and purchased by him in 1812; and the said first house was turned into a stable or barn, and from and after 1817, or thereabouts, was so used.

Affiant states that when the said John B. Beaubien, in 1812, purchased his said first house on said land, that he was then about to marry, and soon did marry Josettie Lafromboise, who had been reared in that locality, and whose relatives then resided there, and that she was then residing on an adjoining fractional quarter section of land, and that the said purchase was made for his permanent and future home, that the said marriage was made, and the said Gen. John B. Beaubien and wife remained residents of Chicago, aforesaid, on the aforesaid land, until after 1839, on which tract of land there was born unto them as the fruit of said marriage a very large family of children.

The business of the said John B. Beaubien did not permit him to be permanently located at any one point for a whole year. He was then an Indian trader, and was required to be some of the time in each year at the now Chicago, Illinois, some of the time at the now Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and some of the time

opinion touching the propriety of the result thus far, that is, of the verdict of judicial or legislative bodies regarding the

at the now Green Bay, Wisconsin, all of which points at that time and for years thereafter were in the then Territory of Illinois, but that the said John B. Beaubien never at any time in his life resided or did business at Mackinaw, save and except as he visited that point to take his furs, and purchase his supplies for use at the aforesaid posts in the then Territory of Illinois.

On these trips to these posts in the then territory of Illinois, the wife and children of the said John B. Beaubien, from 1812 to 1819, or thereabouts, usually accompanied him, going by way of boat; and particularly was this the case as to his trips to the now Milwaukee and Chicago, as these points were quite near each other, and by a water route connected. These trips to the north by the said Beaubien were, however, for business purposes solely; and as soon as that business necessity ended the said Beaubien settled down and remained permanently on the aforesaid tract of land in Chicago, and during absence on these northern trips the said John B. Beaubien and wife always used to speak of the said Chicago place as their home; and at none of said northern posts, during the continuance of these trips, or the time they were being made, did the said John B. Beaubien make any such purchases as the said Dean purchase, or the 1812 purchase of improvements on the aforesaid tract of land, so far as affiant is informed; and had such purchases been made at these northern posts affiant believes he would have known of them.

Affiant states that from and after the time his father purchased said house on said tract of land in the year 1812, that he did not remove at any time thereafter, in any period of his life from the then Territory of Illinois, and that on the fifth day of February, A.D. 1813, the said tract of land was not in the occupancy and use of the United States Government for any purpose whatever, and therefore as affiant is informed and believes was not a reservation by occupancy, and that at said date no part of said tract of land had been entered as reserved at any Government land or other office, as affiant is informed and believes, that the said tract of land was not then a reservation for any purpose either by occupancy or entry, and that no part of said tract of land was at that date reserved from sale by any act of Congress, nor had any part thereof been directed to be sold in town lots or out lots, and therefore that as said affiant is informed, the said tract of land became and was subject to the attachment of pre-emptive rights thereto by settlement, theretofore made, or thereafter to be made on said tract of land, under the provisions of the pre-emption law of the above date, for the then Illinois Territory, with the exception, that the aforesaid tract of land on survey might be found to be a fractional quarter section of land, and held to be excluded for that reason from the pre-emption settlement, and that to meet such a contingency and other contingencies, affiant states that an amendment to said act was passed and approved, April 29, 1816, making the said law applicable to fractional quarter sections of land, and that on the date of the passage of this amendment the said tract of land had not in any way been in the occupation or use of the Government for nearly four years, either by an agent in possession, nor did it have a building thereon, or a fort thereon of the Government, nor had it had for the space of about four years, and the said John B. Beaubien was then in the actual possession of said tract of land with a house thereon, and had had possession thereof and cultivated a portion thereof for several years, and at said date the Government had not been in possession of any part of said tract of land for a period of near four years, nor was it known in the vicinity of said land at that time, that the Government ever intended to resume possession of any portion of said tract of land, nor at said last named date, so far as affiant is informed and believes had any portion of said tract of land been reserved by any former act of Congress, or directed to be sold in town lots or out lots.

Affiant further states that after this tract had thus passed in equity to the said John B. Beaubien, under and by virtue of the said legislation of Congress, giving

matter, that it often happens, that the pioneers themselves are not the great gainers from their enterprise; too often may

him a pre-emption right therein, one of the officers of said Government with a company of its troops, in the month of July, or thereabouts, of the year 1816, took possession of about four acres thereof, and enclosed the same by a fence, thereby designating the extent of the land thus appropriated, and erected a Government building inside of said fence, which post so fenced and enclosed was not at the time known would include any of the land, which by an equitable grant from Congress had previously passed to, and become vested in equity in the said Beaubien, as it was found when the said tract came to be first surveyed by the Government of the United States, which said first survey was not made until about the year 1821, as affiant is informed and believes, and that, as affiant is informed and believes, the land in said tract or fractional quarter section of land, not in July, 1816, for the use of the Government, taken possession of would have remained, by the terms of the said two pre-emption acts, subject to pre-emption settlement after that date, had the same not before that date been settled on and been then owned by the said John B. Beaubien, and affiant states that on the said part of said tract, or fractional quarter section of land, outside of the enclosed limits of said fort, rebuilt in 1816, were both the houses and cultivated piece of ground purchased by said Beaubien in the year 1812, and the house, that in or about the year 1817 the said Beaubien had purchased of one Dean, this Dean house being then comparatively new, and for that date of much value, and the said part of said tract of land that was outside of the post limits had been, and was the home and residence of the said John B. Beaubien at the time said tract of land was first surveyed, and at the time the survey and plat thereof was filed and approved in the proper office therefor, and the said Beaubien was also in the possession and actual occupancy of the said land on the first day of October, 1824, and then had valuable buildings thereon, procured at his own private expense, and then regarded his private property, at which latter date, as affiant is informed and believes, the said buildings of the said Beaubien, and his said land were, without his knowledge or authority therefor, reserved for the use of the General Government without any compensation therefor being made to him, the said Beaubien, and that from and after said last-named date, the said tract of land remained reserved for the use of the Government until the spring of 1839, and that a part of said tract of land did not cease to be such a reservation until on or about the twenty-fifth day of May, A.D. 1872.

Affiant states that he has read the said acts of February 5, 1813, and the amendment thereof, dated and approved April 29, 1816, and that he is familiar with what the said John B. Beaubien did in compliance with the terms of the said acts, and he states that at the time of the said appropriation of about four acres of said tract or fractional quarter section of land by the Government of the United States, the said Beaubien was in no default with any of the terms of either of said acts, and was then in the actual possession of said tract of land; and that when a reservation of the residue of said tract or fractional quarter section of land was made by entry in the Land Office on the first day of October, A.D. 1824; that the said John B. Beaubien was then in no default with any of the terms of either of said acts; and that on said last date, as before stated, the said John B. Beaubien was also in the possession of said tract of land then residing thereon.

Affiant further states that he is advised and believes that the said reservation, notwithstanding the said private rights theretofore and then in said land in favor of the said John B. Beaubien operated to exclude the said land from either entry or sale until it should cease to be used by the United States Government, and the reservation of the same entered in the Land Office, should be canceled and vacated; and that while this reservation should last the pre-emption right of the said Beaubien could not in any way be asserted; and that if he should attempt to assert it his act, whatever it might be, would be void; but that nevertheless his pre-emption right for the period of time the reservation would last would continue

it be said that "they shake the bush for others to gather the fruit."

to exist in abeyance in the land to revive upon the reservation being vacated.

Affiant states that he is advised and believes that the said reservation as to a part of said tract of land was first vacated in the spring of the year 1839, by the issuing of an order for the sale thereof; and that the said order was then made by the Secretary of War that he, as Secretary of War, would cause the same to be sold, after being subdivided into lots and blocks, and be sold in single lots to the highest private bidder, and not otherwise, which lots were of about the size of twenty-two feet front by usual and ordinary depth for city lots to alleys in the rear, and some perhaps a little larger; that the manner and terms of said order were of themselves a prohibition to the said John B. Beaubien; that the said tract would not in whole or in any part be sold to him as a pre-emptor; and that being ordered to be sold by the Secretary of War, the said order was a refusal to give the said John B. Beaubien the privilege to first prove and enter and purchase the same, as the law, as affiant is advised, required, for the reason that at that time the said Secretary had no authority or jurisdiction, nor has he ever had, so far as affiant is informed, to hear and determine pre-emptive proofs, or to issue and deliver pre-emption certificates of purchase; nevertheless, affiant states that the said John B. Beaubien was then ready and anxious and able to make the necessary proof of his settlement on the aforesaid tract of land, and of his compliance with the requirements of the aforesaid pre-emption acts; and that the said John B. Beaubien was then in the actual possession of said tract of land, residing thereon, and that the said Beaubien and his heirs have always been ready and anxious to make the proper proof, entry, and payment for said land under said law, and that they are still ready and prepared to do this, but that no hour or moment has, that affiant is aware of, ever been allotted them to make this proof, entry, and payment since the aforesaid tract of land was reserved, as aforesaid, and while the said pre-emption title of said John B. Beaubien was in full force, and before he had made any default.

Affiant further states that the said early laws are, as he is advised, still in full force as to said early settlement, and unrepealed, and that the time allotted by them for pre-emptive proof, entry, and payment of said tract of land has not as yet expired, and that quite a large tract of said land now claimed by the City of Chicago still remains as an open common, unsold and unconveyed, with the legal title still in the United States Government, and subject to the trust in favor of the said Beaubien and his heirs that existed on the days that it was appropriated and reserved, as aforesaid, as affiant is informed and believes; and that the heirs of the said John B. Beaubien, nearly all of whom still reside in the City of Chicago, Illinois, aforesaid, are now ready and willing and anxious, as they have been at all times heretofore, to tender proof of compliance with said law by their father, and to offer and pay the sum of one dollar and twenty-five cents per acre, fixed by a solemn act of Congress as the price to be paid therefor, to induce the said John B. Beaubien to remain on said tract of land and make large expenditures thereon for buildings, while the same was unreserved and unappropriated, and which in fact had that effect and operation.

Affiant further states that in addition to the aforesaid act of estoppel as against the United States Government, to make good their solemn and written promise to convey to the said Beaubien and his heirs the said tract of land, or any remaining part thereof at the price aforesaid, before they would permit it to be sold, granted, or conveyed to others, that the said United States Government, in and by the said pioneer residence of the said John B. Beaubien, received a great reward and benefit from the said John B. Beaubien in this. That he came to said locality when the United States was unable or failing to maintain a suitable force in that locality to cope with the then powerful tribe of Pottawatomie Indians, then inhabiting the country in and about the now City of Chicago, and when the garrison of troops there had all been murdered, and the white settlers had been or were compelled

It is true, Congress hinted as much as to say that the Col. was somehow, of necessity, treated rather shabbily by the

to flee for their lives, and remain absent for the space of about four years. This tribe of Indians at this time were wholly under the control of the British Government, and during our then war with that power their fast allies, and such agents and persons as the United States Government had sent in among them, to prevent and break up this alliance had been unavailing, and it was necessary and desirable to the United States Government for some one to go and be with them that could and would materially aid in this task. The said John B. Beaubien being an American citizen by birth and education, and then and at all other times truly and thoroughly loyal to the United States Government, and having been born and reared in the now City of Detroit, Michigan, and surrounded with Indians from the time of his birth, and fully understanding their character, and in a large measure enjoying their confidence, did, at this critical time, marry Jossettie Lafromboise, then one of the said tribe of Indians necessary to be conciliated, and through her and her family, who were very influential members of said tribe of Indians, and then somewhat more enlightened than the generality of the other members of said tribe of Indians, the said Beaubien did all in his power, without any fee or reward, to bring about this reconciliation of these Indians to the United States Government, and in this he was aided by his wife, the mother of the larger part of the now Beaubien children and heirs, claiming title to the aforesaid tract of land, the desired result was secured, and the said Indians after that war became the most loyal to the United States Government, and instead of being a great menance to pioneer settlement, became a strong police force to aid in their protection, and in the Indian war that occurred in that region, or west of there, in the year 1832, these Indians rendered meritorious service in aiding the United States Government to suppress it, and from and since that date it is believed by affiant that they have been truly loyal, and well disposed to the United States Government, and all its citizens and subjects.

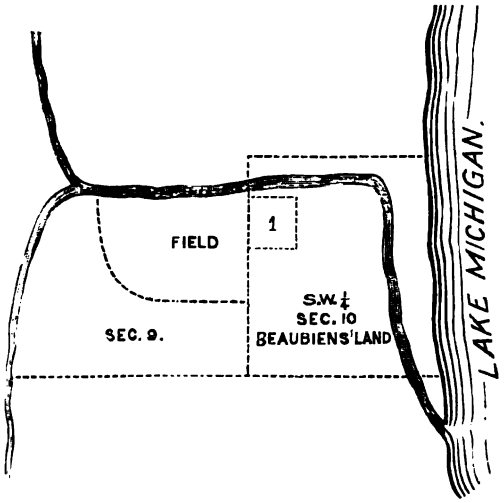
Affiant further states that not desiring to rest his father's loyalty and the value of his said services on the testimony of a son, he takes occasion and does refer, for further proof of these qualities in affiant's father to the resolutions adopted at an indignation meeting held by the citizens of Chicago, Illinois, on the — day of June, 1839, on the occasion of the Government of the United States, through an alleged agent of the then Secretary of War, causing the said land so promised as aforesaid many years theretofore by Congress to the said John B. Beaubien by a solemn law to then in repudiation of said law and promise to be subdivided as aforesaid into little lots of about twenty-two feet front. and to be sold to the highest bidder, and the proceeds placed in the United States Treasury, under which, with other parts of the said land of the said John B. Beaubien as the said alleged agent of the then Secretary of War, had caused them to be sold away from the said John B. Beaubien the very house that then in his old age he was inhabiting, and in which he had resided in since Illinois was a Territory, and which house had been procured at great expense to the said Beaubien, and in which a large family of children had been born unto him and partly reared; and in and around which house on the said land so sold and conveyed were also the graves of the departed children of the said Beaubien.

Affiant states that the resolutions of said meeting, which were printed in all the city papers of Chicago aforesaid at the time, and which are still in existence, did not overdraw the picture as to what the said Beaubien had done for said locality and the United States Government; but affiant knows as a fact that they left many things in the favor of the said Beaubien unsaid which might have been said.

Affiant further states in explanation of the letters of Dr. Wolcott, written from Chicago to the Department at Washington, D. C., advising a reservation to be made of the aforesaid fractional quarter section of land for the uses of the Government, and that a larger tract than the whole of said fractional quarter section of land was then under fence and in the use of the Government, or language to that

laws, or jurors, or inevitable fate, and therefore passed an act conveying to him several lots as *a douceur*, being a slight

effect; that the larger part of the land thus referred to was outside of the said fractional quarter section of land, and in section nine in the aforesaid township, and that in the said Beaubien fractional quarter section there was then only about four acres inclosed and in the use of the Government, or that at any time since the retaking possession thereof in 1816, had been in the use of the Government, and that the part of the said Beaubien fractional quarter section then in use or inclosed by the Government is correctly represented by the western inclosure shown in a picture of Chicago in the year 1820, which picture was shortly since shown affiant by William H. Standish, Esq., of Chicago, Illinois, with the word "Childs" printed on it, (this, probably, was Schoolcraft's view of Chicago in 1820, reproduced by Mr. Childs,) while the eastern enclosure shown on said picture shows houses and buildings then owned by the said John B. Beaubien, and to show the field above referred to in section nine of said township that had been fenced in and used by the Government to raise vegetables, &c., for the soldiers at the post. The said affiant has caused the following map to be drawn:



EXPLANATIONS:—No. 1 is part and enclosure on the Beaubien tract of land. The other enclosure is west of the Beaubien tract of land.

Affiant states that he was residing at the City of Chicago aforesaid when that part of the reservation by occupancy aforesaid that had been made in July, 1816, or thereabouts, and after survey was found to be in section nine aforesaid, was vacated and ceased to be used by the soldiers at Fort Dearborn, and until after the sale and disposition thereof was made and affiant states that the part of said reservation in existence by occupancy, on the third day of March, 1819, situated in said section nine upon becoming after that date vacated, was permitted to and did relapse back into the condition of public lands that had never been appropriated or reserved, and was sold and disposed of in the same manner as the other public lands in and about Chicago aforesaid that had never been sold or appropriated prior to the grant to the State of Illinois for canal purposes, and said field was not sub-divided, sold, or disposed of by the Secretary of War, notwithstand-

corner, less than the hundredth part of the identical tract of land of which he supposed himself the entire and proper owner.

ing that the said lands were sold and disposed of between the years 1819 and 1857 by grant of public lands to the State of Illinois.

Affiant further states that at the time a subdivision of the aforesaid tract of land known as Fort Dearborn Addition to Chicago, Illinois, was made, platted, and filed of record, and at the time all the Fort Dearborn sale of lots out of said tract, in the year 1839, was made, and at the time the City of Chicago took possession of a part of said tract of land that at said sale was not sold, the said John B. Beaubien was in the actual possession of said tract of land, residing thereon with his family, and the said City of Chicago, and all parties concerned, had full notice of all his rights in said tract of land, and as affiant is informed and believes, that before said alleged sale, and while it was progressing, they were publicly notified by one of the then able and noted lawyers of Chicago that said sale would be invalid and convey no title to a purchaser thereat.

Affiant further states that the said John B. Beaubien was in the actual possession of said fractional quarter section of land on the twenty-ninth day of May, A.D. 1830, and that he cultivated a portion of said tract of land in the year 1829.

Affiant further states that the said John B. Beaubien was in the actual possession of said fractional quarter section of land on the nineteenth day of June, A.D. 1834, and that he cultivated a portion thereof in the year 1833.

Affiant further states that that part of the aforesaid fractional quarter section of land now claimed by the City of Chicago, and that other part known as the railroad grounds, were neither to any extent in the occupancy and use of the United States Government, on and prior to the first day of October, A.D. 1824, for any purpose whatever, and as before stated as affiant is informed no part of said parts of said fractional quarter section of land were, until October first, 1824, reserved in any way by the Government of the United States, and further affiant saith not.

MADORE B. BEAUBIEN.

Sworn and subscribed to before me the 28th day of January, A.D. 1878.

JOSEPH B. OLIVER,
Notary Public.

[SEAL.]

WASHINGTON, D. C., *February* 6, 1878.

I have been personally and well acquainted with Madore B. Beaubien during the last past twelve years, and I regard him as a most upright, honest, and truthful man.

THOS. RYAN, M.C.,
3d Kansas.

AFFIDAVIT OF JEAN B. LETENDERE.

STATE OF KANSAS, }
County of Shawnee, } ss.

Jean B. Letendere, being first duly sworn makes oath and says that he resides near the City of Silver Lake, in said county; that he is over eighty-three years of age, and that from in the fall of 1815 until after the year 1835 he resided in and about what is now Chicago, Illinois, and in the fall of 1815 affiant entered into the employment of Colonel John B. Beaubien, of that place, and remained in his employment the most of the time until the year 1836; and that in the fall of 1815, and for years thereafter, affiant boarded much of his time in the family of the said Beaubien, who is now deceased.

Affiant states that at the time in the fall of 1815, that affiant began to work for the said Beaubien and live in his family; the said Beaubien was then residing in a house near the then ruins of old Fort Dearborn, and near where it was rebuilt about the month of July or August, 1816, the said house being then a few hundred feet east and south of said ruins of a former fort, as it was stated, and on that

We will not undertake to say how it might have affected the immediate descendants of Col. Beaubien if they had

tract of land which after survey came to be known and described as the southwest fractional quarter of section ten, township number thirty-nine, north range fourteen, east of the third principal meridian, and in the now City of Chicago, County of Cook, and in State of Illinois, and north of what is now, or was when affiant lived in Chicago, known as Madison street, and east of State street and south of the Chicago river.

At the time that affiant entered the employment of the said Beaubien in the year 1815, and then began to board and live in the family of the said Beaubien, then living and residing in a house on said land, affiant learned from the said Beaubien and wife, and from the citizens generally of that neighborhood and vicinity, that the said Beaubien had purchased said house from the rightful owner thereof in the year 1812, or at about the time of the breaking out of the then late war; and that the said Beaubien had resided therein a portion of each year since that time, and had each year cultivated a patch of ground for garden, &c., in and around said house, and on said tract of land, and this seemed to be a generally conceded fact in and about that region at that date.

As affiant learned in the same way as he learned about the facts of the purchase of said house, he also learned that the same had first been built about the year 1804, and occupied the most of the time from that date as a private residence, up to 1812, as well as since 1812, and affiant says that in 1815 the said house bore the evidence of age, and looked then as though it had been erected ten or more years previously to the year 1815.

Affiant states that in the same way that he learned the before mentioned facts, he also learned that Jossettie Beaubien, the second and the then wife of the said John B. Beaubien, was at the time the said house had been purchased by the said John B. Beaubien, then living on an adjoining fractional quarter section of land, and that in said neighborhood she had been reared, and that in said neighborhood her family relatives were and had been residing, and for many years thereafter continued to reside, and that the said John B. Beaubien in the year 1812 purchased said house for a home, and that soon after said purchase his marriage to the said Jossettie Beaubien, whose name before marriage was Jossettie Lafromboise, followed, when they went to living in the aforesaid house, and had made the same their home.

Affiant states that from and after the time affiant in the fall of 1815, entered into the employment of the said Beaubien, and began to live in the said Beaubien's family, the said Beaubien did not during the time affiant was in the employ of the said Beaubien up to and after the year 1836, abandon the said piece of ground as his home, and that he had a house thereon, and his home thereon on the twenty-ninth day of April, A.D. 1816, and that the said Beaubien had as affiant knows of his own personal knowledge, used and cultivated a part of said tract of land in the year 1815, and had in that year resided on the same.

Affiant states that between the years 1815, and the years 1819, the said Beaubien spent a part of his time at Milwaukee, that is near what is now known as Milwaukee, and some of his time at the head of Green Bay, and used to go to Mackinaw for supplies; affiant often accompanying him, and sometimes the wife of the said Beaubien accompanied him as far as Milwaukee, awaiting until the said Beaubien was through with his circuit of trip, when she would return with him to what is now said City of Chicago, but that said trips were not made for the purpose of abandoning the home which the said Beaubien had established in Chicago on the aforesaid land, as when absent the said Beaubien and wife always in conversation in the presence of affiant, used to speak of the place on the aforesaid land as their home.

Affiant states that at the time he began to work for the said Beaubien, as aforesaid, in the year 1815, there was no fort or building owned by the Government standing on the aforesaid land, as that term is commonly understood in a new

really come in possession of the large estate that sometime seemed a brilliant prize almost within the grasp; yet it would

country; that the fort that was said to have been on said land from the year 1804 to August, or thereabouts, in the year 1812, was said to have been abandoned by the Government at the latter date, and not until after being abandoned to have been destroyed by the Indians of that region, and the said tract of land was then totally abandoned by the Government, and on the twenty-ninth day of April, A.D. 1816, was said to have been then totally abandoned by the United States Government for a period then of near four years, and the war with the British Government had then been ended for the space of about two years, and that it was not then known in the region or vicinity of said land that the Government intended to or ever would resume possession of said land, or any portion thereof, and, as affiant is informed, the said lands had relapsed into the condition of all other public lands, and were then as susceptible to the attaching of pre-emptive rights thereto, under pre-emption legislation and residence on said land, as if the partial appropriation thereof from the years 1804 to the month of August, 1812, by the United States Government had not existed.

Affiant further states of his own knowledge that about the month of July or August, 1816, and after the twenty-ninth day of April, A.D. 1816, the United States Government retook possession of about four acres or less, of what after survey came to be known as a part of the southwest fractional quarter of the aforesaid section of land, and that at said last date there were no surveys in that region, and that the said Government, on retaking possession of this small portion of the aforesaid tract of land, designated the portion it intended to make use of by enclosing the same with a fence, and that said Government fenced off and retained for their use a much larger field on the west of the buildings and small field aforesaid they then used, which larger field was west of what was known as State street, Chicago, Illinois, at the time affiant left said city, and which larger field, west of said State street, was in the fall of 1824 still enclosed by fence, and then known as the Government field, and which in the fall of said last named year, with said small field, was the only land at that date in use by the Government, or known as the Government soldier's land.

Affiant further states that he knows of his own knowledge that in the fall of 1824, and on the first day of October, of that year, the said John B. Beaubien was then in the actual occupancy, and then actually residing on said tract of land, outside of the said theretofore enclosed and appropriated limits that had been in use by the Government, and that on this portion of said tract of land since, on the 29th day of April, A.D. 1816, the said Beaubien had made for that date, and region, large expenditures for improvements, and which improvements were then still standing on said portion of said tract of land, and still were owned by the said Beaubien, and that they were popularly known as said Beaubien's private property, and that they were then, by the custom and usage of that region, as much an article of sale and purchase, and the title of the settler thereto; as much respected as though the same were his cow or his horse; and, as affiant is informed, the settlement law in force at that date for the territory of Illinois, not only authorized the sale and transfer before entry of such improvements, but also of the guaranteed preferential right from the Government of the first and exclusive right to purchase the land itself, which right, as affiant is informed and believes, contained the further promise of the Government; that the right of entry and purchase should not be predicated on, whether the land of the settler should ever be proclaimed for sale, and that save and except for a failure of the settler to enter his land within the time fixed by the settlement law his right of entry should not, as affiant is informed, be forfeited by the Government or others.

Affiant further states that he has no interest whatever in who is the owner of any portion of the fractional quarter section of land, first above described, and that he is not an Indian, but a Frenchman, and that he has lived at and near Silver Lake, Shawnee County, Kansas, for twenty-six years, last past; that he has

be difficult, probably, to find anyone who would not claim to have remarkable ability to discreetly manage much more

attentively listened to the careful reading of all of the aforesaid affidavit, and fully understands its contents, and that affiant is well and extensively known in the region aforesaid.

JEAN B. LATENDRE, his ✕ mark.

Witness: Dr. W. F. HAZELTON.

Sworn and subscribed to before me, and by me read over to affiant before signing, this 21st day of December, 1877.

WM. F. JOHNSTON,
[SEAL.] *Notary Public.*

I do solemnly swear that I have known Jean B. Latendre (whose signature is attached above), for fifteen years, and know him to be a respectable witness and citizen of Shawnee County, State of Kansas.

W. F. JOHNSTON, *Postmaster,*
Silver Lake, Shawnee County, Kansas.

AFFIDAVIT OF E. D. TAYLOR.

STATE OF ILLINOIS, }
County of Cook, } ss.

Personally appeared before the undersigned, a notary public within and for said county, E. D. Taylor, who, being first duly sworn, makes oath and says: That he will be seventy-three years of age October 18th, 1877.

That his memory of past events is strong and clear; that he resides in the City of Chicago and county aforesaid, but spends a good deal of his time at or about Mendota and near LaSalle, Illinois, and that he owns real estate situated in said City of Chicago.

Affiant states that he was the first receiver of the northeastern land district of Illinois, and that his headquarters as such receiver were at Chicago, Illinois, and that the first public sales of any public lands located in what is now Chicago, Illinois, and the country contiguous thereto, commenced at Chicago, Illinois, on the 15th day of June, 1835, and not before that date; and that said lands had not been advertised to be sold before that date at public sale, and that said sales of said lands were made by this affiant as the receiver of the land district aforesaid on and after June 15th, 1835, at Chicago, Illinois, in connection with the register of said land district.

Affiant further states that on the 5th day of February, A.D. 1813, the Congress of the United States of America, passed a certain act entitled "An act giving the right of pre-emption in the purchase of lands to certain settlers in the Illinois Territory," which act is to be found in the second volume of the United States Statutes-at-Large, on pages 797–798, which act affiant is informed and believes was never repealed, except as it was modified by subsequent legislation on the subject, and that said act is made a part of this affidavit by reference to the same as if incorporated into it verbatim.

That, on the 12th day of April, 1814, the aforesaid act, without the change of a word or dot, was extended to a part of the State of Louisiana and to the Territory of Missouri, as will be seen by reference to the United States Statutes-at-Large, volume 3, page 122. That in 1819 in matters that arose in Missouri Territory, that this law was construed by the Attorney General of the United States as creating in the settler from the date of his settlement (where he had settled after the date of the extension of said law to Missouri) a vested right to the tract which he had settled on, which made it impossible for Congress thereafter to reserve it, notwithstanding that at that time no entry of the settlement right had been made

wealth than he already has in the clutches of his own hand.

Col. Beaubien was still living, in 1839, on the Reservation,

at the Land Office, as affiant understands said decision; the same is to be found in the first volume of the Attorney General's Opinions at page 291, and to which reference is made.

The time given to the settler under the aforesaid act of February 5th, 1813, in which to first enter his land at the Land Office as a claimant under the aforesaid law, did not expire until two weeks before the land was to be offered at public sale, and that within that time for a failure to make entry or the first payment, it was provided in and by said law that the settlers' rights in his land should not be forfeited. The language of said law on this point being in the words following, to wit:

"*Provided*, That all lands to be sold under this act shall be entered with the register at least two weeks before the time of the public sales in the district wherein the land lies, and every person having a right of preference in becoming the purchaser of a tract of land who shall fail so to make his entry with the register within the time prescribed, his right shall be forfeited, and the land by him claimed shall be offered at public sale with the other public lands in the district to which it belongs."

Within that time that is more than two weeks before June 15th, 1835, the first time appointed for the public sale of any public lands in Chicago, Illinois, or that were located there, General John Baptiste Beaubien (whose name was sometimes written Jean Baptiste Beaubien, and at others Jean Baptist Beaubien) came to the register and receiver's office of the aforesaid land district then in Chicago, and within two squares of the land hereafter described, and brought with him his neighbors and the oldest settlers then of that locality, and the said Beaubien and these old neighbors and old settlers then and there offered to swear, that for twenty-three years the home of the said Beaubien had been and was then on the southwest fractional quarter of section 10, township, number 39, north range, 14 east of the third principal meridian, in the County of Cook and State of Illinois.

The said Beaubien, and the said witnesses by him produced then and there before the said register and receiver, also offered to swear that a house was built on the aforesaid fractional quarter section of land several years before the war of 1812, and was occupied up to shortly before the breaking out of said war, and that a piece of ground on said fractional quarter section of land in connection with said house, and by the owner and occupier thereof, was cultivated during each of said years, when the owner and the occupier of said house sold and conveyed the same, together with said cultivated piece of ground, to the said General Beaubien, and placed him in the actual possession thereof, since which time the said General Beaubien had retained said house, and actually lived on said land from year to year and made it his home, and that he actually occupied it before August, 1812, in person, and cultivated said piece of ground before that date; that from the last date until the year 1819, or thereabouts, the said General Beaubien was a fur agent and trader among the Indians, and while this business had caused him to be absent at intervals between those years at Milwaukee and the region of Green Bay, in the former Territory of Illinois, the wife and family of the said General Beaubien had at times during such absence remained on this land to await his return, and that Chicago during that period of time was the home of the said General Beaubien, and that the said General Beaubien offered to swear that he did not establish for himself any other home after the year 1812, and these witnesses offered to swear that this was true, and that Chicago was where his wife's relatives had been living during that period, and that it was where she had been reared, and that it was the place said Beaubien became acquainted with her, as was currently understood.

The said Beaubien and the said witnesses also offered to swear that after the spring of 1816 said Beaubien had expended, for improvements on said lands, over fifteen times the stipulated price the Government had previously offered to receive

but, we think, removed to a farm on the Desplaines, the year following. We are informed that it was there where his wife

from him for said lands, any time after their survey, and two weeks or more prior to the time that should be fixed for their sale, and this stipulated purchase price that had been fixed for the sale of said lands to said Beaubien by the Government, to include said expenditures by him on said land, with the necessary and usual proof of compliance with the terms of said law, he then and there tendered to the said register and receiver, and requested them to accept the same and to issue to him the necessary and usual papers, wh ch the Government had promised him, entitling him to a patent for the aforesaid fractional quarter section of land.

At the same time, by the same witness, the said Beaubien offered to prove that he had complied with all of the things required by the pre-emption law of June 19th, 1834, and also tendered his money under that law to said register and receiver for said fractional quarter section of land, and requested that the necessary and usual final papers from said officers be then and there issued to him for the aforesaid fractional quarter section of land. The said register and this affiant then consulted together, and came to the conclusion that the said General Beaubien had complied fully with all of the things that had been prescribed by the said pre-emption law of 1813, and also that he had fully complied with all of the things required by the said pre-emption law of 1834, but owing to the fact that the Government had some buildings on a portion of said fractional quarter section of land, they deemed it prudent and cautious for them to consult with the authorities at Washington, D. C., before taking any action in the premises, and we made this conclusion known to General Beaubien. Soon General Beaubien, very excited and indignant, came and stated to the said register and this affiant, words to this effect: "See here, my land is advertised for sale; you are instructed to sell it; if you take time to write to Washington you will rob me of my land." The said register and receiver then looked at their instructions and found to their satisfaction that what General Beaubien had stated was true. The Department at Washington had seemingly been particular to point out to them every section of land that belonged to the canal trustees, and in which Indian rights existed, and even the land that abutted this piece or fractional quarter section on the west, and also the tract that adjoined it on the south, and had directed all these lands not to be sold, but the said fractianal quarter section of land in question it had directed to be offered at public sale unless it should be pre-empted within the time provided by law for pre-emption rights to be entered.

It is affiant's opinion that at that time the pre-emptive rights of the said Beaubien in the said fractional quarter section of land, by the best judges in and about Chicago, were then estimated to be worth not less than fifty thousand dollars, at least they were supposed to be very valuable, and the said register and receiver felt that they had no right to hazard them, and, therefore, they concluded to take legal advice nearer at hand than Washington, D. C. About that time, Mr. Baker, the United States District Attorney for Illinois, happened to be in Chicago at the office of the said register and receiver, and they submitted the whole matter to him, turning over to him everything. He made careful examination, read over the law, and took time to consider the matter, when he advised us that both the law and our instructions made it our duty to let General Beaubien pre-empt this land, and that it made no difference to us whether the fort and light-house were on a part of said land or not; that it was our duty to follow the law, whether it hurt or benefited the United States Government, and that the law made it our duty to let said General Beaubien pre-empt this land. Although the said United States District Attorney enjoyed the reputation of being a good lawyer, and it was his duty, as we understood, to advise all United States officials in his district, yet, before acting on his advice, we took that of the Hon. Sidney Breese, who is now one of the Supreme Court Judges of Illinois, and even at that day enjoyed the reputation of being an eminent lawyer.

At about that time he happened to be in Chicago, and at the offices of the said

Josette died, in September, 1845. We think, he was still living there in 1854; he rode with us, one day, as far as the

register and receiver, and they submitted everything to him for advice pertaining to the said matter the same as they had to the said United States District Attorney, and they received from him the same advice that they had received from said District Attorney.

Said affiant and said register then concluded to, and did permit, said General John Baptiste Beaubien to pre-empt said fractional quarter section of land. They had blanks that had been furnished them by the Department at Washington, D.C., for the taking of proof, showing a compliance with the pre-emption act of June 19th, 1834, and for the certificates to be issued by said register and receiver under said act to the settler, and they had no blanks for use under the said act of February 5th, 1813, and they supposed that it made no difference under which of said acts they should take proof; they, therefore, on the 28th day of May, A.D. 1835, neglected and declined to take all proof then and there offered by the said Beaubien, showing that he had fully complied with the aforesaid act of February, A.D. 1813, and they took proof and issued certificates to said Beaubien for said fractional quarter section of land under the said act of June 19th, 1834, and under said act they accepted payment in full for the aforesaid fractional quarter section of land from the said General Beaubien, and then and there the said fractional quarter section of land was entered on the record books of the said register as sold to the said Beaubien, and receipts were then and there issued and delivered by the said register and receiver to the said Beaubien, of which the following, according to the best of said affiant's recollection, are true copies, to wit:

[No. 6.] *Pre-emption Act, June 19, 1834.*

LAND OFFICE AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS,
May 28, 1835.

Received of John Baptist Beaubien, of Cook County, Illinois, the sum of $94.61, being in full payment for the southwest fractional quarter, of section number ten, in township, number thirty-nine, north of range number fourteen, east of the third principal meridian, containing seventy-five acres and sixty-nine hundredths of an acre, at the rate of $1.25 per acre, Bank Mich. paper.

E. D. TAYLOR, *Receiver.*

[No. 6.] LAND OFFICE AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS,
May 28, 1835.

It is hereby certified that in pursuance of law, John Baptiste Beaubien, of Cook County, State of Illinois, on this day purchased of the register of this office the lot or southwest fractional quarter, of section number ten, in township number thirty-nine, north of range fourteen east, containing seventy-five acres and sixty-nine hundredths of an acre at the rate of $1.25 per acre, amounting to $94.61, for which the said John Baptiste Beaubien has made payment in full as required by law.

Now, therefore, be it known that on presentation of this certificate to the Commissioner of the General Land Office, the said John Baptiste Beaubien shall be entitled to a patent for the lot above described.

JAMES WHITLOCK, *Register.*

Said affiant further states, that said proof offered that the said Jean Baptiste Beaubien had made his home on this fractional quarter section of land since prior to the war of 1812, and had complied with all of the things required by said pre-emption law of 1813, was credited by the said register and said receiver, and that it showed a full and perfect compliance by the said Beaubien with the said act of February 5th, 1813, and also a full compliance with the amendment to said act of April 29th, 1816, and that said proof was offered within the time required by said acts to have it enure back to the date of the latter act; and that no fault or negli-

Desplaines, after he had been to Washington, which was early in that year. He told us of various prominent men of

gence is imputable to the said Beaubien because it was not taken, but such fault or negligence, if any, rests on the United States Government and on their duly accredited agents, the said register and receiver.

Said affiant further states, that the time for proving up any pre-emption right, if any had existed in any other party to pre-empt said fractional quarter section of land or any portion thereof, expired under the said act of February 5th, 1813, on the first day of June, 1835; that the said affiant remained as the said receiver in the said Land Office until past the date last stated, and until the land sales that began in said land district, at said Land Office, on the 15th day of June, 1835, were completed, and affiant states that no person other than the said General Beaubien, either before the said first day of June, 1835, or thereafter, made any claim to the said receiver that he had any right to pre-empt the said fractional quarter section of land, or any portion thereof, nor did any person other than the said General Beaubien offer any proof of such a right, or receive from the said receiver a receiver's certificate of pre-emption payment for said land, or any portion thereof.

E. D. TAYLOR.

Sworn to before me and subscribed in my presence, this 13th day of September, A.D. 1877.

[SEAL.] L. F. CUMMINGS, *Notary Public.*

E. D. Taylor, of Illinois, is an old and greatly esteemed citizen of that State. His statements are entitled to credit.

W. N. MORRISON.

E. D. TAYLOR,
Receiver,
TO
JOHN BAPTISTE BEAUBIEN.

Certificate No. 6, dated May 28, 1835, and recorded June 26, 1835, in book D, page 168.—Pre-emption act, 19 June, 1834. Land office at Chicago, Illinois. Acknowledges receipt of $94.61, in full payment for the southwest fractional quarter of section 10, in T. 39 N., of R. 14 E., of 3d P. M., containing 75.69 acres.

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
vs.
JOHN B. BEAUBIEN, JAMES WHITLOCK, EDMUND D. TAYLOR, SYDNEY BREESE, and JAMES M. STRODE.

In the Circuit Court of United States for the District of Illinois. In chancery. Bill to set aside the receipt last shown June 13, 1840.

The bill in this cause having been taken *pro confesso* against the defendant James Whitlock, and the other defendants having answered, and the said cause having been brought on to a hearing, &c., and it appearing to the said court that the southwest fractional quarter of section 10, T. 39 N., of R. 14 E., of 3d P. M., situated in the Chicago land district was a military reservation of the United States, and not subject to enter and purchase by the said defendant John B. Beaubien by pre-emption, it is therefore ordered, adjudged, and decreed by the said court, that upon the receiver of the United States Land Office at Chicago refunding or tendering to the said John B. Beaubien the sum of $94.61, being the amount of the purchase money paid by the said John B. Beaubien to Edmund D. Taylor, the then receiver of said Land Office, when the said Beaubien entered the said land on May 28, 1835, as mentioned in the receiver's receipt to said Beaubien, that thereupon said Beaubien deliver and surrender up to the re-

the nation whom he had seen at the seat of government, who favored his application for relief by Congress, the particulars

ceiver of the Land Office at Chicago, for the purpose of being cancelled, the said receiver's receipt so given by him for the purchase money of the said land; and that he also deliver to the said receiver to be cancelled, the certificates given by the said James Whitlock and said James M. Strode, as Register of said Land Office, to the said Beaubien, of his, the said Beaubien's entry and purchase of said land; and the said court do further order, adjudge, and decree, that said entry and purchase of the said tract of land by the said John B. Beaubien and the receiver's receipt, and the said register's certificate be vacated, cancelled, annulled, and held for naught, and that said John B. Beaubien and the other defendants be restrained and perpetually enjoined from ever setting up or asserting any title or claim to the said land, *by virtue of the said entry and purchase*, and that the defendants pay the costs of this suit.

Affiant further states that the foregoing is the full text of the items, number thirty-three and thirty-four as shown in said abstract, in volume sixteen of said letter-press copies.

JAS. W. BROCKWAY, *Recorder.*

Sworn to before me and subscribed in my presence, this 8th day of December, A. D. 1877.

[SEAL.] HENRY L. HERTZ, *Notary Public.*

RECEIVER'S OFFICE,
Chicago, Illinois, December 18, 1840.

Eli S. Prescott, Receiver of Public Money at Chicago, Illinois, has this day refunded to me the sum of $94.61, being the amount paid by me for the southwest fractional section No. 10, in township No. 39 north, range No. 14 east, of the third principal meridian, on the 28th day of May, A. D. 1835.

The entry of said land by myself being invalid, in consequence of its being reserved for military purposes, as per letter from the Commissioner of the General Land Office. JOHN B. BEAUBIEN.

"If this 1835 receipt was void from the time made, the making of it, the cancellation of it, and the return of the money left both Beaubien and the Government as they would have stood if none of these things had occurred. Void conveyances leave grantor and grantee as they would have been without the void conveyance, and where the void conveyance is concelled, and the consideration money returned, prior rights still exist as before."—[*From the Argument.*

"Washington, May 31, 1878. Senator Bayard from the Committee on Private Land Claims, presented to-day Report in the Senate, upon the Jean Baptiste Beaubien claim to the Fort Dearborn Reservation," etc.; the following are extracts:

"The State of Virginia, by the act of March 1, 1784, (confirmed Dec. 30, 1788) ceeded the territory northwest of the river Ohio, to the United States, and by the ordinance of July 13, 1787, it passed under the jurisdiction and became part of the dominion of the United States. By the Treaty of Greenville, proclaimed August 3, 1795, made with certain Indian tribes, a quantity of land was ceeded to the United States, which embraced within its limits the land described in the Senate Bill 773, as the southwest fractional quarter of section number ten, township thirty-nine north, range fourteen east of the third principal meridian, in the City of Chicago. In the year 1804, the United States established a military post on this land, and continued to occupy the same until August 16, 1812, when the troops of the United States were massacred and the post captured by Indians. In 1816, it was re-occupied and some buildings erected upon it by the United States Government, for the use of the Indian Department. The post was thus occupied by troops of the United States until May, 1823, when it was evacuated

of which we do not precisely remember. He subsequently returned to live at Chicago, and, in 1855, married (3d) Miss

by order of the Government, and the post and property left in charge of the United States Indian Agent at Chicago. In August, 1828, it was again occupied by troops under an order of the Secretary of War, as one of the military posts of the United States, and in 1831, the troops were again withdrawn, but possession was not abandoned, the post being left in charge of an agent of the Government, who authorised a person by the name of John Dole to occupy it and keep in repair, which he did. In June, 1832, the Government again placed a garrison there under command of an officer of the army of the United States. From that time up to the commencement of the suit of ejectment, brought by Jackson against Wilcox, an officer of the United States army in possession as such, it was continuously occupied by the Government as a military post, and was so occupied at the time of the trial of that suit. John Dean, an army contractor at the post, some time between 1804 and prior to 1815, built a house upon the land, around which house there was an enclosure used by Dean as a garden and field. In the year 1817, said Dean sold the house, which had been occupied by him, to John B. Beaubien, or Jean Baptiste Beaubien, as he was also called, for the sum of $1000. Beaubien took possession and continued in possession from the time of his purchase until the year 1836, cultivating a part of the enclosure every year. The land was surveyed in 1821. After it was re-occupied in 1832, by troops of the United States, and before May 1, 1834, the United States built a light-house on a part of the land, and also kept at least twenty acres of ground inclosed and cultivated for the use of the garrison. In 1824, the Commissioner of the General Land Office, at the request of the Secretary of War, set apart this land for the use of the Government, and directed the same to be withheld from sale and reserved for military purposes. Afterward, in 1831, Beaubien made a claim for the pre-emption of the land in question, at the Land Office at Palestine, which claim was rejected, and the Commissioner of the Land Office, in answer to a letter from him in 1832, informed him that the land had been reserved for military purposes. In 1834, he again made a claim for the land at the Danville Land Office, which claim was likewise rejected. In 1835, he applied to the Land Office at Chicago, and succeeded in having his pre-emption claim allowed, paid the purchase-money, and obtained the treasurer's receipt therefor. Wilcox continued to remain in possession, acting under the orders of the Secretary of War. About the year 1836, Beaubien conveyed a part of this land or assigned his interest in a portion of it, to Murray McConnell, and the latter brought an action of ejectment in a State Court, against Col. Wilcox, then in command of the troops of the United States stationed at Fort Dearborn. He obtained a judgment for the lands in the Circuit Court, which judgment was affirmed by the Supreme Court of Illinois. The case was then removed to the Supreme Court of the United States, and the judgments of the courts below were reversed. The case is reported in 13 Peters, 498. Afterward, the United States filed a bill in the Circuit Court of the United States, for the District of Illinois, to set aside the Register's receipt; and the Court decreed that Beaubien should deliver the receipt and certificate given him by the register and receiver, to be cancelled upon the receiver of Chicago tendering or refunding him his purchase-money; and on the 18th Dec., 1840, Beaubien gave to Eli S. Prescott, receiver of public monies at Chicago, the following receipt: (see copy of receipt, *ante, p. 422*). The Supreme Court of the United States, in construing the law of June 19, 1834, which was an act revising the acts of May 29, 1830, granting pre-emption rights to settlers on public land, say that Beaubien never had acquired any title whatsoever to the land in question; that the tract was a military reservation of the United States at the time he attempted to pre-empt it, and that it was legally and properly reserved by the Secretary of War, under authority of law. [The further argument of the Senator is omitted.] For these and other considerations, your Committee report adversely upon the bill, and recommend that it be indefinitely postponed."

Catharine Louise Pinney, of Chicago. In 1859, he was living on Walnut Street, but in 1861, is understood to have removed to Naperville, Du Page Co., and where he built himself a house. Col. Beaubien died in Naperville, 25 or 26 Jan., 1863, and where, also, he was buried; yet no monument marks the resting place of his dust.*

The children of Col. B., by his three marriages, we believe number seventeen; namely: two by the first wife, eleven by the second, and four by the third. Of these, *one*, *seven*, and *four* are living; several were born on the "reservation;" two of the sons (Henry and Philip) are twins. Alexander tells us that he was born in the "Dean house," and baptised in Fort Dearborn by Rev. Father Badin, of the Roman Catholic Church. All the seven daughters of the Col., by second wife, were married, four of whom have died.

By the Chicago Treaty of 1821, Charles and Medart Beaubien received each a half section of land, in Michigan. In the Treaty of 1833, the same individuals were to receive each $300 also, Josette Beaubien $500, and her children $1000. Charles H. Beaubien, we believe, died in 1858, leaving family.

Various members of the family, we learn by the directory, accept the dignity conferred by industrial occupation. Within the decade past, some of the sons, and perhaps grandsons, have worn a glittering star upon their breasts; not the mere gilded or diamond bauble of some meaningless order, so plentifully seen at foreign courts, but the bright symbol of a useful and honorable employment.

Mark Beaubien, brother of Jean Baptiste, was some years

* We wish here to say that it has been a matter of regret with many of the old neighbors of Col. Beaubien, as well as of other friends of the family, that the Beaubien pre-emption claim could not have been confirmed, and that a long time ago; that the declining years of the old pioneer might have been cheered rather than chilled by the law's stern behests. We furthermore wish to add, that it has been told, with how much truth we cannot say, that there was, at one time, made out *a patent* for Col. B. for the whole of the original claim, which only awaited the President's signature, but that the suit of ejectment, commenced against an officer of the Government, occasioned inquiry, delay, and opposition, resulting at length, thus far, as we have seen, in the utter rejection of the Beaubien title.

younger than the Colonel, and was born in the village of Detroit, Mich., in the year 1800. We are not informed of many incidents of note in the history of his boyhood, and must suppose that he spent his early years much in the same way as the greater part of the urchins of other French families of his class. Close application to work or study, it is understood, was not by any means demanded of him, indeed, that was not the custom of the French *bourgeois* on the Detroit River of that day. The children quite easily followed the example of leisurely freedom, idle jollity, visiting, and merry-making. It is presumed that Mr. Beaubien very early and naturally took to practising on the violin, and if he, as understood, in early manhood, won the hand of an attractive maiden, known as *Mademoiselle Monique Nadeau*, it is quite likely that the fiddle of Mark B. performed no unimportant part in the courtship. Mr. Beaubien was at Detroit at the time of the surrender in 1812, and still sings a song, learned in those days, ridiculing that measure.

Some years since, we received a letter from Mr. Beaubien, written by his son as dictated by the father, from which we copy as follows: "I arrived in Chicago in year of 1826 from Detroit; came with my family by team, no road only Indian trail; I had to hire an Indian to show me the road to Chicago. I camp'd out doors, and bought a log House from Jim Kinzie. They was no town layed out, didn't expect no town. When they layed the town, my house layed out in the Street; when they layed the town, I bought two lots, where I built the Old Saginash, the first frame house in Chicago."

Mr. Beaubien was not only the first regularly licensed ferryman, before there were any bridges, but also an inn-keeper (he was founder and proprietor of the Sauganash tavern), and by permit, at least a merchant on the record.

We present here a picture of the famed Mark Beaubien:

It is copied from a life-size oil portrait on canvas, painted many years since, and which his children claim was an excellent likeness. We ourselves observe a *Marked* resemblance to the aged gentleman of the present day; we need not the aid of a Lavater or a Spurzheim to assist us to form an opinion that this was indeed the *jolly* M. B. That Mr. Beaubien was overflowing with fun and frolic, we have often heard; his fiddle was an ever-ready companion; a raffle or other game of chance was a luxury, and a hore-race was his dear delight. Not a "teetotaler," yet he was never, that we know, addicted to the habit of strong drink; that he was full of boyish mischievousness, and frequently had a "fracas," and that his passion for *the turf* often led him to neglect his public duty as ferry-man, is probably true. But the late John S. Wright has told us that Mark Beaubien was "a natural gentleman;" and if that natural gentleman was occasionally mulcted by a fine for playful violence, or for mnemonical omission to be constant in the people's service, we think the prestige of the trait named by Mr. Wright, generally brought a remission of the penalty. An oft-repeated story, about Mark's stereotyped phrases of profanity, lead us to believe that there is more truth in the tale than elegance in the detail. Queerly and unwittingly as it was, we must yet believe that Mr. Beaubien

ranked and likened his own accomplishment upon the fiddle to that of the *evil one himself;* and, also, his pursuit or calling as inn-keeper to that of the sulphurous *abode* of the same cloven-footed personage.

We are no apologists for profanity, but will add that Mr. Beaubien's lineage was not of the Anglo-Saxon race, and that perhaps the literal meaning of the rude words were not taken into account or comprehended by him, but intended rather to represent persistent and forcible effort. It is an admirable feature of the language of France, that *profanity* finds slight aid from its native vocabulary, and must seek the idioms of other countries to give expression to its senseless, coarse, and wicked thought.

It may seem, at this day, a ludicrous exhibition, that of Mark's scheme and sly intrigue, when he set out with the purpose to saddle Deacon Philo Carpenter with a house-lot on LaSalle Street, opposite the Court House Square, *at the full price of $25, in goods*, to-day possibly cheap at $75,000. But he did it; and the fact we must believe, was a delicate tribute to moral worth, inasmuch as Mark felt conscious that his own achievement of that lot was tainted with iniquity, for he had won it in a raffle, and believed Deacon C. wouldn't buy it if the trade was not made before he should be aware of the circumstances. It was the same lot upon which Mr. Carpenter afterward built his dwelling.

We have read a statement in Smith's History of Wisconsin to the purport that Col. Wm. J. Hamilton passed through Chicago in June, 1825, with a drove of some 700 head of cattle, procured in southern Illinois, which he had contracted to the Government, for the use of the post at Green Bay. A brother of Col. Beaubien, it is stated, assisted in getting the cattle across the Chicago River, but in rendering that service, managed to drown one of them *purposely;* so Beaubien told Hamilton some years afterward. He did it, he said, in order to buy the animal, knowing that he could not purchase it any other way, and he very greatly *needed the beef*. This "brother of Col. Beaubien," we must believe, was none other than our

famed Mark. It is true, he told us that he came to Chicago in 1826, but even if we must rest assured that Hamilton did not err in his chronology, possibly this emigrant from Detroit, the jolly Mark, who hankered so determinedly after a taste of one of the bullocks of southern Illinois, may yet have arrived here a year earlier than he supposes; he may have mistaken the year in his record. Mr. Beaubien, as might be expected, from early habit, was not much of a scribe, and our memory brings to us freshly the ludicrous season which we had several years since, in getting him to favor us with his autograph signature; we were successful however, and present here a *facsimile:*

As before named, Mr. Beaubien was one of the early innkeepers of the hamlet, though he was at no time, perhaps, the sole boniface of the village. But we must conclude that whatever qualifications he may have lacked for some occupations, he yet certainly possessed that peculiar talent which the world demands of him to whom they allow the ability to "keep a hotel;" the tradition in the note will sufficiently demonstrate that.*

The children of Mark Beaubien, by his first marriage, we are informed, number sixteen, and by his second wife, whose maiden name was Elizabeth Matthews, the additional number of seven.

* In the early days, while Mr. B. kept a tavern, possibly the old Sauganash, when emigration from the east began to pour forth the stream which has not yet subsided, Mark's *loft*, capable of storing half a hundred men, for a night, if closely packed, was often filled to repletion. The furniture equipment, however, for a caravansary so well patronized, it is said, was exceedingly scant; that circumstance, however, only served to exhibit more clearly the eminent skill of the landlord. With the early shades of an autumn eve, the first two men arriving were given a bed on the floor of the staging or loft, and, covering them with two blankets, Mark bade them a hearty good-night. Fatigued with the day's travel, they would soon be sound asleep, when two more would be placed by their side, and

Mr. Beaubien, in 1859, held the position of Light-House keeper, at Chicago, his home being on Pine Street, and we have heard that he held that office for a couple of terms. In 1873, he was sojourning at the Kankakee, and a year or two later he appeared to be living again at Chicago, on West Lake Street; his door-plate, "Mark Bobien," reminding the earliest residents that their old neighbor, of half a century ago, was still extant; yet we would hint to the engraver that the name is not correctly written with an *o*. For several years, Mr. B. has lived in the town of Norwalk, DeKalb Co., Ill., but is occasionally seen in Chicago, and has attended the several annual festivals, so gracefully extended to the early settlers by the members of the Calumet Club.

Medore Benjamin Beaubien, (variedly "Medare," "Medard," "Medart," or *Madore*, as he writes it), the second and oldest living son of Col. John B. Beaubien, by his first wife, *Mah-naw-bun-no-quah*, was born on Grand River, Mich., July 15, 1809. His childhood and youth were mostly spent either at the remote station of Chicago, where, outside of the stockade of Fort Dearborn, there were few whites to be seen, or at other wilderness points, where his father might be temporarily staying, in the pursuit of his occupation as fur-trader. When about fourteen years old, he attended the school of Rev. Mr. McCoy, at Carey, near Niles, Mich., where he acquired an important part of his education. Mr. Beaubien arrived at early manhood just as Chicago began to attract the notice and personal attention of eastern people, as well as others.

the aforesaid "two blankets" be drawn over these new comers. The first two were journeying too intently in the land of dreams to notice this slight of hand feat of the jolly Mark, and as travelers, in those days, usually slept in their clothes, they generally passed the night without great discomfort. As others arrived, the last going to bed always had the blankets; and so it was, that forty dusty, hopeful, tired, and generally uncomplaining emigrants or adventurous explorers, who went up a ladder, two by two, to Mark Beaubien's sleeping loft, were all covered with one pair of blankets. It is true, it was sometimes said, that in a frosty morning there were frequently charges of blanket-stealing, and grumbling was heard, coupled with rough words similar to those formerly used by the army in Flanders; but the great heart of Mark was sufficient for the occasion, for, at such times, he would only charge half-price for lodging to those who were disposed to complain.

Chicago, we may say, for the ten years that he lived here following his majority, was rather a giddy place for susceptible young men, not well ballasted with prudence and forbearance. Those were the days of rough activities, luring schemes, rushing enterprises, and intoxicating gayeties; it is not, perhaps, to be wondered at, that many were led so far into the depths, out of which they could neither wade nor swim.*

Mr. Beaubien left Chicago for the Western country and his friends the Pottawatomies, in the fall of 1840; he has, however, spent some time here since then. Hoffman, who was here in Jan. '33, speaks of him as of "prepossessing appearance." Mr. Wentworth, in a lecture, says, "He gave as a reason for abandoning Chicago, where he was a merchant, that he would rather be a big Indian than a little white man. He has the reputation of being the handsomest man that was ever in this City. I met him at Washington a few years ago, and he attracted great attention for his remarkable personal beauty." He has resided some years at Silver Lake, Kansas, and is called *a chief*, as he is one of a committee, or head men, to look after the business matters of the Indians.

* If Medore Beaubien was considered a young gent of decided elegance of person, then perhaps there was encouragement for vanity, and a plausible excuse for extravagance in dress and decoration. If, in those mixed and transition months, he was one of the leaders here of the *ton*, as it is understood, then he could hardly be expected to appropriate the greater share of his time to business, to the niggardly habit of counting and husbanding the pennies. It is conceded that he was a whole-souled, free-hearted, dashing buck, in whom was united the blood of the proud and determined red-American, or Asiatic Tartar, with that of the gay and volatile Frenchman. On one of the early ball-tickets of Chicago, headed "Grand Wabano," appears the name of Medore as one of the managers. But between dances, champagne suppers, and other merry-makings, pony-rides, sleigh-rides, and wolf-hunts, *etc.*, it is not surprising, perhaps, that the profits of the mercantile establishment, in the double-log-building on the south-west corner of Dearborn and South Water Sts., should fail to pay the outgoes. But the prospect of the father's coming riches gave confidence to creditors, regardless of collateral securities. And Medore married himself a wife; she was Maria, the daughter of John K. Boyer, who arrived here in the spring of 1833. We should have said before that Medore girded on the armor and was ready to march to the front during the Black-Hawk war excitement; he was 1st-Lt. in Capt. Boardman's company.

We present here a portrait of Mr. B., with his signature, taken in 1877.

Madore B. Beaubien

Mr. B. has been thrice married; his first marriage was dissolved by divorce, we think at suit of Mrs. B. He married (2d) *Keez-ko-quah*, an Indian woman. Married (3d) his cousin, Therese (Laframboise) Watkins, daughter of Joseph Laframboise, Chief,* and divorced wife of Thomas Watkins. The mother of Joseph, the Chief, was "*Shaw-we-no-qua.*" Of ten children, five were living in '77: *one* by first wife, *one* by second, and *three* by third.

The probabilities would seem that the Beaubien family will not soon become extinct; whether that may be so or not, the curious reader in the far distant century or two hence may learn herein something, at least, of a family of no slight note in the early annals of this locality.

* As we understand, he was full brother of Josette, the 2d wife of Col. Beaubien.

CHICAGO HISTORY;

ERRORS INDICATED, AND CORRECTIONS VOLUNTEERED.

For the truth of history, and not in the spirit of mere querulousness, we will, in this fragmentary chapter, quote from various authors, statements which we think wholly or in part erroneous, and for which we have cited contradictions from various quarters, or perhaps stated what we understand to be the facts. However ungracious it may seem, to flatly deny what various historians may have told, yet, where words professedly uttered as truths, claiming the public trust and faith, are at length impeached, and convicted as pretense and error, the fault is not one to be altogether overlooked. It is not to be supposed, in every case, that our authors are to be accused of untruths, or as wholly accountable for mistakes; the authorities from whence they compiled their statements may be the ones at fault, and the latter, also, may possibly claim immunity by and through their own sources of information. Not printed books merely have engaged our attention; the so-called ephemeral newspaper statements, when erroneous, are sometimes the cause of continued error, so we have occasionally also paid our respects to them. Typographical errors, we will add, are now and then a source of confusion and annoyance to the historical reader; to the carelessness of authors, sometimes, in not regarding them, may be laid the charge of marring otherwise very excellent pages. Furthermore, we shall animadvert occasionally upon the choice of words as well as the sentiment, a matter of taste perhaps, and hence here and there we have whispered a hint of our own. We trust none will get out of humor with us, or suffer their dignity to take offence at our efforts, for we must claim the privilege, as to any or their authorities, when we see them leaning badly, to use a lever here, and a prop or *shore* there, to place them *up right* as to the facts. We do not, of course, assert that we are infallible, nor do we profess to rectify all the errors; yet it will certainly be in order for us to refuse to accept any

draft on our credulity when we clearly perceive the claim to be a fiction.

One of the most flagrant examples of the *sensational* which we have met upon the pages of history, wherein pretended details of fact are used to invest and clothe bare romance and fiction, is to be seen in the Relation prepared by Father Claudius Dablon, the Jesuit missionary and Superior, regarding Father James Marquette, a translation of which is given by Mr. Shea in his "Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley." This is from a part of the Relation, by Father Dablon, still in manuscript, never, as we understand, having been put in book form. There were previously, of various of the Jesuit fathers, forty printed volumes of the Relations, the first issued in Paris, in 1632, and the last in 1673.* These are very scarce books, and we believe a full set of the works cannot anywhere be found in one collection. Among historians, they have much celebrity, and are considered very valuable. But at present, we have only to speak of a page or two in the unpublished volume. As the missionary, Father Marquette, was one of the earliest residents known to us of Chicago, our desire to be informed of *the truth* concerning his life and death must certainly be considered justifiable. Let us then enquire about the matter, as to the authenticity of that portion of the recital giving an account of the last few days of Marquette's existence. We will copy, and present in this article, several pages, a part of which we think deserves no credit, and to which, therefore, we make objection. We will, however, first ask, *who* was with Father Marquette in those last days? Was Father Dablon himself there? By no means. Was there a Boswell constantly at his elbow, or was there any one besides the two French canoe-men? We think not; there is no evidence of any. Those two servants were no doubt devoted to the care of their sick master, yet it

* Mr. Shea tells us that to the French Government must be attributed the stopping of the publication of the Jesuit Relations, which for forty years had furnished an annual volume.

is to be presumed that they were like others of their class—ignorant men—knowing how to neither read nor write. But even if it can be supposed that they possessed those acquirements, can we believe that instead of paddling the canoe, and attending to other and indispensable offices in behalf of the dying father, they gave attention, and made precise record (yet with no particular purpose) of every indistinct utterance of the departing priest? We quote, as follows, premising that the first sentence—which speaks of Marquette's extreme debility—is reasonable, and no doubt true:

(Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi, p. 57.)—"His strength, however, failed so much, that his men despaired of being able to carry him alive to their journey's end; for, in fact, he became so weak and exhausted that he could no longer help himself, nor even stir, and he had to be handled and carried like a child."

(Ibid., p. 58.) "A week before his death, he had the precaution to bless some holy water, to serve him during the rest of his illness, in his agony, and at his burial, and he instructed his companions how to use it.

"The eve of his death, which was Friday, he told them, all radiant with joy, that it would take place on the morrow.

"During the whole day, he conversed with them about the manner of his burial, the way in which he should be laid out, the place to be selected for his interment; he told them how to arrange his hands, feet, and face, and directed them to raise a cross over his grave. He even went so far as to enjoin them, only three hours before he expired, to take his chapel-bell, as soon as he was dead, and ring it while they carried him to the grave. Of all this he spoke so calmly and collectedly, that you would have thought that he spoke of the death and burial of another, and not of his own.

"Thus did he speak with them as they sailed along the lake, till, perceiving the mouth of a river, with an eminence on the bank which he thought suited for his burial, he told them it was the place of his last repose. They wished however to pass on, as the weather permitted it, and the day was not far advanced; but God raised a contrary wind, which obliged them to return and enter the river pointed out by Father Marquette.

"They then carried him ashore, kindled a little fire, and raised for him a wretched bark cabin, where they laid him as little uncomfortably as they could; but they were so overcome by sadness that, as they afterward said, they did not know what they were doing."*

* And as they who were there "did not know what they were doing," Father Dablon, *who was not there*, essayed the *supposable*, and so wrote the matter up.—H.

"The father being thus stretched on the shore, like St. Francis Xavier, as he had always so ardently desired, and left alone amid those forests—for his companions were engaged in unloading—he had leisure to repeat all the acts in which he had employed himself during the preceding days.

"When his dear companions afterwards came up, all dejected, he consoled them, and gave them hopes that God would take care of them after his death in those new and unknown countries. He gave his last instructions; thanked them for all the charity they had shown him during the voyage; begged their pardon for the trouble he had given them; and directed them, also, to ask pardon in his name of all our fathers and brothers in the Ottawa country, and then dispose them to receive the sacrament of penance, which he administered to them" (though for many hours already, '*he could no longer help himself, nor even stir*') "for the last time. He also gave them a paper, on which he had written all his faults since his last confession, to be given to his superior, to oblige him to pray more earnestly for him. In fine, he promised not to forget them in heaven; and as he was very kind-hearted, and knew them to be worn out with the toil of the preceding days, he bade them go and take a little rest, assuring them that his hour was not yet so near, but that he would wake them when it was time, as in fact he did, two or three hours after, calling them when he was about to enter his agony.

"When they came near, he embraced them for the last time, while they melted in tears at his feet. He then asked for the holy water and his reliquary, and taking off his crucifix, which he wore around his neck, he placed it in the hands of one, asking him to hold it constantly opposite him, raised before his eyes; then, feeling that he had but a little time to live, he made a last effort, clasped his hands, and with his eyes fixed sweetly on his crucifix, he pronounced aloud his profession of faith, and thanked the Divine Majesty for the immense grace he did in allowing him to die in the Society of Jesus; to die in it as a missionary of Jesus Christ; and above all, to die in it, as he had always asked, in a wretched cabin, amid the forests, destitute of all human aid.

"On this he became silent, conversing inwardly with God; yet, from time to time, words escaped him: 'Sustinuit anima mea in verba ejus,' or 'Mater Dei memento mei,' which were the last words he uttered before entering on his agony, which was very calm and gentle.

"He had prayed his companions to remind him, when they saw him about to expire, to pronounce frequently the names of Jesus and Mary. When he could not do it himself, they did it for him; and when they thought him about to pass, one cried aloud Jesus Maria, which he several times repeated distinctly, and then, as if at those sacred names something had appeared to him, he suddenly raised his eyes above his crucifix, fixing them apparently on some

object which he seemed to regard with pleasure, and thus, with a countenance all radiant with smiles, he expired without a struggle—as gently as if he had sunk into a quiet sleep.

"His two poor companions, after shedding many tears over his body, and having laid it out as he had directed, carried it devoutly to the grave, ringing the bell according to his injunction, and raised a large cross near it to serve as a mark for passers-by.

"When they talked of embarking, one of them, who for several days had been overwhelmed with sadness, and so racked in body by acute pains, that he could neither eat nor breathe without pain, resolved, while his companion was preparing all for embarkation, to go to the grave of his good father, and pray him to intercede for him with the glorious Virgin, as he had promised, not doubting but that he was already in heaven. He accordingly knelt down, said a short prayer, and having respectfully taken some earth from the grave, he put it on his breast, and the pain immediately ceased; his sadness was changed into a joy, which continued during the rest of his voyage."

A careful consideration will, we think, lead to the opinion that most of the above extract from the Relation is a sublime and ridiculous piece of imaginative exaggeration and pretence. We would not offend any one's devotional ideas, nor would we characterize, by such terms as we have, those religious ceremonies because they happened, but particularly for the reason that they *did not happen*. The fact seems apparent, that those minute circumstances were never written down nor told by Marquette's canoe-men, those simple, kind, though illiterate Canadians, but by Father Dablon, in some after month or year, or if not by him, then by some other, some intervening and romancing ecclesiastic.

If we seek for a purpose in that detail, we may not be able to detect it, though the suggestion might be made, that by so showing up the departure from earth of Father M., the portrayal might help to achieve *his canonization.*

Yet, whatever pious fraud may have been attempted, we believe Father James Marquette deserves to be called *a saint* much more than some whose names have acquired that earthly distinction.

After the above, it will be proper to speak of some other writers of history, who have followed in the path of Father

Dablon, and sung the song which he sang, regarding the death-scene of the missionary, James Marquette.

From the English edition of Charlevoix's Journal, London, 1761, we copy the following:

"On the 3d (August, 1721) I entered the river of Father Marquette, in order to examine whether what I had been told of it was true. This is at first entering it no more than a brook; but fifteen paces higher you enter a lake which is near two leagues in circuit. In order to make way for its discharge into Lake Michigan, one would imagine that a great Hummock, which you leave on the left as you enter, had been dug through; and on the right the coast is very low for the space of a good musket-shot, afterward, all of a sudden, it rises to a very great height. It had actually been represented to me as such, and on that head, the following is the constant tradition of all our travellers, and what ancient missionaries have told me.

"Father Joseph* Marquette, a native of Laon, in Picardy, where his family still maintains a distinguished rank, was one of the most illustrious missionaries of New-France. This person travelled over almost all the countries in it, and made several important discoveries, the last of which was that of the Mississippi, which he entered with the Sieur Joliet, in 1673. Two years after this discovery, an account of which he has published, as he was going from Chicagou, which is at the bottom of Lake Michigan, to Michillimakinac, he entered on the 18th day of May, 1675, the river in question, the mouth of which was then at the extremity of the low ground, which, as I have already taken notice, you leave on the right hand as you enter. Here he erected his altar and said mass. He went afterward to a small distance in order to render thanks, and begged the two men that conducted his canoe to leave him alone for half an hour. This time having past, they went to seek him, and were surprised to find him dead; they called to mind, however, that on entering the river he had let drop an expression that he should end his days at this place.

"However, as it was too far to carry his body from thence to Michillimakinac, they buried him near the bank of the river, which, from that time, has retired by degrees, as out of respect to his remains, as far as the cape, the foot of which it now washes, and where it has opened itself a new passage. The year following, one of the persons who had paid the last offices to this servant of God, returned to the place where they had buried him, took what remained of him and carried it to Michillimakinac. I have not been able to learn, or else I have forgot, the name this river formerly bore; but at this day the Indians always call it the river of the black robe, for thus the Indians term the Jesuits. They call the secular clergy *White bands* as they do the recollects *Grey-gowns*. The French call this river

* It was *James*.

Father Marquette's river, and never fail to call upon him when they are in any danger on Lake Michigan. Several of them have affirmed that they believed themselves indebted to his intercession for having escaped very great dangers."

Dr. Shea, referring to Marquette's sanctity, said,

"It led to the romantic tales which have even found their way into sober history. The missionaries in the west now, hear the same account as that which Charlevoix believed, and inserted."

We yet are inclined to think that it was far more reasonable for Charlevoix to repeat those hearsay-reports, than for the learned Dr. Shea to detail as fact, which he does in his Life of Father Marquette, the particulars from the enterprising inventions of Father Dablon.

Even Perkins also repeated from Charlevoix the story as a verity; we speak of Rev. James H. Perkins, author of the well-known volume, "Annals of the West," an essayist and historian of more than ordinary ability; whose style of language was direct, clear, and elegant, whose private character and life was most lovely, yet whose death from suicide was most sad.

The pen of Perkins, however, had occasionally a collateral or side office to perform, to trace the airy spray or graceful foliage, the jets and scintillations of an imaginative and poetic cast of mind. In the note* we give a few stanzas from a short but beautiful poem by Mr. Perkins, written on Lake Michigan,

* LINES BY JAMES H. PERKINS, LAKE MICHIGAN, 1845.

Sink to my heart, bright evening skies!
Ye waves that round me roll,
With all your golden, crimson dyes,
Sink deep into my soul!

And ye soft-footed stars, that come
So silently at even,
To make this world awhile your home
And bring us nearer Heaven.

Speak to my spirit's listening ear,
With your calm tones of beauty;
And to my darkened mind make clear
My errors and my duty.

Speak to my soul of those who went
Across this stormy lake,
On deeds of mercy ever bent,
For the poor Indian's sake.

on the evening of the last day of spring, 1845, while passing the river Marquette; of course, the ideal in a measure takes precedence before the real.

We will add that many other writers of prominence have repeated the stories of Father Dablon and Charlevoix, more or less complete, with also occasionally, a few *extras* in the detail. The truth of the matter is, that the beautiful character which Marquette bore, and the fact that he died in that then far-away wilderness, together with the story drawn up for us by a church dignitary, have led many to accept and to assist in displaying the romantic theme.

Narrative of Long's Expedition, 1823. *See p. 205 of this vol.*

We refer the reader to those extracts, to say that neither Major Long nor his mouth-piece, Mr. Keating, have gained much celebrity as prophets, in those words of doubt and disparagement, which, like a wet blanket, they deemed their

Speak to my heart, ye stars, and tell
How, on yon distant shore,
The world-worn Jesuit bade farewell
To those that rowed him o'er;

Told them to sit and wait him there,
And break their daily food,
While he, to his accustomed prayer,
Retired within the wood.

And how they saw the day go round,
Wondering he came not yet,
Then sought him anxiously and found
Not the kind, calm Marquette,—

He silently had passed away,—
But on the green sward there,
Before the Crucifix, his clay
Still kneeling, as in prayer.

Nor let me as a fable deem—
Told by some idle knave—
The legend that the lonely stream,
By which they dug his grave,

When wintry torrents from above
Swept with resistless force,
Knew and revered the man of Love
And changed its rapid course,

And left the low sepulchral mound
Uninjured by its side;
And spared the consecrated ground
Where he had knelt and died.

duty to spread over the site of this now mighty city. We wish to say a word, particularly, regarding their idea of such sterility of soil, and such unfavorable climatic peculiarity, amounting to an impossibility to successfully cultivate Indian-corn hereabout. It used to be a frequent speech of old "Rough and Ready" (after he got to be President), addressed to Chicago men who might call on him,—"*I understand you raise plenty of corn and fat hogs in your country, sir;*" and we have not the least doubt that our neighbor Long John himself has made forcible response in the affirmative to the old General after that short but affluent harangue. Mr. Keating assumes to decide the corn question, as well as that of general and utter barrenness, from the story told him that the soldiers could not raise anything scarcely, or not enough to live on. Now, we do not generally place a high estimate upon the agricultural zeal or ability of soldiers in garrison; the patriotism of the private does not usually take that direction when he enlists, nor afterward; and many officers, perhaps, have less skill in the *charge* of a platoon of potatoes, or the sabre-clad ranks of a field of corn, than of that of some other body of warriors, and they had not in those days the benefit and counsel of the "Prairie Farmer," nor the "Western Rural." Yet we know that before that year of 1823, the gardens attached to Fort Dearborn were of no little account for their small fruits and vegetables; and it is understood that when Captain Bradley arrived here, in 1816, to rebuild Fort Dearborn, the Fort grounds were occupied by a thriving crop of corn, which was being raised by Antoine Ouilmette and Alexander Robinson. Indian-corn not grow in Chicago, the motto upon whose seal was to be "*Urbs in Horto!*" The idea seems preposterous; so much inclined is it to sprout and grow, that the fact, to our personal knowledge, has been a frightful one sometimes to corn dealers and warehouse men. We presume Messrs. Long and Keating have both gone from earth ere this, (indeed we know that Major Long died in 1864); but if they were living to-day, those aged men, with staff in hand, might stroll over to the vegetable market-place

on Randolph Street, between Halsted and Desplaines, and, upon a summer day, be surprised at those formidable parallels, those lines of batteries, loaded with cabbage and squash, potatoes, beans, peas, onions, beets, tomatoes, carrots, cucumbers, celery, melons, egg-plant, turnips, *and* corn. The ripe and pearly or golden maize! Visions of hoe-bake and johnny-cake, suppawn and hominy, and dozens of other kindred preparations, appear to us while reading that corn will not grow and ripen about Chicago. Why, Chicago has been mushed, starched, maize-fed, and we may say *corned*, from its youth up; that army of porkers, the forty million strong, more or less, annually on the alert for Chicago, each with Bridgeport in his nostrils and a tear in his eye, would no doubt utter an emphatic "*aye*" to all we have here said.

(Lecture of J. N. Balestier, before the Chicago Lyceum, Jan. 21, 1840.)

The dearth of reliable authorities, as reference for needed data when Mr. Balestier wrote his lecture called "The Annals of Chicago," was, perhaps, a reasonable excuse for various errors which appear therein. But as a new edition of the lecture has been printed without alteration, we will point out a few desirable corrections:

Page 18 of reprint.—"In that year (1572), Mons. Joliet and Father Marquette paddled up the Illinois river from its mouth, and crossed over to Michigan."

We may say that neither of them were "paddling" at that time, as the birth of both occurred long after such date. Nor when they did together so *paddle*, say 101 years after the date given, did they "cross over to Michigan," but continued along the west side of the lake to Green Bay.

Page 19 of do.—"In 1804, the United States established here a military post, which was called Fort Chicago, and about the same period the American Fur Company established a trading station under the guns of the Fort."

The United States forces took possession of the post, and commenced building Fort Dearborn, in 1803; the American Fur Co. was not organized until some years after the fort was completed.

Page 19 of do.—"After the capitulation at Detroit, orders were sent to Captain Heald to abandon the Fort at this place."

The surrender of Detroit was on the 16th August, one day after the evacuation of Fort Dearborn.

Page 21 of do.—"It was rebuilt in 1817, and its name changed to Fort Dearborn."

The answer to this may be seen on page 22 of this volume.

Page 33 of do.—"In 1834, the *Chicago Democrat* was started by John Calhoun."

The year was 1833.

The work of the late Mrs. John H. Kinzie, known as Wau-bun, the "Early Day," was, we believe, first published in 1856, and numerous and flattering commendations were bestowed upon the authoress of that very entertaining volume. Years ago, we expressed our own gratification after reading it. Still, the fact that the book is an interesting one should not prevent, even at this late day, the notice of any mistakes which it may contain.

Wau-bun, p. 26.—"My husband pointed out to me, far away to the northwest, a promontory, which he told me was Point St. Ignace. It possessed great historic interest as one of the earliest white settlements on this continent. The Jesuit missionaries had established here a church and school as early as 1607."

We are not advised of the source from which the fair authoress was led by her husband to the perpetration of the above profound chronological error.

Do., p. 183.—Fort Dearborn buildings "had been erected in 1816, under the supervision of Captain Hezekiah Bradley, and there was a story current that, such was his patriotic regard for the interests of the government, he obliged the soldiers to fashion wooden pins instead of spikes and nails to fasten the timbers of the buildings, and that he even called on the junior officers to aid in their construction along with the soldiers, whose business it was. If this were true, the Captain must have labored under the delusion (excusable in one who had lived long on the frontier) that government would thank its servants for any excess of economical zeal."

We are fully impressed with the idea that it was *discreet*, if not indispensable, to "fashion wooden pins to fasten the tim-

bers of the buildings," which buildings, if we are correctly informed, were mostly of squared timber. Probably there are not as many wooden pins made to-day as in 1816. Spikes and nails in Chicago are somewhat plentier, and a good deal cheaper now than then. Yet, *we* remember of a half century ago how quickly and beautifully one who was accustomed to it could whittle out, with a broad-axe, those pins of hickory or white-oak.

The life of a soldier in garrison is often an idle one, and we have no sympathy to expend on account of any pretended hardships endured by soldiers, or even "junior officers," if called on to fashion wooden pins to help build their own castle.

Further, we must express our dissent to the teachings in the last sentence of the paragraph quoted, for from it we must infer that our government does n't stoop to encourage economy, but winks at lavish waste, and that it is a "delusion" to think otherwise; and therefore it is ridiculous to be careful in the expenditure of public funds. This maxim, apparently sought to be inculcated, whose office or application, though a humble one in the quotation above,—hanging on a wooden pin,—might yet naturally lead to other extravagances, to misappropriations, defalcations, perjury, and theft, embracing, indeed, the whole catalogue of known or untold moral and financial delinquencies among the servants of our Government during the past few or many succeeding decades.

Of Captain, or rather Major Hezekiah Bradley (for he was so brevetted, in 1814, for "ten years of faithful service"), we cannot say how long he had lived on the frontier; but he had distinguished himself in the successful defence of Fort Bowyer, at Mobile Point, Ala., September, 1814. He died 18th May, 1826.

Do., p. 185.—"On the northern bank of the river, directly facing the fort, was the family mansion of my husband."

It was not strictly, perhaps, on the part of Mrs. Kinzie, an improper term, or, at most, it was a very innocent affectation of hers to call the old Kinzie house a "mansion"; yet gen-

erally, under that designation and title, we are apt to look for something loftier than a mere ranche-hut or lodge; in fact, the early Kinzie abode here was apparently the veriest of cabins, having, it is true, a shallow attic or loft under a roof of bark or *shakes*, but rejoicing in no presumptious upper stories.

Do., p. 187.—"At the point on the south side (1831) stood a house just completed by Mark Beaubien, sen. It was a pretentious white two-story building, with bright-blue wooden shutters, the admiration of all the little circle at Wolf Point."

We spoke to the venerable pioneer and renowned *boniface*, Mark B., regarding the "white two-story building;" he responded, "*I built de first house in Chicago;*" and when we rallied him about those bright-blue window shutters, he said, "*No! blue? no; dat's Dutch.*" Yet we know that Mr. B. was mistaken as to the *first house*, and possibly, too, as to the *blue shutters*.

Do., p. 188.—"It was denominated Lee's Place, or Hardscrable. Here lived, at this time, a settler named Heacock."

From the best information found, it is believed that the place was not, at that time (spring of 1831), occupied by Mr. Heacock. Russell E. Heacock then, or subsequently, lived not far from there, but on the opposite side of the river, at a place called Heacock's Point.

Do., p. 188.—"Billy Caldwell, the Sau-ga-nash, too resided here occasionally with his wife, who was a daughter of *Nee-scot-nee-meg.*"

Medore B. Beaubien assured us that Billy Caldwell did not at any time reside at Wolf Point, but his home was on the north-side.

Do., p. 189.—"Gholsen Kercheval had a small trading establishment in one of the log buildings at Wolf Point." (1831.)

"This is an error," said Medore B. Beaubien, "he was clerk for Robert Kinzie."

Do., p. 223.—"The party in the boat consisted of Mrs. Kinzie and her four younger children, their nurse Grutte (afterwards Mrs. John B. Beaubien)," etc.

We quote the above, in which appears the name "Grutte,"

to say that there is evidently a mistake (probably an error of the printer) in calling her "*Grutte.*" She had no such name; she was *Josette* Laframboise, daughter of Francis Laframboise, Sen.

Do., p. 262.—"Once, upon a Sunday, we were rowed up to 'the point' to attend a religious service, conducted by Father S——, as he was called. We saw a tall, slender man, dressed in a green frock coat, from the sleeves of which dangled a pair of hands giving abundant evidence, together with the rest of his dress, that he placed small faith in the axiom—'cleanliness is a part of holiness.' He stepped briskly upon a little platform behind a table, and commenced his discourse. His subject was 'The fear of God.'"

We need not quote further from our authoress to present her estimate of Father S. She could not suppress the inclination to ridicule the preacher's person, his dress, gestures, pronunciation, and, withal, his whole discourse. It is not surprising that Mrs. K., a lady of culture, accustomed to hearing from the desk none other than the sermons of an educated and refined clergy, whose teachings in the church of her choice were clothed in a different garb from those essayed to be enforced by Father See, should naturally recoil at the uncouth and rude words and manner of the speaker. We think, however, Mr. See should have been forgiven, if indeed his conduct was a fault, under the circumstances. The *circumstances*, or some of them perhaps, may be mentioned. Mr. See, though sometimes called *Reverend*, was not, that we are aware, a regularly ordained or commissioned clergyman, but was properly and only, we think, *an exhorter* of the Methodist Episcopal Church. That his home had been, always perhaps, on the frontier, upon the outskirts of civilization, may possibly account for various words and phrases which he used. Mr. See was, we think, a *poor* man, and he was clad as necessity, not choice, prescribed. He was by trade a blacksmith, and this fact may account for the appearance of his hands, which mere washing did not make lily-white. We believe that he urged Christian morals upon his hearers, and preached repentance and faith in Christ. No learned individual stepped forth to speak of the gospel to the crowd of

rough loiterers or others gathered at Father Walker's "school-house;" if there had been, we do not doubt Mr. S. would cheerfully have given place to him. As it was, he embraced his opportunity, and did what he could to confer some good upon those who might listen. We will add that Mr. S. had the respect, generally, of his neighbors; and however unfitted by want of education for the position, he yet received the appointment, and for a while officiated, as first Clerk of the Commissioners' Court, after the organization of Cook County, in the spring of 1831.

The chapters in Wau-bun, the "Early Day" (edition of 1856), headed "Massacre at Chicago," are mostly taken from a pamphlet compiled by the same person—Mrs. Juliette A. Kinzie. We had supposed, from the name in the copy-right notice, that John H. Kinzie, the husband of the lady, was the writer of the tract; but we are assured to the contrary by an individual who knows. Our edition bears the imprint of Ellis & Fergus, 1844, but a note in Wau-bun gives us to understand that it was "published in pamphlet form in 1836;" yet, Mr. Fergus says that of 1844 was its first appearance in print. Various alterations, additions, and improvements withal appear in the Wau-bun presentation of the tract. Yet we notice one statement in the pamphlet which fails to appear in the "Early Day;" speaking of Mrs. Helm, it says: "In the engagement, she received a slight wound in the ankle; and she had her horse shot under her." That lady, the wife of Lieut. L. T. Helm, of the army, furnished an account—as appears by the work referred to—of what she witnessed of the catastrophe from her various stand-points on that occasion.

We shall not presume to deny the statements or particulars given in Mrs. Helm's details of the "Massacre," still, we will avail ourself of the present occasion to suggest the probability, or indeed the rather apparent fact, of a *feud* which existed among the officers of Fort Dearborn at the time of the abandonment of this post. How long this contention had existed cannot, of course, be known; yet it is plain that several of the subordinate officers were at variance with the com-

mandant; that this feeling had prevailed some time before the evacuation; and that the Kinzie family (which included Mrs. Helm, the writer of the sketch) warmly sympathized with the disaffected. How much the position of Dr. Van Voorhis, in that controversy, may have inclined the prejudices of Mrs. Helm, who, without intentionally portraying an erroneous view of a scene in that tragic drama, may yet have exaggerated or discolored the facts, we will not attempt to indicate.

Mrs. Helm's sketch in Wau-bun, p. 225.—"While I was thus engaged, the surgeon, Dr. Van Voorhees, came up. He was badly wounded. His horse had been shot under him, and he had received a ball in his leg. Every muscle of his face was quivering with the agony of terror. He said to me, 'Do you think they will take our lives? I am badly wounded, but I think not mortally. Perhaps we might purchase our lives by promising a large reward. Do you think there is any chance?"

Mrs. Helm's answer, and the further conversation between them, as reported by her, we here omit; that recital certainly confers no honor upon the memory of Dr. Isaac V. Van Voorhis. We wish, however, to append what we think a very sensible extract relating to the subject from a pamphlet by Dr. James N. Hyde, entitled "Early Medical Chicago," p. 4:

"But there are several circumstances which the professional reader cannot fail to consider before consigning the name and reputation of Dr. Van Voorhees to historical obloquy. Without questioning the veracity of the writer, it is evident that the incidents narrated rest upon the recollection of a single individual, and that individual a woman, surrounded by circumstances of extreme peril and excitement. She appears as the heroine of the story, and on that account due allowance should be made for partiality of statement. Dr. Van Voorhees, moreover, was evidently suffering from his wounds. We only know of that inflicted upon the leg. What other injuries he may have sustained—whether of the brain, chest, or abdomen—we cannot know. Whether, indeed, he was wounded even unto death, and sank lifeless to the ground soon after, rather as the result of this than from the blow of a tomahawk, cannot be determined. Jurists as well as medical men learn to accept, with great reserve, statements made either *in articulo mortis* or in the immediate peril of violent death. Too many surgeons have exhibited not only a consummate skill, but a splendid courage upon the field of battle, for their professional brethren to doubt the compatibility of these virtues. They will only remember, therefore, of their martyred representative

in the battle of Chicago, that he was sorely wounded in the discharge of his professional duties, and that he died the death of a soldier."

In Wau-bun, p. 240, the following extract appears, with quotation marks, as a part of Mrs. Helm's sketch; in the "pamphlet" it previously appears, but not as a part of *her* account:

"'On the third day after the battle, the family of Mr. Kinzie, with the clerks of the establishment, were put into a boat, under the care of Francois, a half-breed interpreter, and conveyed to St. Joseph's, where they remained until the following November, under the protection of To-pee-nee-bee's band.'"

The following in Wau-bun, p. 241, was not in the "pamphlet:"

"Mrs. Helm had accompanied her parents to St. Joseph, where they resided in the family of Alexander Robinson, receiving from them all possible kindness and hospitality for several months."

Sketch by Mrs. Kinzie, p. 22, No. 10 "Fergus' Historical Series:"

"They were, the next day," after the fighting, "escorted by the chief, Robinson, and other friends, in their boat to the St. Joseph River, to the home of Mme. Bertrand, a sister of the famous chief, To-pee-nee-bee-haw, whence, after a short sojourn, they were carried to Detroit and delivered as prisoners of war to the British commanding-officer, Col. McKee."

It would seem that somewhere in the above two or three extracts there was carelessness in statement or compilation, inasmuch as it was "on the third day after the battle" as well as "next day after."

They were "under the care of Francois," as well as "escorted by Chief Robinson." At St. Joseph, they were "under the protection of To-pee-nee-bee's band," as well as "in the family of Alexander Robinson," and also "the home of Mme. Bertrand, a sister of the famous Chief To-pee-nee-bee-haw."

Leaving the reader to reconcile any diversity in the narrative, we will only remark, that if the Kinzie family were the Robinson's guests, Alex. and his wife must have left them presently for a six-hundred-mile canoe-voyage to Mackinaw and back, to which post they conveyed Captain and Mrs.

Heald. We think the "Mme. Bertrand" *as above* was a *misnomer*. Kaw-kee-mee, a sister of the Chief To-pay-nah-bay, lived at St. Joseph, but she was the wife of Mr. Burnett. Though the "prisoners" may have been delivered to Colonel McKee, the Indian Agent, we do not suppose that he was "commanding-officer" at Detroit.

See Fergus' Historical Series, No. 10.—Hon. I. N. Arnold read before the Historical Society, July 11, 1877, a sketch of Col. John H. Kinzie, written by his wife, the late Mrs. Juliette A. Kinzie, and communicated by her daughter, Mrs. Nellie Kinzie Gordon.

Page 11, also p. 26 of do.—"In 1834, he came to Chicago with his family to reside. He was the first President of the village."

The first election for Town or Village Trustees was held August 10, 1833, yet Col. Kinzie was not one of the five so chosen; nor does his name appear as one of the twenty-eight voters upon that occasion. We think he was not here at that time. In the *Chicago Democrat* (No. 1), Nov. 26, 1833, we learn that the President of the Village (the first one no doubt) was Thos. J. V. Owen, and Isaac Harmon was Secretary or Clerk. His name, however, appears in the year 1834 as President of the Board of Trustees.

Page 21 of do.—"Col. John H. Kinzie was born at Sandwich, U. C., on the 7th of July, 1803."

We believe the above date is correct notwithstanding the Col., in his own hand, upon the Old Settlers' Society Record Book, now in the Library of the Chicago Historical Society, says he was "born in Sandwich, U. C., July 7, 1804," and arrived at Chicago "Oct., 1804."

Page 21 of do.—"While still an infant, he was carried in an Indian cradle, on the shoulders of a French 'engage,' to their home at what is now the town of Bartram, on the St. Joseph River, in Michigan." "His father having purchased the trading establishment of Mons. Le Mai, at the mouth of the Chicago River, removed with his family to the place on the following year. Some companies of infantry, under the command of Maj. John Whistler, arrived at the same time—4th of July—and commenced the construction of Fort Dearborn."

We do not know of any "town of Bartram" in Michigan; probably *Bertrand* is the name intended. Col. K. (as above) said he arrived here in October, 1804. The Whistlers came in 1803 to build Fort Dearborn. (See p. 25 of this vol.) John Whistler was captain in 1803, and major by brevet in 1812.

Page 23 of do.—"In 1818, Col. Kinzie was taken by his father to Mackinaw, to be indentured to the American Fur Co., and placed under the care of Ramsay Crooks, Esq. * * * This engagement was for five years, during which time he was never off the island, except upon one occasion, when he was taken by Mr. Robert Stuart, who succeeded Mr. Crooks at the head of the Company, to visit the British officers at Drummond Island."

Yet, on page 24 of same sketch, it seems he drove a team at hauling wood across the Straits to Bois Blanc* Island some considerable time during a winter of his residence at Mackinac.

Ex-Lieut.-Gov. Bross has issued a pamphlet edition of his "History of Chicago," together with some other articles historical, commercial, and statistical. This history is the result of considerable research, and originally appeared in a Chicago newspaper edited and published by the late Mr. Scripps and himself. The present edition has been trimmed and spliced a little, revised and corrected by the Governor, as we observe by comparing it with the original, which we preserved nearly twenty-five years ago, being then a subscriber to the paper in which it appeared. In his Introduction to this reprint in March, 1876, he says:

"The records from which I prepared the 'History of Chicago' for the *Democratic Press* in the winter of 1854, were all burned in our great fire of 1871. Though at first sight this history may not seem to be of much importance, it may interest somebody 'a hundred years hence' to read what was recorded by our first settlers."

In reference to the above, we agree with the Ex-Lt.-Gov., that along down the stream of time, say a century from now, it will indeed interest somebody to know "what was recorded by our first settlers." Some of his items, procured from cer-

* Misprinted "Bois Blank" in the sketch.

tain early residents now deceased, namely: Brown, Hamilton, Dole, Kinzie, and Clybourn, and others being copied from county or city records which were burnt, are fortunately preserved in the History by Governor B., and therefore to him the citizens of Chicago must ever continue indebted. Yet a good share of the particulars of his compilation, we believe, was derived from other sources. The file of the *Chicago Democrat*, the same we think which Gov. B. examined, is still in existence; Mrs. John H. Kinzie's sketch of the "Massacre" is not a scarce tract; "Balestier's Address," delivered in 1840, was reprinted in 1876; "Henry Brown's History of Illinois," published in 1844, is a common book; and "Perkins' Annals," with Peck's notes of a later date, not to refer to the "Historical Sketch and Description of the City," probably by Long John himself, which appeared, in a previous month, in the columns of the *Daily Democrat*, are by no means extinct.

Inasmuch as Gov. Bross, in his new edition, fails to correct a number of errors, we will notice them here.

Page 11.—"The first white men who ever visited this region were Marquette and Joliet, two Jesuit missionaries, who explored this section of the Mississippi Valley in the years 1662–3."

Louis Joliet, a native of Canada, though educated at the Jesuit college, at Quebec, *was not* a priest nor a "missionary"; he had been a bold and enterprising adventurer in the fur trade in the west, and hence was chosen by the government to lead the expedition to the Mississippi.

Some may contend that Chicago is not at present a section of the "Mississippi Valley," but lies wholly this side the divide, and within the basin of the St. Lawrence; at any rate, the years given, "1662–3," are erroneous.

Page 13.—"The idea of a canal, connecting the waters of the Lakes with those of the Mississippi, was suggested as early as 1814. In Niles' Register, of August 6th, the following paragraph may be found: 'By the Illinois River it is probable that *Buffalo*, in New York, may be united with *New-Orleans* by inland navigation, through Lakes Erie, Huron, and Michigan, and down the river to the Mississippi. What a route! How stupendous the idea! How dwindles the importance of the artificial canals of Europe compared to *this*

water communication. If it should ever take place—and it is said the opening may be easily made—the Territory (of Illinois) will become the seat of an immense commerce, and a market for the commodities of all regions.'"

We quote the above only to say that Peter B. Porter (who afterward fought the enemy so courageously on the banks of the Niagara), a member of Congress from N. Y., spoke on the floor of the House, in 1810, in favor of such improvement; but the same "idea of a canal" was thought of and suggested by Louis Joliet one hundred and forty years before the above appeared in *Niles' Register*. See page 147 of this volume.

Page 14.—"The list of families residing here in the autumn of 1829, as given by Judge Lockwood, is as follows: John Kinzie, the father of our present excellent Alderman John H. Kinzie, resided on the north side, a little west of McCormick's factory."

As John Kinzie had died in January, 1828, there is evidently *an error* in the statement.

Page 15.—"The next day" (that is, Aug. 13, 1812,) "the Indians came together to receive the presents; but their countenances betokened anger and deep-seated revenge when only the goods of the United States factory were distributed among them." "In the afternoon," (on 13th,) "Capt. Wells, the brother of Mrs. Heald, arrived from Fort Wayne with fifteen friendly Miami Indians, to act as a guard in the retreat that was to follow."

We suggest that it was the *inference* merely of Lieut.-Gov. Bross, without the assurance from any source, that the Indians' "countenances betokened anger and deep-seated revenge" when the goods were distributed. Something Mrs. Kinzie said may have misled him. We may remark here, that the authoress of "Waubun," we think, never met Mrs. Helm, or the elder John Kinzie. But Mrs. Helm said nothing of the threatening behavior, in the sketch quoted as from her; neither did John Kinzie, Sen., in his account given Gov. Cass and party. Moreover, Capt. Heald (in his letter on p. 177 of this vol.) said the Indians "conducted with the strictest propriety till after I left the fort." Indeed, it would have been altogether contrary to the ways of one important ingredient in Indian tactics, namely that of strategy, to exhibit in

the "countenances," or in other manner, any purpose, or design of deceit or betrayal, till the victims were within their toils.

As we understand it, Capt. Wells *was not* a brother of Mrs. Capt. Heald. By a letter from Captain Heald, dated Oct. 23, 1812, he says there were "about 30 Miamis" arrived with Captain Wells, and that the goods were delivered to the Indians "*on the 14th.*"

Page 15.—"They held a council, and soon their chiefs, of whom *Black Partridge* was the leader, motioned Capt. Heald to approach."

The above contains an error, inasmuch as Black Partridge was not the Indian meant to be represented. Captain Heald said it was *Black Bird.* The two Indians were different individuals; Black Partridge was *Mucketeypokee*, and Black Bird was *Mucketepennese*, and both their names appear attached to the Treaty of St. Louis in Aug., 1816. John Kinzie, Sen., told *(see ante, p. 191,)* that *Mukudapenais* (Black Bird) negotiated with Capt. Heald for the surrender. Mr. Fonda speaks of *Muck-ke-tay-pe-nay*, a great chief,—probably the same,—who lived at Peoria Lake in 1825.

Page 16.—"In the fall of 1828, the Winnebagoes," &c.

The year was 1827 instead of "1828."

Page 17.—"The blacksmith then occupying one of the buildings was a Mr. McGee."

David McKee, without doubt, was the person meant.

Page 18.—"There were then" (winter of 1831–2,) "*no mail routes, post-roads*, nor *post-offices* at Chicago."

There was certainly a post-office; Mr. J. N. Bailey was appointed postmaster in spring of 1831.

Page 24.—The name of Dr. Maxwell is given, with several other citizens, who arrived in 1832.

As we understand it, Dr. M. did not reside here until 1833,

Page 29.—The name of "S. D. Pierce," among others, is given as appearing in the second number of Mr. Calhoun's paper—the *Chicago Democrat.*

That seems to be a mistake; Mr. P.'s name does not appear there, at least we cannot see it; then he lived in N. Y.

Page 30.—"On Saturday, July 11, 1834, the schooner Illinois entered the harbor, and sailed up the river amid the acclamations of the citizens. She was the first large vessel that ever entered the Chicago river."

The 11th July, 1834, *did not* come on Saturday. There appears another statement, to be seen on page 38, of "The Calumet Club Reception to Old Settlers," which names another vessel as a rival for the honors above named, to wit, Judge Caton said, "On that same 14 July" (1834) "an event occurred of a commercial character which should render it memorable, and deserves to be recorded. On that day, the first commercial vessel that ever passed the piers into the Chicago harbor—the 'Areadne,' Capt. Pickering." If the claims collide, we must leave the matter for those gentlemen to settle.

[Since the above was sent to the printer, we are told by Mrs. Calhoun the name of the vessel was the *Illinois*, whose master was Captain Pickering. A reference to the file of the *Chicago Democrat* confirms the correctness of memory in the statement of Mrs. C., and the eventful day was Saturday, July 12, 1834; therefore the Governor and the Judge are even on the mistakes, each having made two.]

Page 31.—"On the 9th of Sept., 1833."

The printer's mistake; should be 1835.

Page 31.—"On Thursday, May 18, 1836, the sloop Clarissa, the first vessel ever built in Chicago, was launched."

May 18, 1836, *was not* Thursday; and the *Clarissa* was not launched on the 18th, but on the 12th May, 1836.

Page 31.—"The Fire Department was organized on the 19th of September, 1835, as appears by the following resolution passed by the Board of Trustees on that day: 'Resolved, that the President order two engines, for the use of the Corporation, of such description as he shall deem necessary, and also 1000 feet of hose, on the credit of the Corporation.'"

There was certainly *some* organization in that line at an earlier day, as appears by the following note, which we have copied from the original:

"MR. A. V. KNICKERBOCKER:

"SIR—You are hereby notified that C. Boardman has applied to become a member of the Washington Vol. Fire Company in place of H. Williams, and a meeting is called, by order of the Capt., for that purpose, on Thursday, 4 o'clock P.M.

Jan'y 8th, 1833. J. J. GILLESPIE, Sec'y.

The above will also correct an error in a very interesting and valuable article entitled, "Wid Der Masheen," which appeared in the *Chicago Times*, several years since; the statement was as follows:

"On the 7th day of October, A. D. 1836, a number of persons assembled in Ike Cook's saloon, in the basement of Garrett's auction store on Water street, and after the matter had been freely discussed, it was determined to organize a hook and ladder company for the protection of property against fires. This was the first Fire Company ever organized in this city."

To correct one further error in the above extract from the "*Times*," we may say, there was *no basement* to Garrett's auction store on the corner of South Water Street. Cook's saloon was some sixty feet south of Garrett's store, on Dearborn Street.

The valuable and interesting pamphlet, entitled "Early Medical Chicago," by James Nevins Hyde, M. D., 1876, contains a few mistakes which we will notice:

Page 2.—"Even as early as the Treaty of Greenville, O., which is dated August 3, 1795, there is some reference to a fort built at the junction of the lake and river. This was, however, a small stockade erected for the protection of French traders at the point where the north and south branches of the river unite, some remains of which were still to be seen in the year 1818."

We are not aware that the exact position of the fort referred to in the Treaty of Greenville was indicated, or that it must be supposed to have been at "the point where the north and south branches of the river unite," any more than at the spot where Fort Dearborn was begun, in 1803; of the two, we think the latter is more likely to have been the locality. There were, doubtless, from time to time during the century and a-half which preceded the Greenville Treaty, many trading-houses at various places by the river, often, perhaps, pro-

vided with a "small stockade," and it is likely that the ruins "still to be seen in the year 1818" were of one of those. But it is understood that the French erected a military fortress of some sort at an early day (see *ante*, p. 164), the same probably referred to, in 1718, by James Logan, as appears on page 171 of this volume.

Page 2.—"J. H. Kinzie," which appears in the note on this page, should have been *J. Kinzie*, as the father of J. H. K. was evidently the one intended.

Page 6.—"Antoine Houlmette."

Antoine Ouilmette it is usually written.

Page 6.—"It may be mentioned here that Mr. Hubbard, at a later period (1834), erected the first brick building ever reared in Chicago."

This, without doubt, is an error. In 1833, Alanson Sweet and William Worthingham built a brick house under contract for John Noble. It was on the north side of the river, and the lot upon which it was erected adjoined that of the subsequent Lake House. When they dug for the foundation of that hotel, the Noble dwelling came near tumbling down. We have heard that the quality of the brick was defective—inclining to crumble. Yet, previously, one brick building at least stood within the last Fort Dearborn.

Page 7.—"Charles Jewett" and "John H. Kinzie."

Should be *Charles Jouett* and *John Kinzie.*

Page 11.—"Between the gardens and the river bank was a log-cabin, erected in 1817. It had been the residence of Jean Baptiste Beaubien, Point au Sable, a native of San Domingo." "The cabin had finally come into the possession of an Indian trader named Le-Mai, from whom it had been purchased by Mr. Kinzie."

The above, by some inadvertence, seems made up of items sadly mixed and demoralized. The Kinzie cabin on the north side, and another log "mansion" on the south side, here appear to struggle after one and the same identity.

Page 13.—Various items upon the page here named, copied from "Wau-bun," we have before noticed; two others we will here allude to. "Charles See" was *not* Charles, but *William.*

Further, it was a mistake to say that the old home at Hardscrabble, having "interest attached to it in consequence of its connection with the old Indian massacre," was "erected some time before by a settler named Reuben E. Heacock." That massacre at the Lee place was in the spring of 1812, but Mr. Heacock did not come to Chicago until fifteen years afterwards. Also, we add that "Mark Beaubien, Jr.," *was not the junior*.

Page 21.—"In response to my inquiries (for the answers to which I am greatly indebted to Assistant-Surgeon John S. Billings, U. S. A., now of the Surgeon-General's office), it is made clear that there is no record of any medical officer stationed at the fort prior to the time of Assistant-Surgeon S. G. J. DeCamp, of New Jersey. Of Dr. Van Voorhees, and Dr. J. B. Finley, no information can be obtained at the War Department. Dr. DeCamp was appointed Assistant-Surgeon, October 10, 1823."

Still, we learn from a note in the "Narrative of Long's Expedition" (v. 1, p. 90), that Dr. Thomas P. Hall was stationed at Fort Dearborn in June, 1823, when Captain Long's party were here, and that Dr. Hall was the author of a valuable manuscript concerning the Indians, principally relating to the Pottawatomies; various extracts from the medical references are copied into the Narrative. In the U. S. Army Dictionary, we are told that Dr. Hall (of Md.) was a surgeon in 1813, but disbanded in 1815; assistant-surgeon in May, 1821; and died 21 Sept., 1825, at Augusta, Ga.

In the Dictionary, we also see the name of Isaac V. Van Voorhis, of N. Y., as surgeon's mate, appointed 1 March, 1811.

Page 38.—"The name of C. H. Duck is accompanied by letters which purport that the gentleman was a member of the Royal College of Surgeons, London; and a card, displayed in larger type beneath, advertises his gratuitous treatment of the indigent sick and lame, on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Saturdays. This Duck appears to express himself in the inarticulateness of a quack. What a commentary is here on the public proclamation of professional merit, and that willingness to aid the needy which should be the signet and seal of every true character, whether of the physician or the layman! The name of the man who appended the imposing letters to the title has sunk into an obscurity, which is interesting only to the an-

tiquarian, while the modest and unpretentious youth, who entered Chicago riding on an Indian pony, has added to his name a lustre which no title could intensify."

Perhaps the above may be thought a little too severe on the individual known as Dr. Duck. It was no misdemeanor for the Doctor to advertise his calling, even though here disparagingly termed "public proclamation;" and if he rightfully appended to his name certain capital letters, showing his connection with a reputable London institution, why, it is in nowise different from what the Rush Medical College doth authorize, encourage, and practice. Nor was there anything criminal in the act of Dr. Duck when he volunteered gratuitous attendance upon the sick and needy. The common phrase "tricks of the trade" has no narrow application, but comprises a field as boundless as human enterprise or schemes, whether good or evil. Dr. D. was an Englishman, and if he at any time betrayed that national weakness called "*swagger*," some allowance ought to be made. The fact that brilliant talents and wonderful skill have made one name celebrated, while another who did not exhibit those gifts has passed into "obscurity," gives us no just reason to bespatter with bad ink the memory of the last-named personage. Dr. Brainard's name is high up and shining in the temple of fame, and no one could wish to lessen its true brilliancy; yet there is one fact hitherto unnamed, and for which there has, apparently, been no room. We have been assured, however, by those who may reasonably claim to know, that whatever noble traits were possessed by Dr. Brainard, that one which exhibits a lively recollection of early favors and kindness (involving, possibly, not a little of the direction and determination of his ultimate success), in short, the sentiment of *gratitude*, found no place within his breast.

It will be proper here to add, that since the above was written and marked for the printer, a new edition of "Medical Chicago" is nearly ready to be published; and we learn that several of the errors named have been corrected, and some sentences entirely omitted, in the new and improved issue, in Fergus' Historical Series, No. 11.

The *Chicago Tribune*, April 27, 1878, speaking of the funeral of Dr. C. V. Dyer, the day previous, says:

"The officiating clergyman was Prof. Swing, who preceded the pall-bearers, Judge Henry W. Blodgett, the Hon. Wm. Bross, Mahlon D. Ogden, Amos T. Hall, Hon. Isaac N. Arnold, and Z. Eastman, all life-long friends of the deceased, and co-workers with him in the great abolition struggle."

By a gentleman, whose home was in Chicago as long ago as 1832, and who was early and prominently engaged in the abolition cause here, and particularly active in assisting to free from slavery numerous fugitives by the *under-ground railroad*, and therefore may claim to know something about the matter referred to, we are told that the notice in the *Tribune* scarcely conveys a correct idea of the facts. The names given were certainly *not* those of the *early* "co-workers" with the zealous Doctor D., in the anti-slavery movement in Chicago. Some of them were not here *very* early, and some that were did not promptly assist. We may say that the Ogdens in particular, stood aloof from the unpopular movement; they were not identified with the cause, and would have spurned the touch of even "the hem" of the Doctor's garment in the early days of anti-slavery. In after years, when Dr. D. had attained some position *financially*, he was recognized, acknowledged, and assisted in the benevolent enterprise.

Page 122, vol. 1, Coll's Pio. Soc., Mich.—In Mr. Winslow's sketch of Berrien County, Mich., he states that the U. S. Government concluded to establish at least one fort on Lake Michigan; and that it was the first design of the commissioners, sent for the purpose of selecting a place, to have it erected at the mouth of St. Joseph River. But the Indians held a council and made determined objections to the plan, and hence the commissioners went to Chicago, and the fort was built at that place. "We conclude," says Mr. W., "that had the fort been built at St. Joseph, there would have been no Chicago."

Neither contingency however, we think, could be reckoned among the possibilities. At the Treaty of Greenville, signed in August, 1795, there was ceded to the United States the following, to wit: "Six miles square at the mouth of Chikago River, emptying into the southwest end of Lake Michigan, where a fort formerly stood." Various other small tracts of land were named in the Treaty, with the evident expectation of being needed by the Government for military occupation, or other national use. Yet the locality at the mouth of the St. Joseph River of Michigan seems not to have been thought of. In the summer of 1798, as by a letter of Wm. Burnett (see *ante*, p. 66), it seems to have been a common report that there was expected a garrison to be established at Chicago that season. That was five years before Fort Dearborn was commenced. We do not believe it was the purpose of the Government, at any time, to erect that "one fort on Lake Michigan," at St. Joseph River; nor, if it had been built, can we see how that would have made any difference with Chicago. We are aware that where nature has placed no obstacles to prevent, very slight circumstances sometimes draw or change the position or settlement of a town this way or that. But with such palpable and insuperable natural advantages, possessed by the "six miles square at the mouth of Chikago River," it can scarcely be less than idle to think that a small wooden tomahawk-fortress, built across the lake, in Michigan, might nullify its every assurance of manifest destiny.

In Rev. Arthur Mitchell's "Historical Discourse," at the First Presbyterian Church, Nov. 3, 1878, he said of the early Sunday-School:

Page 6.—"Its first session was held (so I learn from Mr. Porter) in a log-house at the Point, on the west side of the south branch of the river."

This seems to be not quite correct. As Mr. Porter was not here, he could not speak from his own knowledge. On a previous page, the facts are given from a statement of one who helped to rear the institution.

Page 7.—"—from the school of Miss Eliza Chappel—the first school-teacher in Chicago."

Mrs. Porter, formerly Miss Chappel, has deserved honor for distinguished services in the early schools of Chicago, and to which we have referred elsewhere in these pages. Yet she can scarcely be called the first school-teacher, when it is known that several persons still living, one of them a lady, taught here before she came to Chicago. In this connection, we will speak of an interesting letter of John Watkins, in the appendix of the pamphlet "Calumet Club Reception to Old Settlers, May 27, 1879;" but must yet again refer the reader to an article, to be found in this volume, entitled "Early Schools of Chicago," which disproves the claim of Mr. W. (though he arrived here as early as the year 1832) to being "the first school-teacher."

The second and enlarged edition of the work known as "Chicago; Past, Present, Future," by the late John S. Wright, was published in 1870. We may refer to it as a remarkable production, not merely for the mass of statistical facts therein gathered, but for the elaborate presentation and discussion in the text, from numerous stand-points or views, extending through some 400 pages, of what may be called notable considerations, whose immediate application, however, to show something else, were yet reasons *why* we may believe, that Chicago is destined to become the greatest city on this continent. Whether that prominent idea of Mr. Wright's shall prove true prophecy or otherwise, the future will of course determine.

We wish now merely to quote from a note of Mr. Wright's regarding one little item of Chicago history, of which he seems not to have been correctly posted:

P. 99. "The first frame building was Robert A. Kinzie's store on the west side."

This error having traveled without challenge nearly forty years, with Mr. Balestier's letter of credit, in 1840, endorsed by Norris' Chicago Directory, in 1843, by the Chicago Daily

Democrat's Sketch, in 1854, and by Mr. Wright, as above, in 1870, as well as many others, meets with discredit at length. In a communication from Wm. Hickling, Esq., of Chicago, to the Chicago Historical Society, published in Fergus' Historical Series, No. 10, concerning the Chief Billy Caldwell, he says:

"In the year 1828, the Indian Department, in consideration of services rendered, built for Caldwell probably the first 'frame' house ever erected in the Northwest. The timbers for the frame were readily furnished from trees, then abundant, not far from the spot on which the house stood, *viz.:* near the junction of North State Street and Chicago Avenue. I believe the old College of St. Mary's of the Lake, destroyed by the great fire of October, 1871, stood on the same ground that the unpretending frame shanty once occupied. The clapboards, nails, sash, etc., and also the brick used in the construction of the chimney were all brought from Cleveland, O. This former landmark of ancient Chicago was occupied by the 'Saugauash' until his departure from Chicago, *en route* westward with his tribe in 1836. Afterward, this house, relic of the olden times, was removed by Col. G. S. Hubbard to a lot on Indiana Street, (Lot 2, B 15, Kinzie's Addition). In the great fire that swept over Chicago in Oct., 1871, this old landmark of the 'North Side' disappeared from view."

In the Historical Sketch prefacing Norris' Chicago Directory of 1844, several errors, apparently taken from Mr. Balestier's Lecture, and the other works we have already noticed. Mr. Fergus has reprinted the Sketch without alteration, in his recent Chicago Directory for 1839. Mr. F. says, "The first Directory of this City was carelessly canvassed for by James Wellington Norris, attorney, in the latter part of 1843." Yet, Mr. K. K. Jones, an early resident of Chicago, now living near Quincy, Ill., is a competitor for the honor of that service; he says, "I took the census for the first regular Chicago Directory."

In the reprint of Harriet Martineau's notice of Chicago, in Fergus' Historical Series, No. 9, p. 39, appears a note, saying, "Mrs. Helm, now Mrs. Geo. C. Bates, Salt Lake City."

This is an error. Mrs. Helm was never Mrs. Bates, and both ladies have been dead many years.

The *Chicago Evening Post*, in an article under date August 28, 1872, referring to an interview with Col. Robert A. Kinzie, says John Kinzie was born in New York, and that he came to Chicago as "Agent of the American Fur Company."

Both statements are incorrect.

P. 11, of Rev. Wm. A. Bartlett's Thanksgiving Sermon, Nov. 18, 1869, says, "It is one of the curious phenomena of modern times, that in 1833 Chicago came first to the dignity of a post-office."

A mistake; that "dignity" was reached two years before.

On P. 5, of Lakeside Monthly of January, 1872, appears, "and that same year" (1833) "a post-office was established. John S. C. Hogan, who occupied a 'variety store' on Lake Street, being the first postmaster."

John Stephen Coates Hogan was appointed P.M. for Chicago in the fall of 1833; yet Mr. Bailey preceded him twenty months in the same office.

The History of Ogle County, Illinois, p. 24, says that the murders by the Indians at the Lee place, was 17 April, 1812.

Mrs. Kinzie said it was on the 7th of that month.

An original letter written by Captain N. Heald, commandant at Fort Dearborn, dated 29th April, 1812, was presented in 1857, by Samuel C. Clarke, to the Chicago Historical Society. This letter had probably been addressed to Maj.-Gen. Wm. Hull, governor of Michigan, who was the grandfather of Mr. C., and gave particulars of the late massacre at Lee's farm (Hardscrabble), on the south branch. No copy of the letter probably exists, and the original was without doubt burned. Possibly the murder happened at an earlier date than that given by Mrs. Kinzie. If the communication, as we suppose, may have been at least a semi-official report to the Governor, quite likely the affair would have been noticed at an earlier day than three weeks after it happened.

The periodical known as the *Chicago Magazine*, a monthly publication, was first issued in March, 1857; it was continued however, to the extent of only five numbers, the fifth No. answering for both July and August. If we are correctly informed, the writer of the articles in this work, entitled "History of Chicago," was Zebina Eastman, a former editor of this City, and late U. S. Consul at Bristol, Eng. The History referred to, includes matter from Mrs. Kinzie's book, with some few errors, which we have previously named; but we now speak of a few other items, as follows:

P. 21. "At this Indian village, Tonti afterward built a fort, and the locality is now known as Rock Fort. This is a rocky elevation six miles south of Ottawa, being 60 or 70 feet perpendicular on three sides, and containing about 600 acres surface."

There are certainly two important errors in the above; the height of Rock Fort or Fort St. Louis is about 125 feet, and its surface embraces about 1 acre in extent. The writer evidently confounded *Buffalo Rock*, three miles or so above and on the opposite side of the river, with Rock Fort.

P. 22. "The passage of this company" (meaning that of LaSalle and his men in 1682) "by this route, is the occasion of the first mention ever made in history of Chicago by name."

If it is meant to be said, that no name previously appears, as applied to this locality, we will refer to the journal of Father Marquette, where he speaks of the Chicago as "Portage River."

If it is intended to be said that the name *Chicago*, in any of its variations, cannot be met of an earlier date than the one referred to; we will say, the name Chicagua, believed by some to be a synonym of Chicago, and understood to have been sometimes applied to the Mississippi, certainly appears on Sanson's map of 1673-4.

Yet, if it is meant that the name Chekagou, as a designation for this locality *only*, and so appears, the statement is probably correct.

P. 113. Captain William Wells is referred to as "Captain William Wayne Wells."

An error; the latter was a younger and different individual.

P. 129. "In the summer of 1834, the first Tremont House was

built on the west corner of Lake and Dearborn Streets. It was burned down in 1839, that being the first fire that had ever happened in Chicago."

Here is certainly an error; *old* Fort Dearborn was burned by the Indians, in August, 1812; lightning struck the later Fort and burned some of the buildings in 1827; early in October, 1834, the prairies about Chicago were burning, and the scene to be witnessed nightly was brilliant; a building, however, recently erected by Captain Robert Hugunin, some two miles out upon the prairie, was consumed. On Saturday, Oct. 11, 1834, a fire happened on the corner of Lake and LaSalle Streets, destroying four wooden buildings; loss called $2125.

P. 204. Speaking of Col. J. B. Beaubien: "He is a Frenchman by nativity."

An error; he was born this side the Atlantic.

P. 205. "Mr. Hubbard was on the vessel in charge of the goods, which arrived in 1828. On board of the vessel was Mr. Heacock, another old citizen, with his family, and also the family of Mr. James Galloway," etc.

We believe the year was 1827; at least, Mr. Heacock arrived that year, of which fact we have satisfactory evidence.

P. 302. "North of this tavern" (meaning that of Elijah Wentworth) "was an oblong building which had been erected by Father Walker, a missionary of the Methodist Episcopal Church, for a place of worship, and for a school-house."

It was *south* rather than "north," if, as Mr. Beggs says, it was "situated between Randolph and Washington Streets."

P. 302. "Mr. Wentworth's tavern was the best one kept in Chicago. * * * The distinctive name of this celebrated tavern, as familiarly used by all the settlers, was 'Rat Castle,' in contrast with its rival, in distinction on the North side 'Cobweb Castle,' and in commemoration of a large class of regular boarders that infested the premises, as well as every other cabin on the river shore."

We are assured by an old settler—John Bates, Esq., who was here as early as 1832, that the rat-story is "a weak invention of the enemy;" for, however romantic a designation *rat-castle* may have been for the "geese-tavern," it was altogether undeserved, and untruthful as a matter of history; no rat here presented his sinister countenance for ten years following the period named.

It will be proper to add, however, that another early settler says that he confidently believes that *a few* of those *exotics* were seen here in the first half of that named decade.

Speaking apparently of the year 1830:

P. 302. "A little above its mouth, on the North Branch, was a log bridge, which gave access," etc. A pictorial representation also, of the junction of the North and South Branches, intended, at least, for a partial copy of George Davis' drawing in 1833, but labelled "Wolf's Point in 1830," shows a bridge above Miller's.

There was no "log-bridge" or any other, crossing on the North Branch until 1833.

[It will be proper to say here, that a hideous deformity, a large sheet lithograph, or print of some sort, was offered for sale about the City not long since, professing to give a view of Wolf Point and a bridge, in a year when there was *no bridge*, and picturing an island in the North Branch, where there was *no island*.]

We have spoken of a cut or view of Wolf Point; we will now refer to the Kinzie House, as appears on pp. 11, 28 of the *Chicago Magazine*. These cuts are different and both vary from that in "Wau-bun." The one on p. 28 stands near the Lake, its end straight with the shore, and its front also is parallel with the river; in so much it is like the cut in "Wau-bun." The small view on p. 11, appears on a larger scale in *Potter's Monthly*, of March, 1876; this does not apparently front toward the Fort, but *nearly west*, and the river there, just at the corner of its door-yard fence, seems to turn at a right angle, *northerly*. It may appear rather strange, that as early as 1856–7, that no one could sketch the appearance of the old Kinzie cabin, that is, something approximating to it and its immediate surroundings, (even though that structure had probably disappeared some twenty and odd years before), without vexing us with two views so dissimilar. Some, possibly, may think the subject trivial; we must combat that idea however, while we remember that many a picture only represents an abiding falsehood. We may recur to the subject on another page.

Judge Henry Brown, in *Chapter 16* and *note*, of his *History of Illinois, 1844*, embraces most of the substance of the pamphlet-narrative of "the massacre" by Mrs. Kinzie, of same year. Judge Brown speaks of his narrative as "differing in many respects from that hitherto published;" and says, "that he has derived his information from witnesses now living, who knew of the facts thus related. He has also been aided by an interesting narrative thereof, written with great pathos, and recently printed by Ellis & Fergus, of Chicago, the copy-right of which is secured by John H. Kinzie, Esq."

We would have been pleased if Judge Brown had named his "witnesses now living" from whom he derived his "information;" for we cannot really see very much additional or change in his account, from a repetition of the statements in the pamphlet aforesaid.

In Vol. II., p. 502, of the Wis. His. Soc. Colls., under the heading of "Errata," an error *is made* by the substitution of "Black Partridge" for *Black Bird* on a previous page. On p. 358, of this volume, reference is made to the same matter.

In Vol. III., of the Wis. His. Soc. Colls., appears the Lecture by Judge Law, of Cincinnati, O., Jan. 31, 1855, relating to the Jesuit Missionaries of the Northwest. Various misstatements from the unauthorized publication of a work compiled by the late Rev. Mr. Noiseux, as well as some from other sources, found their way into this Lecture, which, in due time, received attention from Mr. Shea and others. Without further reference to those questions, we will name one or two other items of the Lecture:

"There were three routes taken by the Jesuit Fathers, * * the second, up the Chicago river, thence by a portage across into the Kankiki."

"Marquette remained at the mission of the Miamis at Chicago, and alternately attended this and the mission to the Pottawatomies on the St. Joseph."

Both the statements in the above extracts are errors.

Rev. Stephen R. Beggs' small volume of reminiscences, published 1868, we make extracts from in another article. We will here quote:

P. 158. "A few years after our Indian agency was established here, Marquette and Joliet, of Quebec, with others, in 1671, determined to explore the land," etc.

The first part of this sentence is rather incomprehensible.

We will take the present occasion to say, that Father Beggs makes various mistakes regarding early western history, which we cannot here undertake to notice. His book is of value only as a record of his own reminiscences, and of the religious movements of his associates; and of some of those statements we could wish that he had been more particular as to dates, etc.

Mr. Beggs' reference to Wm. See (Calumet Club Reception pamphlet, 1879, p. 25) as having died in Racine, Wis., is an error.

He died in Iowa County, Wis., in 1858.

An extract from a letter of Rev. Isaac Scarrit, is quoted by Rev. S. R. Beggs, in his book referred to above, says:

"In 1828, I succeeded Rev. Jesse Walker as superintendent of the Fox River Mission. * * * While here, I planned a trip to Chicago, distant some 70 or 80 miles. * * * The next evening, we entered Chicago, which, in addition to the buildings constituting Fort Dearborn, contained the old Kinzie House, a new house of Col. Hamilton's, with perhaps one or two others," etc.

If Col. R. J. Hamilton was the one intended, there is a mistake; Col. H. was not in Chicago until 1831.

The "History of DeKalb County, Illinois," published 1868, has,

P. 44. "At the outbreak of the war, however, the company of troops posted at Chicago, who had received notice of the declaration of hostilities, and orders to evacuate and destroy their post, were ambushed at Michigan City, while escaping to Detroit, and massacred by the Indians."

The writer could scarcely have read his authorities with much attention.

Another error, in the succeeding page, is, the statement:

"But until 1814, Indiana and Illinois were under one territorial government, whose head was at Vincennes, in Indiana."

The Territory of Illinois was organized by the secretary, Nathaniel Pope, on the 28th April, 1809.

In the article of A. G. Ellis, on the Life of J. D. Doty, on p. 370, of Vol. V., Wis. Hist. Soc. Colls., it is stated that C. C. Trowbridge and John H. Kinzie had charge of one of the flotilla of canoes in the Tour of Gov. Cass to the Mississippi, in 1820.

It seems to be a mistake, as far as the name of Mr. Kinzie is concerned; he did not accompany that expedition.

In "*The Lakeside Monthly*," of Jan., 1872, in "A Glance at Chicago's History," we notice several errors, typographical and otherwise:

P. 3. "LaSalle followed in the footsteps of Marquette, late in the fall of 1670, in four canoes, he passed the mouth of the Chicago River," etc.

The year was nine later—1679.

Speaking of Capt. Heald's attempted retreat, August 15, 1812:

"He had proceeded less than two miles along the shore, when he was ambuscaded, and only three of his party escaped massacre."

This certainly is a mistake in part.

On p. 5, it is asserted that John S. C. Hogan was our first postmaster.

This oft-repeated error we have noticed before, endeavoring to administer a little needed discipline, to some who attempt to write history for us.

On pages 85 and 86, of Geo. H. Woodruff's pamphlet, of 1874, called "*Forty Years Ago*," being "A Contribution to the Early History of Joliet, and Will County," Mr. W. says, the first Foundry in Chicago and the first in the State of Illinois, was that of Gates. Also, the first load of Illinois coal hauled to Chicago, was sold to Gates, having been dug near the AuSable.

Presuming P. W. Gates, Sen., was meant, that gentleman was applied to; he, however, can not remember anything about the "coal," and as to the "first foundry," he thinks the first iron-foundry in Chicago, was established by W. H. Stow.

In *Potter's American Monthly*, of May, 1876, there is an article with the heading "The Kinzie House, Chicago," together with a view of a building to represent that domicile, by Benson J. Lossing. Mr. L. says:

"I visited Chicago in 1860, and had the pleasure and profit of a personal interview with the daughter-in-law of Mr. Kinzie, the wife of John H. Kinzie. She was then a woman of middle age, and she and her husband were the earliest living inhabitants of that City."

The last statement in the above could not truthfully apply to Mrs. J. H. K., as she was first here not until 1831. Mr. L. continues:

"From her lips, I received many interesting reminiscences of the early days of Chicago, all of which, and vastly more, have been recorded in her charming volume of personal recollections, entitled "Wau-bun."

We have before expressed our opinion of "Wau-bun," as an interesting book; but, if we are half inclined to believe that Mrs. K. was scarcely reliable as a historian, we yet think that the same remark may apply with more force to Mr. Lossing; at least, we intimated as much thirty years since, (in a half-column newspaper article now lying before us,) while the early numbers of Mr. Lossing's "Pictorial History of the Revolution were being issued. We copy a line or two from our communication to one of the journals of an eastern city, where we were at the time:

"The plan of Mr. Lossing is a delightful one,—to visit our old battle-fields and fortifications, to gather facts, picture the relics, and standing in the half-filled trench, or under the moss-covered wall, tell us the story of the past. I am inclined to think, however, that Mr. L. is hardly doing justice to his own pretty pencil sketches, and the paper and ink of Messrs. Harpers. I allude to divers *inaccuracies* in the narrative, and will name just a few and those relating to—" etc.

We are not aware that the mistakes pointed out were ever corrected by that author, though we know the article was shown to him.

But in the *Potter's American Monthly*, Mr. L. says:

"The Pottawatomies * * * who called the place *Chikakou.*"

They didn't; that was *not* their pronunciation, as we understand it.

Speaking of Baptiste Point AuSable, he says "he did not remain long."

Yes he did: he was here in 1779, perhaps earlier, to 1796, certainly.

Speaking of John Kinzie, he says:

"He established a trading-house at Chicago in 1804, where, two years before, a stockade had been built and named Fort Dearborn."

It was *not* two years before.

"On the site of Jean Baptiste's hut Mr. Kinzie built his mansion."

The "hut" that AuSable occupied—perhaps built, LeMai became possessed of after the other's departure, and that "mansion" or rather hut, Mr. K. bought of LeMai. "LeMai moved out and Mr. Kinzie went in," said Mrs. Whistler to us; she was here at the time.

It is not unlikely that Mr. Kinzie, at various times, during the quarter of a century or so, that he claimed possession, repaired his cabin, and improved it by the addition of a veranda, etc.; yet, for a full moiety of its fame, as one of the remembered antiquities of this locality, it (the cabin) must be indebted to the fact that its existence dated back to the time of the Revolution. It was not one of the clapboard domiciles of an approaching civilization, but a backwoods or wilderness structure; its wall-timbers were of the enduring oak; it was storm-defying, arrow-daring, and bullet-proof; it filled indeed the plan of its architect. Its tawny builder and occupant, understood to be a native of San Domingo, it is said, was "much in the French interest," though probably he was more particularly in AuSable's interest, that is, that of himself. He was, no doubt, an adventurous fur-trader, but at length withdrew when hurtful competition invaded his domain. Mrs. Kinzie, in "Wau-bun," suggests that he retired in disgust, from not being chosen a chief by the Indians hereabout,

and Hon. John Wentworth, in one of his lectures, in view of a probable design which AuSable had, to plant here a colony of his brother San Domingoans, supposing he had succeeded, speculatingly and apostrophizingly remarks, "how different would have been *our* condition!"

"For a while, the garrison could get no grain, and Whistler and his men subsisted on acorns."

It may have been so, yet we never heard of it before; we must express our doubts regarding the correctness of that acorn-story.

"During a whole winter, she" (the younger Mrs. K., so apparently we are given to understand in Mr. L.'s account) "and her family were compelled to use the greatest economy, for they might exhaust their slender stock of flour and meal before it would be replenished from 'below'—Mackinaw. At the same time, the Indians of the neighborhood were famishing,—'dying in companies,' she said, 'from mere destitution'."

We doubt whether Mr. Lossing's informant intended to represent *her own* experience in the matter; yet, if we are mistaken as to that, we must then discredit the last sentence of the story, altogether.

"After the battle of Tippecanoe, in the fall of 1812,"

The year 1811 was the one intended.

We find in Mr. Lossing's sketch, a great part of what appears in Mrs. Kinzie's "Wau-bun," regarding the abandonment of Fort Dearborn, etc., in 1812, but we perceive some new and perhaps contradictory statements, and some set speeches, not previously to be found.

The speech of Black Partridge to Captain Heald, coming to surrender his U. S. medal before getting on the war-path, is reported the same as in "Wau-bun"; yet the same evening according to Mr. L., that chief made another speech (not found in "Wau-bun") to Mr. Griffith, the interpreter, as follows:

"Linden birds have been singing in my ears to-day; be careful on the march you are going to take."

Possibly, the new mode of manufacturing history, demands a greater use of quotation marks to make the thing a little more dramatic or picturesque.

The substance of the advice, represented in "Wau-bun", to be given Captain Heald by the Indian who brought Gen. Hull's orders to Captain H., is detailed by Mr. L. in a precise speech of the counselor. Mr. Lossing says:

"Mr. Kinzie and Captain Heald's officers knew the wisdom of the chief's advice, but the commander, a strict disciplinarian, resolved to follow Hull's order to the letter."

Yet, our authors, Mrs. K. and Mr. L., do not exactly agree in their estimate of Captain Heald's habit of *discipline*. "Wau-bun" tells us, "The Indians now, became daily more unruly. Entering the fort in defiance of the sentinels, they made their way without ceremony into the officers' quarters. On one occasion, an Indian took up a rifle and fired it in the parlor of the commanding-officer, as an expression of defiance."

"The powder, as well as liquors, were cast into the water, on the night of the 13th, after the distribution of the other property had been made."

Capt. Heald said the distribution was made on the 14th.

[The sketch in "Wau-bun" entitled "Massacre at Chicago," is understood to be in great part made up from what was written or dictated by the wife of Captain Helm, stepdaughter of John Kinzie. But a part of the narrative, other matter, relating to Fort Dearborn immediately preceding the abandonment and massacre, would seem to have been gathered from others, and all compiled by Mrs. Juliette A. Kinzie, the wife of John H. Kinzie. The whole account has been generally credited and widely copied, and no one ever attempts to write about the early history of Chicago without drawing from the pages of Mrs. Kinzie's book. Mrs. Helm, we believe, died in the autumn of 1830, and Mrs. J. H. K., we think, never saw that lady; fourteen years afterward, Mrs. K. made use of what she (Mrs. H.) wrote or said, and presented it in a pamphlet publication; and twelve years still later, with a few alterations, it was embodied within the pages of "Wau-bun." The elder John Kinzie died in Fort Dearborn, early in 1828, and his daughter-in-law, Mrs. J. H. K., never saw him; but she had seen her mother-in-law, who died

in New York City, early in 1834. The husband of Mrs. J. H. K., brother, and sisters, also probably imparted information, though they were too young, in 1812, to say much about matters of that date, from their own knowledge, excepting what others may have told. Such, as far as we know, were the sources of an important part of Mrs. Kinzie's book.

It is very evident that the representations in "Wau-bun" bear pretty severely upon the prudence and good judgment of Captain Heald, preceding as well as after the abandonment of the Fort. We must remember, however, that the testimony is entirely *ex parte*, Capt. H. having no opportunity of any defence. We beg to express our doubts regarding that perfect knowledge, as would appear professedly to have been in possession of the complainants or malcontents in the case; we are inclined to believe that neither Mrs. Helm nor Mrs. J. H. K. were as well informed as the Commandant of Fort Dearborn, regarding his government dispatches, counsels or *councils*, or speeches in private audience.

Mrs. K. said that the junior officers, Lieut. Helm and Lieut. Ronan, were "very young men," the latter "somewhat overbearing." Captain Heald was *not* a very young man; he was a lieutenant in the army in 1799. The intimation of Mrs. K., of a gross lack of discipline at the Fort, we can hardly credit; it could scarcely have happened, unless by collusion of outside parties with the junior officers.

We will add, that if there was any attempt within Fort Dearborn, upon Captain Heald, by that unamiable proceeding, expressed in the coarse modern phrase *bulldozing*, we are happy to believe that he had sufficient independence and *stamina* to repel such efforts.

We are not impressed with the idea that Mrs. Kinzie was excessively anxious, in every case, to detail facts; we do not think she took so serious a view of the matter. We are compelled to say this, from the evidence of great carelessness in compilation. That she could and would write something interesting, was apparently her purpose, and if a prejudice haunted her day-dreams at any time, certainly she had the ability to give to it expression.]

"Captain Wells, who was by the side of his niece, Mrs. Heald, when the conflict began, behaved with the greatest coolness and courage. He said to her, 'We have not the slightest chance for life, we must part to meet no more in this world; God bless you'; and then he dashed forward."

It was forty-eight years then, after the above was delivered, before this speech was given to the world; it was wonderful that Mr. L. should rescue it after it was forgotten so long!

Again, of Captain Wells:

"With a yell, the young braves rushed forward to make him a prisoner, and reserve for torture. He resolved not to be made a captive, and by the use of most provoking epithets, he tried to induce them to kill him instantly. He called a fiery young chief *a squaw*, when the enraged warrior killed Wells instantly with his tomahawk, jumped upon his body, cut out his heart, and ate a portion of the warm morsel with savage delight."

We do not hesitate to express our disbelief in the above statement; it is unreasonable, for it is unnatural, and moreover is altogether different from the account in "Wau-bun", by Mrs. Helm, who, though having enough to attend to, regarding herself, during the brief fight, rather than to note very closely the particular occurrences relating to others; yet her notice of Captain Wells' fall, contradicting the later account, must receive more credit than the other. We copy from the "Wau-bun" relation as follows:

"Several Indians pursued him (Captain Wells) as he galloped along. He laid himself flat on the neck of his horse, loading and firing in that position, as he would occasionally turn on his pursuers. At length their balls took effect, killing his horse, and severely wounding himself. At this moment, he was met by *Winnemeg* and *Wau-ban-see*, who endeavored to save him from the savages, who had now overtaken him. As they supported him along, after having disengaged him from his horse, he received his death-blow from another Indian, *Pee-so-tum*, who stabbed him in the back."

The stories are quite dissimilar.

"The celebrated Black Hawk, who was with the Indians there, afterwards declared that, had the terms of the treaty been strictly compiled with, the white people would not have been molested."

If it is meant that Black Hawk "was with the Indians *there*," (that is, at Chicago, 15 Aug., '12) it is a mistake. Black Hawk and his band were persuaded by the British agent,

Robert Dickson, in a council at Green Bay, to join that side. This was *after* the abandonment of Fort Dearborn, the ruins of which Black Hawk and some 500 Indians passed on their way eastward.

We desire to notice one other item of historical interest, that of the pictorial representation of the old Kinzie house, which prefaces the article of Mr. Lossing, in *Potter's American Monthly* aforesaid. Mr. Lossing's drawing is certainly different from that in Mrs. Kinzie's "Wau-bun", the one we believe that has mostly had the public eye.

There is something, it is true, quite similar in a corner of page 11, of the old *Chicago Magazine* (1857), yet that is varied and contradicted by another view on page 28, of the same work. The particular story of these pictures is not given, no dates are added to any, leading us to understand whether drawn in the actual presence of the old cabin, or from memory a quarter of a century after it had disappeared. Our perplexity in the matter we have referred to previously, while noticing some particulars in the *Chicago Magazine.* But we may say here, inasmuch as Mr. Lossing's interview with Mrs. Kinzie, at Chicago, was in 1860, and her book, "Wau-bun", had been issued in 1856, we cannot understand how it happened that Mr. Lossing's Kinzie-house portrait is altogether a different institution apparently, from that of the "Wau-bun" edifice, with no explanation attached which might relieve us. Any one who will take the trouble to compare the two views, must perceive a great discrepancy, and like ourself may be at a loss to understand which is the true and which the false.

A communication from Darius Reid to the *Inter Ocean*, dated Marseilles, LaSalle Co., Ill., March 7, 1879, has the following:

"Levi Reid was born Oct., 1827, in a log-cabin belonging to J. B. Beaubien, about half a mile south of Fort Dearborn. He is now living in Pekin, Tazewell Co., Illinois. All others were Indian and French mixed."

The late Robert A. Kinzie, and various others not now

living, as well as Mrs. Maria (Kinzie) Hunter, (wife of Gen. David Hunter), still alive, were native-born Chicagoans, not subject to the exception named in the above extract, and before the name of Mr. Levi Reid appears on the record.

A communication by Mr. A. S. Hubbard, in the *Chicago Evening Journal* of 29th April, 1880, refers to a letter now at the rooms of the Chicago Historical Society, addressed to the Hon. John Wentworth, from Rev. John M. I. St. Cyr, of Carondelet, Mo. Mr. Hubbard writes:

"Having occasion to trace the pioneer settlers of our City, I have reached the conclusion that to the Rev. Stephen D. Badin belongs the honor of being the first priest in Chicago, waving, of course, Marquette and those contemporary with him."

Mr. Hubbard gets the statement from Bishop Spalding's reminiscences published in 1844, of a regret for the loss of Father Badin's MSS., some twelve years before, while "laboring among the Pottawatomie Indians of the Northwest." Mr. H. also learns that Father Badin, in 1846, visited Chicago, and then said to Mrs. John Murphy, an early resident here, "This is the fiftieth anniversary of my arrival in Chicago." Therefore, Mr. H. concludes that Father St. Cyr must properly withdraw any pretense of being *first* as before mentioned.

We can scarcely agree with Mr. Hubbard in his view of the matter. It is as the *resident* pioneer Catholic priest of the modern Chicago of white men, that the Reverend John Mary Ireneus Saint Cyr may claim honorable notice. The Reverend Stephen Theodore Badin having, several years before Fort Dearborn was built, made a tour of religious visitation to the Indians (among whom were perhaps a few white fur-traders) in the vicinity of Chicago, in 1796, as also at a later day, we are pleased to be informed of the fact. Yet, I cannot see how this in any manner conflicts with the claim of Reverend St. Cyr. As well, and better, for it was earlier, might we give precedence to the Rev. Fathers Pinet and Buinateau, who were not mere *visitors*, but certainly resided for some time on the waters of the Chicago, nearly a hundred years before the

advent of Father Badin. But their mission was mainly to the Indians, and there were, after them, many other Catholic priests, from time to time, who also sought the wandering clans of the Illinois. They were pioneers, earlier than Father Badin, yet the definate particulars of whose operations, like those of Father B., are mostly lost beyond recovery.

Mr. Hubbard, furthermore, erroneously places the year of Col. Beaubien's arrival here as 1804.

"COL. R. J. HAMILTON.

"*To the Editor of the Tribune.*

"CHICAGO, May 16.—The *Times* 'historian' is wrong again. The initial letter of the middle name of the late Col. Hamilton was a J, not an 'I.' Judge Caton lately settled that question, and so knocked that eye out of the *Times'* man, it might be supposed; yet he couldn't see it. If Col. Richard J. Hamilton at an early day curtailed his 'J's,' he thought better of it, and so did it better, afterward. M. F.

Not a few of the history-writers about Chicago, including the *Chicago Times* historian as would seem by the above, which we noticed in the *Tribune* several years ago, have been wont to make a mistake, when speaking of that prominent early settler, the late Col. Richard J. Hamilton, by the substitution of an I in place of a J. Indeed, an old settler once told us that Col. H. was formerly well known and *called* Richard *I.* Hamilton, and that *that* was his name without question. The trouble arose from the fact, that the Colonel, at one time, made his J like an I. It was clearly an error however, for the middle name which the Colonel rejoiced in, was the renowned one of *Jones.*

In the *Chicago Tribune* of Feb. 12, 1876, appears a paragraph, from which we extract as follows:

"Death of the first white woman who visited Chicago. Mr. John F. Stafford, of this City, yesterday received a letter announcing the death of Mrs. Beard, mother of the distinguished artists, Wm. H. and James H. Beard. She passed away, peacefully, while asleep, and without pain, Thursday the 10th inst. * * * In the year 1810, her husband owned and commanded a brig on the Lakes. The vessel was chartered by the Government to transport stores and munitions of war to the different fortifications on the

Lakes. Mrs. Beard accompanied her husband on the voyage, and landed in Chicago in the summer of that year. There were but seventy-eight persons in the Fort at that time, and the sight of a white woman was quite cheering to them. At her death she was about 89 years of age. She will be buried to-day at Painesville, where she has lived for over half a century."

While it can be easily seen on other of these pages, that Mrs. Beard was *not the first* white woman who visited Chicago, the other items it is well to preserve.

The Secretary of the Chicago Historical Society, Prof. Albert D. Hager, at the meeting of the Society on the evening of June 15, 1880, discussed the question, "Was Father Jacques Marquette Ever in Chicago?"

The Professor does not hesitate to respond in the negative to that inquiry; so, quoting some of the Professor's reasons for such belief which we fail to discover the force of, we shall add a few suggestions, ignoring the light claimed to be shown in this new departure.

Prof. H. says: "The authority for this belief, and the source from which historians derive the evidence on which they have made these statements concerning Marquette, is Charlevoix's History of New France."

The Professor here without doubt makes a great mistake. Students in Western history who have read up the subject with much attention, do not rely upon Charlevoix concerning Marquette with Chicago; they have better sources of information. Charlevoix was never at Chicago, and only long years after the death of Marquette (near a half-century) was he in the neighborhood. The best-informed historians we believe are aware of Charlevoix's misstatements; and what Prof. H. says of that traveler, quoting and denying some things that he told, we may say, is neither decidedly improper, nor yet of account any way, regarding Marquette's acquaintance with Chicago. We will add that Charlevoix, being at the mouth of St. Joseph River in September, 1721, intended to take the route by way of Chicago to the Mississippi, but the rough weather upon lake and shore led him to

go up the St. Joseph River and across to the Kankakee, etc. He did not propose to reach the Illinois and Mississippi by way of Calumet Lake; indeed we cannot remember of ever reading of any one who did.

Again: "In 1838, Mr. Jared Sparks examined the manuscripts left by Marquette, and from them obtained material for his biography. He found a manuscript map of the route taken by Marquette on his first trip. A fac-simile of this map dated 1673, was first published at that time (1838) by Mr. Sparks, and appears in his Life of Marquette."

It is proper to say that the map above referred to was not made by Marquette; it is the same, we believe, as appears in Thevenot's publication (1681), a copy of which is in the library of Harvard College, from which Mr. Sparks probably made his copy. Other particulars may be seen in Mr. Shea's "Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley."

Further: "In 1852, John Gilmary Shea, for the first time, translated and published Marquette's journal. He also brought from its hiding-place and for the first time produced a fac-simile of another map made by Marquette, evidently made at a later period than the one copied by Mr. Sparks."

This map, a copy of which Mr. Shea brought from its "hiding-place," at St. Mary's College, Montreal, is the map of Marquette; it has been republished many times, and its appearance is familiar to the public; but Prof. H. is in error, when he calls, it "another map made by Marquette"; it is the only one known of his as we understand it.

"In this last-named map, which was probably made in the winter of 1674-5," etc.

Not "in the winter of 1674-5" is it likely that Marquette made his map. Those months he passed at Chicago, and mostly a prisoner within his wigwam, from cold and weakness; making efforts to perform his religious duties, struggling with physical discomfort and disease, the dying missionary was biding his time with the fortitude of a martyr. No, the map was made at an earlier date than the Professor suggests; probably at the Mission St. Xavier, in the autumn of 1673.

"On this map he has extended the river from the Mississippi to

near the south-western corner of Lake Michigan, at a point near where the Calumet River now empties."

We cannot see anything improbable that the line of a stream, which the Professor calls the Illinois River, extended to the corner of Lake Michigan, was meant by Marquette to represent the route of the Chicago by which he came from the South. He was well aware, no doubt, of the fact that canoes passed, at times, without interruption from the lake to the Illinois. As a general outline of the south end of Lake Michigan, Marquette received his information from the Indians, who had knowledge of the matter, for we must bear in mind that he had then never been south of Chicago upon the lake shore.

"Farther up (down?) the western shore of the lake, near where Chicago now stands, he represents a river."

That river which Prof. H. would have Marquette intend for the Chicago, is placed a long way from the south end of the lake,—say 100 miles,—for it is about one-fourth of the full length of the lake from its south shore.

"Had Marquette entered Chicago River previous to making that map, it is highly probable that he would have represented it with its two branches, the one from the north and the other from the south, instead of placing it without a branch, and extending it nearly straight out into the prairie."

We do not think so; Joliet and Marquette, on their return from the Mississippi, were speeding their way toward the north, and while coming down the Chicago were no doubt intently looking for Lake Michigan, near at hand. Those gentlemen were not taking a trigonometrical survey of lake or land; it was not a part of their present design, to give minute details, or to portray every tributary creek along the waters of their route; the main features were all that were aimed at.

Of Joliet and Marquette's voyage down the Mississippi, the Professor says:

"They kept down that stream, and a dotted line on his map, corroborated by statements in his journal, shows that he visited the

Illinois Indians near what is now the City of Joliet, and not in Iowa, as has been suggested by several writers of early hisory."

This "dotted line" referred to does not appear on Marquette's map (look at in Shea, or the old *Chicago Magazine*, or on Blanchard's Historical Chart). That journey which Marquette is represented by the Professor to have taken, from the Mississippi across the country more than a hundred miles to the neighborhood of Joliet City, would have been most eccentric, leaving his companions in the boat meantime. But the idea is more eccentric than the journey, for that could not have happened within the four or five days of their stop on shore.

"His map shows that he entered Lake Michigan south-east of a lake about six miles inland."

Wrong again; no such lake appears on Marquette's map. We will here say that between the South Branch and Desplaines, in early times as well as at a later day, in wet seasons and high-water in the Desplaines River, the region between that river and the Chicago presented varieties in appearance according to the volume of water. If the whole surface was not overflowed, then a succession of pond, lake, and stream; the subsidence of the waters in summer, left in places, dikes and gullies, and long reaches of dry land.

Prof. Hager seems to stumble at the meaning of Marquette's words in his last letter, when he says, "The navigation of the lake from one portage to the other is quite fine, there being no traverse," etc. He unquestionably meant the two portages on his route from Green Bay to the Illinois—namely: that from Sturgeon Bay to the lake, and that between the Chicago and Desplaines.

Prof. Hager's attempt to locate the sand-bars off the lake shore, as they were 200 years ago, would be a much easier matter if he had reliable testimony in place of surmise; but that need not be looked for, and, from nearly a forty years' acquaintance with the west shore of Lake Michigan, we are given some idea of the many changes in the longer past.

If Prof. H. had shown us that the Calumet had long

borne the name of Chicago; if he could establish a suspicion that it had been a common thoroughfare of the Indians from time immemorial from the lake to the Illinois; if he had shown us where, among the written words of early travelers, they speak of the Calumet as a route of inland navigation, as Chicago has been spoken of, by, for instance, Joliet, Marquette, La Salle, Tonty, Allouez, Joutel, La Hontan, St. Cosme, La Source, Gravier, etc., who each and all were here, then we would entertain his plea, but not otherwise.

Hon. John Wentworth delivered, at McCormick Hall, two lectures, the first, April 11, 1875, and the other, May 7, 1876. In the newspaper reports of these lectures, there were not a few mistakes, at which several Quixotic individuals became somewhat uproarious. Of the first lecture, one correspondent, before pointing out various errors, says: "The lecture yesterday, by the Hon. John Wentworth, which brought out so large an audience and proved so entertaining, must of necessity take its place with that class of essays which blend the grotesque suggestions of a humorous fancy with the more dignified recital of sober history. * * * While we dissent from some of the positions assumed in the lecture, and must deny various statements of the lecturer, we yet cordially commend his words of invective, particularly those wherein he lashes the stupidity of that act which blotted out the old name of one of our streets, called after that worthy patriot, Capt. Wells, who sacrificed his life at Chicago, fighting against treachery in humanity's behalf." After calling attention to a number of mistakes, the same correspondent suggests "that lecturers and editors, who intend to discourse upon early Chicago history, cut out and paste in the crowns of their hats, these items and facts for future reference." Another complainant said, "Don't let us get our early history wrong, just for the sake of having it read like a novel." Still another said, "It is inexcusable, even in a dime lecture, to make so many misstatements regarding matters, upon which an hour's reading in the Public Library would set him right."

Yet we are not aware that any of those discharges disturbed the equanimity of our lecturer, further than to lead him to change a few things, when Mr. Fergus reprinted in his Series of Historical Pamphlets, the lectures referred to. But a few other errors not so corrected, we will notice here; in the pamphlet edition of 1st lecture:

P. 5. "The first written account of the North-West bears the date of 1654, when two French-traders left Canada," etc.

The above item was evidently taken from Mr. Eastman's sketch in the old *Chicago Magazine;* the statement is erroneous; see p. 8. of same lecture, where it says that Sieur Jean Nicollet was at Green Bay, 1639.

P. 6. "It is claimed that there was a missionary station at Mackinaw about 1607. The place thereof is still known as Point Ignace."

The same statement appears in "Wau-bun;" it is an error.

"It was there (Point Ignace) that the remains of Father James Marquette were taken about 1720."

There is no authority that we know of to warrant the statement.

P. 8. He (LaSalle) hastened to France and secured the good-will of Louis XIV., by proposing a union of the Canadas with the Mississippi Valley, and a line of military posts from the lakes to the Mississippi; and having cajoled the king into giving him a monopoly of of the fur-trade in the west, the real object of his mission, he hurried back."

That great man, Robert de LaSalle, we believe is slandered in the above paragraph. LaSalle was not a money-lover; his tastes did not lead in that direction sufficiently to win for him the title of a skilful merchant. Arrangements for trade, received comparatively little of his thoughts, his mind was occupied with greater plans; and any design of profit from trade was a secondary one, and merely in aid of accomplishing his loftier purposes.

P. 15. "His house (the Kinzie house) was the first erected in Chicago, and it was standing long after Chicago became a city."

The first part of the sentence, *we believe*, is not true; the last part, *we know*, is not; the old Kinzie house, sometime before March 4, 1837, the date of the act of Incorporation, had disappeared from the face of the earth!

P. 19. "But the commandant here (Captain Heald) was a circumlocutionist, and believed in red tape. He took from the 7th to the 15th of August to march his troops out of the Fort."

Mr. W. forms his opinion, evidently, from the statements, inferences, and judgments in the volume "Wau-bun," for which authority we hold sentiments a little skeptical, as may be seen on previous pages. The date "7th" was the 9th, according to Captain Heald.

P. 19. "And Capt. William Wayne Wells, a brother of the wife of the commandant at Chicago," etc.

The "Wayne" and "brother" in the above are both errors.

P. 21. "That Gen. Hull had surrendered his army at Detroit, which he did without firing a gun, on the very day of the massacre at Chicago."

Not the "very day," but the *day after.*

P. 25. "Up to 1828, only one sail-vessel made trips to Chicago, and that to bring supplies to the Fort. The American Fur Company had done all its business in row-boats, better known in those days as Mackinaw-boats."

Not exactly. Away back in the last century, sail-vessels were not strangers upon Lake Michigan, and the old Northwest Fur Company had sail-craft of its own; and, see pp. 50, 61, 67 of this volume. We know of the schooners "Nancy," the "Saguenah," and the sloops "Russell," "Speedwell," etc. Of a later day, the American Fur Company used sail-vessels upon the upper lakes, (see shipment to James Kinzie, Chicago, 1821, *ante*, p. 34); there was a consignment of merchandise in 1822, per schooner "General Jackson," Captain Keith, to Chicago for St. Louis; we know of other vessels on the upper lakes, employed by that Company, in years 1821, 2, 3, for instance, schrs. "Red Jacket," "Huron," "Tiger," Blake, master,* and "Lady Washington."

* Probably "Commodore" Blake, as he was called, a skilful Lake-Captain, of the steamers "Illinois," the "Niagara," and "Nile," well remembered by lake travelers of thirty-five or forty years ago, yet whose lake experience dated back as early as the war of 1812. The death of Commodore B. occurred at Milwaukee, in the month of ———, 1849, and we cannot avoid copying the following lines, published in the *Evening Journal*, at the time of his death:

"Farewell to thee! old Veteran of the Lakes!
Thine iron heart has ceased to beat;

P. 25. "In 1830, * * * and the principal settlement here was at the forks of the Chicago River, then called 'Wolf Point,' where there was a tavern, school-house, and meeting-house, where Jesse Walker, a Methodist Missionary, residing at Plainfield, Will Co., occasionally preached. There still stands at the north-east corner of W. Lake and N. Canal Streets, a building known for many years as the 'Green Tree Hotel,' erected in 1831, probably the oldest building in Chicago. But there was another small tavern, on the North side, near the Forks, where Gen. Scott stopped when he came with the troops in 1832, kept by Elijah Wentworth, Sen.

' The tavern at Wolf Point, and not on the "North-side" was the one kept by Elijah Wentworth, Sen. The *school-house* and *meeting-house*, so called, were one, a log-building, but was not known by either of such terms in 1830. It is somewhat difficult to tell, from Rev. Mr. Beggs' rambling mode of statement, and his indefiniteness as to dates, whether Father Walker or himself first used, as a *meeting-house*, that log-building, and *when*. It was late in the fall of 1831, or in January 1832. The title *school-house*, was not applied to it until after Mr. Watkins commenced his school there, in 1832.

The "Green Tree Hotel" *was not* erected in "1831;" it can only date back to 1833, as we understand it.

No more amid the storms wild autumn wakes,
Thy master-skill the winds shall meet,
Farewell to thee, old Blake!

"For thee, blue Erie has a moaning song;
A sigh sweeps o'er bright St. Clair;
Dark Huron bears the wailing dirge along;
And Michigan repeats in wild despair,
Farewell to thee, old Blake!

"But often when the tempest surges roll,
And storms howl dark along the sky,
Thy name shall nerve the daring sailors' soul,
Thy spirit guide the danger by.
Farewell to thee, old Blake!

"Thy home was on the waves! they were to thee
More fair than earth's rich garb of green;
And thou art laid to rest beside the sea,
On which thy pride of life had been.
Farewell to thee, old Blake!

"Farewell to thee! Be thy eternal dirge,
The music of the mournful wave;
And plowing keels which sportive winds shall urge,
Shall sigh, in memory of the brave,—
Farewell to thee, old Blake!"

Speaking of the soldiers of Scott's army who died of cholera:

P. 27. "For they were thrown into a pit at the north-west corner of Lake Street and Wabash Avenue." Also, in his 2d lecture, May 7, 1876. P. 4. "All that was known for a certainty, was the place where they dug the pit into which they most unceremoniously plunged the dead bodies. That was remembered because it was the site of the old American Temperance House."

There seems to be an error here. Mr. Philo Carpenter, who came to Chicago in the month of July of that year (1832), remembers that dead-pit, or succession of pits, where the cholera victims were buried.

According to Mr. C.'s account, his recollection is, that the position of that grave was not far from the South-west corner of South Water Street and Wabash Avenue, near where the turn of the road or street was, going on River Street, down the stream. Mr. Carpenter says, it was not merely one deep grave or hole, but after one had been filled or sufficiently used and covered with earth, another pit adjoining and westward was dug, and used; this digging new graves was repeated several times, all being near together. As to the location, Mr. Carpenter's account tallies with that received from Mr. Isaac N. Harmon, of this City, who has been a resident of Chicago for more than 46 years. Mr. H. writes: "Between the years 1851 and 1856, while foundations were being dug by Alderman James Carney,* for stores on the square located between State Street and Wabash Avenue, on the south side of South Water Street, many skeletons were disinterred, which were then said to be the remains of the cholera patients of Fort Dearborn, in 1832. Whether this be the fact, I cannot say, though I think it is very likely that it was the place of their interment."

Another account we notice, which appears in an old number of a *Tribune*, says: "a large grave was opened near the spot where Norton's new stone building now stands." This building was near the river at the foot of Wabash Avenue.

* James Carney, we notice by the Directories, was a brewer, on South Water Street, between State Street and Wabash Avenue, 1849 to 1854.

Referring to the trial of Stone, for murder, Mr. Wentworth said:

P. 29. "I was on the jury that convicted him. An editor abused me whilst upon the jury, and the Court sentenced him for contempt. Wilbur F. Storey is not the first martyr. His name is Wm. Stuart, and he now lives in Binghamton, N. Y. Our Judge, E. S. Williams, is not the first judicial tyrant. His name was John Pearson, and he now lives at Danville, Ill. Charles H. Read is not the first persecutor of the press. His name is Alonzo Huntington, and he lives in Chicago now."

Judge Pearson replied to the above, dated April 20, 1875, addressed to the *Danville Commercial:*

"My old friend, Col. Wentworth, did not, I presume, intend to misreport the facts, or do me injustice, and had he remembered all the facts connected with that case, he certainly would not have characterized the Judge as a 'judicial tyrant.' * * * The Colonel has left out the material facts in the case to which he refers. A most bloody and diabolical murder of a woman had been committed by a wretch. His conviction depended on a long and closely connected chain of circumstantial evidence. Mr. Stewart (Stuart) seemed to take sides as an editor, with the accused and his counsel. Mr. Wentworth and Stewart were rival editors before. Mr. Wentworth was selected, during the trial, as one of the jury. Stewart, during the trial, published many foolish and unwarranted statements of Wentworth and the trial, and one of these papers was taken, or was thrown into the jury-room during the deliberation of the jury. The State's-attorney complained to the Court in the usual form, the facts were proved; Stewart had a fair hearing and was convicted. The Court fined him, not for constructive contempt, but for trying to block the wheels of justice in a very aggravated murder case. * * * If Mr. Huntington is a persecutor of the press, so am I, for he only acted in a subordinate capacity."

The note of Judge Pearson contained more, but the above will here suffice.

In a note referring to Wm. See, says:

P. 45. He removed to Racine, Wis., where he died. Our James Kinzie, who also died there, married a daughter of his for his first wife."

Neither Mr. See nor Kinzie died in Racine.

Mr. Wentworth's second lecture: Speaking of Schooner "Tracy's" arrival in 1803:

P. 8. "This, probably, was the first sail-vessel that ever came to Chicago."

The probabilities are against such a conclusion. See *ante*, page 50.

Mr. Wentworth quotes Judge Breese as saying:

P. 12. "I know of no authorized recognition of Chicago, as a place on this globe, anterior to Wayne's Treaty."

We are, perhaps, ignorant of what the Judge would have required, as a legal or judicial *status* competent to an "authorized recognition;" but if the reader, after he shall examine from page 147 to 175, and also, from p. 250 to 268 inclusive, of this volume, shall fail to form *his own* opinion as to a reasonably "authorized recognition," we cannot then aid him.

P. 17. "Billy Caldwell, the Sauganash, the nephew of Tecumseh, voted the Jackson ticket;"

Mr. Hickling convinces us (in number 10 of the Fergus Historical pamphlets) that the "Sauganash" was not the nephew of Tecumseh.

We should, before, have referred to the article in Mr. Wentworth's paper, the *Daily Democrat*, of date Feb. 11, 1854, headed "Historical Sketch and Description of the City," probably by the editor; and will say that the "Sketch" contains a number of errors, evidently taken from Mr. Balestier's lecture of 1840; we need not repeat them.

A communication, from Mr. Wentworth, in the *Evening Journal*, Feb. 13, 1880, closes, by saying of Augustine Deodat Taylor:

"There are not a dozen men living who came to Chicago before Mr. Taylor did, and there are none older in years who came before the city was organized."

The first statement in the sentence is possibly true, the last one we think is not. Lemuel Brown lived in Chicago in 1833, and is here to-day; he is some years older than Mr. Taylor, we believe.

In the old *Chicago Magazine*—1857, upon page 344, is the beginning of an article with the heading, "Churches and Church Choirs in Chicago." Whether Mr. Eastman, the editor of the *Magazine*, was the writer of the sketch which

embraces some seven or eight pages (but never completed, as the *Magazine* came to an end), we cannot say, and we only notice the paper now to correct a very ridiculous story, upon the verity of which the writer must have rested his faith, while his credulous ear drank in the fictitious narrative:

"The bigoted prayer of one feeble church, for the downfall of another, as prayed in the year 1834, might probably have savored somewhat more of fervancy had a 'prophet's ken' been granted to him, who, at an early day, wrestling in the spirit, feared the power of Rome. Allusion is made to that stern and solemn sense of duty, which impelled Rev. Jeremiah Porter, of the Presbyterian Church, to kneel in prayer, at dead of night, outside the door of the small building on the east end of Lake Street, near the corner of State Street, then used as a Roman Catholic Chapel, praying that the infant church, then existing in our midst, might never know prosperity."

The above extract was in the last number of the *Magazine*, but whether it was the reacting poison of that detail which occasioned the sudden death of the periodical, we cannot tell. We are authorized to say, however, by the worthy clergyman, with whose name such improper liberties were taken, that the idle, ridiculous, and absurd story was entirely untrue, and altogether without foundation. It was more than twenty years after the date which the *Magazine* gave to the occurrence, when it proposed to enlighten its readers with the choice bit of tattle. But if Mr. Porter possessed too much mind and dignity of character to be annoyed by such silly stories, he was, at least, somewhat amused at their recital. He still remembers being told, as long ago as in 1832, by Mrs. Robert Stuart, of Mackinaw, who gave him the information, with much laughter, of a communication which she had met in some newspaper from one of its correspondents, referring to Mr. Porter, a line or two of which were as follows:

"Here we see the *grinning teeth* and *bristling mane* of this Presbyterian *wolf* as he bristles up his *predestinating* ears!"

The occasion of the angry shafts, it is supposed, was a letter of Mr. P. giving some account of the organization of his church, etc., at Sault Ste. Marie.

Though of near akin, it was not, perhaps, with quite as much bitterness as the above from the newspaper, that the

pasquinade of which the following is a copy, was written and posted, in the night, on the pastor's study door:

"Notice is hereby given, that a distracted prayer-meeting will be held at the Chicago Nunnery to-morrow evening, at early candle light, for the conversion of the young men of this place, all of whom are invited to attend. By order of the Lady Abbess, Chicago, Jan. 16, 1834.

"JEREMIAH PORTER, *Cor. Secretary.*"

[What was meant by the "Nunnery," is believed to have been the residence of the young ladies', the teachers, Miss Beach, Miss Barrows, and Miss Chappel. The house was owned by a Mr. McCorreston, a soldier, then at Chicago, and stood on the west side of LaSalle Street, near the dwelling of Philo Carpenter, between Randolph and Washington Sts.]

In reference to the aforesaid article, "Churches and Church Choirs," we might speak further, of other extravagances of statement concerning the church and pastor first above named; indeed, we may characterize the entire chapter as made up of *fact, exaggeration, and untruth.*

Here is a clipping from the *Cincinnati Atlas*, of a past year, but unfortunately we have not the date:

"Great as is the growth of Chicago, of Buffalo, of Milwaukee, etc., none of them will ever be among the *primary* cities of the West. They will grow till they can fully accommodate the rapidly growing commerce of the Lakes, and then comparatively cease. The reason is, that none of them have that rich, warm, inexhaustible soil behind them, which is necessary to sustain, like the spinal nerve, the vitality of great inland cities. Such cities are only found in those regions where the Indian corn receives its full and most powerful development. We except, of course, such cities as New York, which exist and grow by monopoly of foreign commerce, of which every country must have some."

Without questioning the soundness of the above reasoning, or if not based on a misconception of the facts, we would merely quote, as an answer to the above, the census of Chicago for the four decades past.

1840,	4,479	1860,	109,260
1850,	28,269	1870,	298,977
1880			503,501

Michigan Pioneer Soc'y Coll. VI. Page 264. In sketch of Menominee, a French Canadian, named Chappee, is spoken of as an agent of the American Fur Company, and who established a post there in 1796. A story is also told of Chappee, in connection with a keg of powder which he, on one occasion, used to intimidate the Indians.

It is a mistake regarding the Am. Fur Co., that institution was not in existence in 1796. The story also of the keg of powder is similar to one we have heard told in connection with the name of William Farnsworth, of Menominee; possibly, there may be something *mixed* regarding the actor in the desperate expedient.

Calumet Club Reception Pamphlet, p. 75. Mr. Towner tells:

"How elated we were, when, on a certain Fourth of July, the pioneer shovelful was thrown—and I am glad to see the vigorous arm that threw it still left among you (I refer to the Hon. Gurdon S. Hubbard)—that was to open the water-way across the prairies, and enable old Father Michigan to reach over and join hands with Miss Sippi."

Yet we have heard it said, that it was not Col. Hubbard but Judge Theophilus W. Smith who threw out that "pioneer shovelful."

Gov. Reynolds' History of Illinois, entitled "My Own Times," *p. 121, new edition, 1879, Fergus Printing Company.* Speaking of Rev. Jesse Walker:

"He erected a small log-house near the forks of the Chicago River, and preached in it for many years. After a long period of hard service, and filled with age and honor, he breathed his last in Chicago, and was buried there."

Not *many years* did Father W. preach in the log "schoolhouse;" nor did he die at Chicago, nor was buried here.

Discovery and Conquests of the North-west, with the History of Chicago, by RUFUS BLANCHARD, Wheaton, Ill., 1880:

Four numbers of Mr. Blanchard's elaborate and interesting work have been issued, and as we have not time to wait for

the balance of its pages, we will call attention to some things already printed, to be considered errors, as we think. This work of Mr. B., the latest upon the subject, and therefore should be the best, we trust, may receive the corrections named, in his future editions. We will here say, while noticing Mr. Blanchard's publication, that his work seems to indicate an amiable and compliant disposition in the author; we allude to the fact that he, apparently, takes for granted, and as reliable, without question, whatever he finds told by some historians, regardless of probabilities. Whether that is so or not, we can yet believe that it is a fault in a historian to be excessively agreeable in that direction.

P. 17. *Pierre* is given "*Perre.*"

Do. There is no authority for saying that Marquette's companions "built a log-cabin for him on the south branch of Chicago River."

Do. The name of the historian, *Parkman*, is erroneously given "Packman."

P. 18. On this page appears considerable of the detail, by Father Dablon, as referred to by us, *see ante, p. 338.*

"From Chicago he had determined his route to Canada by the Eastern shore of Lake Illinois, as Lake Michigan was then called. The same two companions were with him who had conducted him from Green Bay to the Illinois villages. The love between these young men and their spiritual father was tender and sincere on both sides, and as they plied their oars along the still shores of the lake with unremitting strokes, the father instructed them how to bury him when death came, for he now felt certain that he could not live to reach Canada. Arriving at a place a little below Sleeping Bear Point, the father felt a strong desire to land, but his companions, wishing to make all possible haste on the way, tried to persuade him to keep on their course. At that moment, a storm began to make a commotion in the waters, and they landed and built a hut of bark for their dying master, and carried him in their arms from the boat to it. While his strength yet held out, he took the precaution to write down his own sins, or what he called such, since his last confession to his superior, for propitiation. Next, he promised to remember his two attendants in heaven; and, then, after asking their pardon for the trouble he had caused them, he begged them to lay down to rest by his side, promising to awaken them when the last agony came. In about two hours, he called them to his side, and soon died in transports of joy.

"Perre and Jacques buried him on the bank of the lake, and erected a large wooden cross over his grave, and, with deep dejection, left the spot where their beloved father had laid down to take his last rest, where twenty years of toiling through the wilderness had brought him."

P. 22. "The old chapel at St. Ignace stood guard over the remains of Marquette till 1706, when it was burned by the Jesuits on their departure from this historic spot, and until the autumn of 1877 no steps were taken either to memorize the grave of the missionary explorer or to recover his bones, at which time in the month of May, Pierre Grondau discovered the foundation walls of a small building, the stones bearing the marks of fire. The location accorded with the description of the spot marked in LaHontan's map, originally published in France in 1703, and republished in London in 1772, as the site of the house of the Jesuits.

"By direction of Father Jacker, village priest, further excavations were made the same year, and conclusive proofs of the identity of the spot as the grave of Marquette were obtained. The spot where the altar of the Virgin had stood was found, and buried in front of it were wrought-iron nails, a hinge, and charred wood. These relics, and a large piece of birch bark, in a good state of preservation, were within the walls of a vault, which walls were of cedar, still partially preserved. The bones were nearly all turned to dust, two only being found.

"The foregoing facts were obtained from a paper read before the Chicago Historical Society, Oct. 16th, 1877, by Mr. Cecil Barnes, a resident of Chicago, who was an eye-witness, having assisted in the excavation." *

* Possibly it may be well here to extract from a communication which the Compiler of this book addressed the *Chicago Tribune*, in Aug., 1879:

"It was certainly commendable in Father Jacker to wish to find the grave of the worthy missionary, and I will not presume to quarrel with his private theory and opinion. Yet, when an egregious error, regarding one of the most important characters in Western history, is persisted in and widely circulated, it is right to notice and combat it. Perhaps it is because of the poverty of the English language that, in this case, as far as the public are concerned, *fraud* seems the only available word to be used; though it is due to Father Jacker, as well as myself, to say that I think he honestly holds to the delusion.

"In 1878, after the delivery of the oration at Mackinac, a large part of the audience, as we were told by a correspondent of one of our leading dailies, collected at Point St. Ignace, and walked in solemn procession to the prescribed grave of the missionary; and, as the finale of this grand march, the correspondent adds: 'Here the excursionists gathered, and peered mysteriously into the pit.' And just here, too, we are tempted to tell a short story, which we read many years since, and which, some may think, seems pat to the purpose. We repeat from memory —not the same words, but the substance of the incident:

"A student at a venerable old-country university was required, on some occasion, to write an essay. The paper was written, and not only filled the usual requirement, but, more than that, it revealed to the college authorities the fact that

From our paper read before the Chicago Historical Society, October, 1878, we extract the following:

"It is claimed that the fragments of a mocock of Indian manufacture, supposed to have inclosed the bones of Father Marquette, have

their ancient pile of buildings covered a concealed and extended subterranean passage, probably of great antiquity, running far back to the stormy days of kingly strife and national convulsion. The student was besought to make known the locality, and a time was set for an examination of the labyrinth,—many being on the tiptoe of curiosity and expectation. An evening-hour having arrived, a procession was formed, at the head of which was the principal chaplain, monk, or rector of the institution, and guided by the student discoverer. Flaming torches lighted the way, and mattock, pick, and bar, were not forgotten. On, then, passed the cortege, along the corridors, through the halls, descending stairways, and away down to the crypt beneath, and at an angle in the wall the procession came to a halt. 'There!' uttered the student, with the self-satisfied air of one who thinks he has achieved a brilliant act. 'Where?' said the priest, glancing along the wall, expecting, doubtless, to see the rocks fall aside at their approach, disclosing a chamber into which they might march. 'There! my father,' quickly rejoined the student, pointing to a small orifice on the floor in the corner of the flagging. Throwing up his hands in sudden astonishment,—for he, too, like some of our friends at St. Ignace, saw *the point*, though the half-profane words were involuntary no doubt,—the curious, confiding, but now enlightened ecclesiastic exclaimed, 'May the Divil admire me, but it's a *rat-hole!*'

"But, really, what is there unsound in this claim to the discovery of Marquette's grave? Wherein is it a *fraud* to stick to this idea, and display it before the public from year to year.

"It is a fraud to hold out that Marquette built or caused to be erected, while he was at the Straits, any building—foundation or superstructure—capable of 200 years' preservation.

["There is a possibility that Father Marquette set out from what is now known as Point St. Ignace, on his voyage to the Mississippi, in the spring of 1673. The map drawn by his own hand—to-day in St. Mary's College, Montreal (facsimiles of which are probably familiar to the reader)—was no doubt drawn while he remained at the mission of St. Xavier, near Green Bay, from the autumn of 1673 to that of 1674. On that map, the mission of St. Ignace is located on the Island of Mackinaw. Marquette never in life returned to the Straits after the month of May, 1673.]

"It is a fraud to inculcate the idea that the mission of St. Ignatius was at what is now called Point St. Ignace, and nowhere else. It was certainly at three different localities at various but indefinite periods. The honorable and learned J. G. Shea, who has made a study of the doings of early Western explorers, wrote me that he was unable to identify the various localities. Such is the indistinctness of the historic record. The suggestion that the flock connected with the St. Ignatius mission deserted the cleanly-washed bones, incased in the bark mocock, when they removed the mission from one place to another, we will not call a fraud, but we will rather believe that they carried with them the precious relics. We are told that such was their devoted attachment, so deep, so sincere, that often on the water, in storm and in peril, they invoked the aid of the name of Pere Marquette for rescue. Possibly, as Doctor Duffield said in his oration, his bones were scattered far and wide by Indian superstition. But, if his bones were scattered, where then is his grave?

"Again, it is a fraud to take any grave, or what appears to have been a grave, without minute directions, without inscription, without a skeleton, without anything but the supposed remains of birch bark, and then, with the assurance and assumed authority of an oracle, give to it the name of a cherished though fancied occupant.

been found within the ruins of an old church, at Point St. Ignace, though then, unfortunately, that grave neither presented an inscription nor contained a bone. But it must be conceded that the remains of many devout Roman Catholics may have been buried in bark mococks, and within the walls of churches, during the twenty decades which have passed since the remains of the missionary

"It is a fraud, and rather an awkward one, in Father J. to bring LaHontan to the witness-stand. We are aware that he is his principal witness, but he is one whose character for truth is constantly impeached. Every close student in Westery history knows that. The following extract, referring to LaHontan's work, is from Johnson's Cyclopedia, and briefly states the facts: 'These volumes are widely circulated, but are entirely untrustworthy for details of fact,—the geography and ethnography of the Upper Mississippi being entirely fictitious, though long relied upon by compilers.' It is a fraud upon the public and common sense to urge that they shall swallow the suggestion of a possible grave as a palpable and established fact, to result in a shrine worthy a pilgrimage and adoration.

"Nor is it very important that we should find the abiding-place of his dust. The ashes of the renowned Wickliffe, hundreds of years ago and long after his death, were thrown into a tributary of the Avon; yet it did not lessen his celebrity.

'The Avon to the Severn runs,
The Severn to the sea;
Wherever ocean-water comes,
Wickliffe's fame shall be.'

"True worth is what has bespoken the monument to Father Marquette. He had sufficient genuineness of character without the aid of a fiction to assist in rearing that structure. There needs no occasion for the shaft to win the doubtful appellation of *Blarney-Stone of the Straits.*"

It will be in order here, perhaps, to give in addition, a copy of a letter from Hon. J. G. Shea. Knowing that gentleman to be as well informed upon the subject as any in our land, we addressed him a note, which called out the following reply:

"ELIZABETH, N. J., April 15, 1877.

"Dear Sir:

"Though it is more than twenty years since I first wrote, I have never yet been able to identify the various positions which the Mission of St. Ignatius assumed at Mackinaw. The vagueness and uncertainty continue.

1672 Map in Relation shows it on N. Shore.
1673 Marquette's map shows it on the Island.
1688 LaHontan's map shows M's'n on Mainland N.
1692 LeClereq's map shows M's'n on Mainland N.
1703 DeLisle's map shows M's'n on Mainland N.
1718 DeLisle's map shows partly on Isl'd and part on Mainland N.
1744 Charlevoix's map shows it on S. Shore.
1760 Jeffrey's map shows old Mission on N. Shore, St. Ignace on S. Shore.
1761 Parkman's map in Pontiac shows M. on S. Shore.

"The original mission seems to have been on the northern shore, map in Rel 1672; or perhaps on island, Marquette's map. Transferred to Northern shore between 1673 and 1688; on N. shore till 1700. Restored on S. shore by Louvigney 1712. The mission on the island seems to have been casual. The mission began N. of lake, but after the restoration of post was begun in 1712 S. of strait.

"Yours Truly,

"J. G. SHEA."

arrived at the Straits. I will allow that, under the circumstances, old stone walls were very suggestive; local pride, also, naturally, for honorable distinction avails itself of the possibilities; and a fertile imagnation, sometimes, by constructing plausible theories, lends specious aid to him that delves for the hidden. From all the facts of which we are as yet cognizant, I must believe that the dust of Father Marquette still lies enshrouded in the depths of a grave whose position is one of doubt and uncertainty."

Near forty years since, the eminent historian, George Bancroft, after eloquent details, relating to Marquette, added the prophetic words: "*The people of the west will build his monument.*" We are pleased to present here a copy of a note, addressed to ourself, in the latter part of 1878, from that distinguished author, as follows:

"WASHINGTON, D. C., 27 Nov.

"MY DEAR SIR:—This morning your paper on Marquette, sent for me to New York, has been forwarded to me and received from that City. I have read it with interest and instruction, and agree with you that his grave is undiscovered and will so remain.

"Truly Your Obliged,

"H. H. HURLBUT, ESQ.

P. 25. "Beyond these designs was another less practical one, which contemplated a raid on the Spanish province of Mexico, at the head of ten thousand Indians, for the purpose of reducing it to a French province. This latter madcap scheme of LaSalle's must have had its origin in the inspirations of a forest life, which have often turned the brain of otherwise able-minded men into utopian channels."

If Mr. Blanchard had given his *authority* for the above it would have appeared better on his page, and, moreover, have left us to credit or disbelieve the evidence as we might choose. We think there is no reasonable ground for the charge against LaSalle, whatever Spanish authors may have supposed. It had never before been brought to our notice, neither can we discover any reason or philosophy in the suggestion, that La Salle's or others' travels or sojourn in the wilderness, must, of

necessity, have occasioned madness or addle-pated impotence.

P. 27. "It is no marvel that these men should prefer the ease and immunity from care, which the amenities of savage life offered them, rather than the service of the austere and exacting LaSalle, with, to them, but a barren hope of pay, especially as they did not share his hopeful ambition. That LaSalle did not make proper allowance for such contingencies, was one of the weak points that undermined his best-laid plans, and robbed him of that success which his broad-gauge intellect and zeal deserved. These first desertions were but a foretaste of that bitter cup, which his overweening dash at the impracticable was preparing for him."

We fail to see it as Mr. Blanchard does. Did those "first desertions" prevent his accomplishing his purpose? By no means; could human prescience foresee every contingency which might arise? Certainly not; did desertions, or the loss of his lake vessel, the Griffon,* and cargo, though they delayed, defeat his passage down the Mississippi? No, indeed. If he had first to make a thousand-mile trip on foot, in early spring, from the Illinois River to the outlet of Lake Ontario, he was yet bound to succeed. We emphatically deny that it was LaSalle's "overweening dash at the impracticable" which occasioned his ultimate failure. It was not his fault that the fleet which conveyed his colony, passed to the westward without discovering the outlets of the Mississippi. That wonderful man fell by the hand of the assassin; his death, we are assured, alone prevented his carrying out to a successful issue, his great and not "impracticable" plans. We cannot see the propriety of speaking of LaSalle, after the following fashion, as Mr. B. does:

P. 27. "We have such men among us now, and perhaps one in a thousand of them, by some eccentric turn of the wheel of fortune, achieves success, which example, like a contagion, seizes upon a thousand more to lastly be victimized."

* We have here, as well as before, been governed in the orthography of the name of this vessel, by what we have learned from the able and interesting sketch by Hon. O. H. Marshall, concerning "the building and voyage" of that early lake craft. "She was named 'LE GRIFFON'," says Mr. Marshall, "in compliment to Count Frontenac, on whose escutcheon two winged griffins were emblazoned as supporters."

It ought not to be the province of history to belittle great men. LaSalle was not such an adventurer as Mr. B. would seem to indicate; he did not idly sit for the drawing of a lottery; he was no gambler at the "wheel of fortune," waiting for some "eccentric turn" that would "achieve success." What LaSalle accomplished he did not *wait for*, but worked for; he demanded no toil of his associates in which he did not himself join; weaker minds, or men with less energy, would have sunk under his frequent discouragements; yet, therein, we see some of the elements of his greatness.

P. 55. "The Germans, along the Hudson River (referring to about the year 1700, or the period early in the 18th century), were not unlike this same thrifty people of our day."

The *Hollanders*, not the "Germans," were seen "along the Hudson;" New York was colonized by the Dutch; it was they who occupied the rich lands bordering the North River and some of its tributaries.

In a note used by Mr. B., apparently quoted, but from whom does not appear, there are two errors; namely:

P. 212. "*Little Turtle* died in the spring of 1812, at his residence, but a short time before the declaration of war against England by the United States."

He didn't die "in the spring," but July 14, 1812; nor "a short time before the declaration of war," but *after* that; war was declared against Great Britain, June 18, 1812.

P. 216. "The same summer (1796), a colored man, from St. Domingo, named Jean Baptiste Pont* AuSable, in his forest wanderings, was attracted to the old portage of Chicago. Here he built a hut on the north bank of the main branch of the Chicago River," etc.

Mr. B., for some months before he wrote the foregoing, had the early pages of this our book, long enough to have mastered all its facts; even in our Introduction, he might have learned that AuSable was at Chicago seventeen years before the period named by him.

Also, we object to Mr. Blanchard's calling Chicago (along-

* The "Pont" in the above should have been *Point*.

side the main river) by the name "Portage." It is true Marquette called *our river* "Portage River," which was right enough, as it led to the portage; but the portage was not the river channel, but that part of the route, not navigable, extending *from* the navigable waters of the south branch of Chicago River, *to* the navigable waters of the Desplaines; canoe navigation is what was meant, of course, by the word "navigable."

P. 220. "The mouth of the St. Joseph River, on the east bank of Lake Michigan, was first selected, and preparations made to build the fort, when the Indians of the country withheld their consent," etc.

Agents may have visited St. Joseph, looking over the ground generally, and the Indians may have made some demonstrations of opposition, but beyond that, Mr. B. will not persuade us to believe. No "preparations" could have been undertaken to build without orders from Washington. *See ante, p. 364.*

P. 221. "A company of United States soldiers was stationed at the former place (Detroit), under command of Capt. John Whistler, an officer of the Revolution."

It was *our* statement and perhaps a mistake, *see ante, p. 27*, to call Capt. John Whistler, as we had been told, an officer in the army of the Revolution. We learn from the Dictionary of the army, that he was "a British soldier, and made prisoner with Burgoyne, at Saratoga." How soon he joined the American Army, after that, does not appear; possibly before the war closed.*

P. 222. "Attached to the fort was a two-story log-building, sided with clap-boards, riven from logs like barrel staves. This was called the United States factory, which meant a place to store goods belonging to the government designed for gratuitous distribution among the Indians. It stood outside of the palisade to the west, and was

* We copy further as follows from the Dictionary, concerning John Whistler:

"Sergeant; and Sergeant Major of Infantry; Adjutant of Gaither's Battalion, Darke's regiment 'levies of 1791' and wounded in battle under Maj.-Gen. St. Clair with Indians on the Miami 4 Nov. '91; Ensign 1st Infy 11 Apr. '92; Lieut. 1st sub-legion, rank Nov. '92; Battalion Adjutant and Quartermaster '94;—in 1st infy Nov. '96; Capt. July '97; retained Apr. '02 in 1st infy; brevet Major 10 July 12; disbanded June '15; Military storekeeper St. Louis '18; died in '27 at Belle Fontaine M'ri."

under the charge of an agent who was sutler to the fort, and was subject to the orders of its commander."

We believe Mr. B. had an erroneous impression regarding the above-named building. If we are correctly informed, it was built and occupied for the Indian Agency. Mr. Jouett was Indian Agent here before, as well as after, the war with Britain; his first appointment was in 1805, but we are quite sure he was not, at any time, sutler to the fort, nor the individual called the factor. The factory, as we understand the matter, was a different institution, and we think not established until about 1810. The structure referred to may have been occupied by the factor after the withdrawal of Mr. Jouett, in 1811.

Mr. Blanchard, on the same page, after naming the force occupying Fort Dearborn, refers in a note to "American State Papers, Vol. 1, pp. 175, 176," but, after a search, we did not find what is referred to; certainly it is not where we are directed.

P. 225. "Mr. Kinzie afterwards removed to St. Josephs, where he married Mrs. McKillip, the widow of a British officer."

The probabilities are that it was not at the wilderness station of St. Joseph where Mrs. McK. was married; if she lived at Detroit or that vicinity, it was there, it is to be presumed, and not on the opposite side of the peninsula, where she was married.

Mrs. Kinzie, in her book, tells us nothing of the earlier marriage of Mr. K., nor speaks of his children older than her husband. While, we must say, the recognition of that marriage would not have soiled the leaves of "Wau-bun," its dissolution, accomplished on the page of Mr. Blanchard, so easily, pleasantly, and creditably to all parties, we do not confidently *swallow*, and should not approve, if we did.

It is true Mr. Wentworth, in the appendix to his 2d lecture (in Fergus' Historical Series), calls James Kinzie the "natural son of John Kinzie," by which he leaves us to infer that there was no marriage; possibly, there was not a formal ceremony of marriage, yet they lived for years together in the marriage

relation, and were the parents of at least three children, and the annulment of that union would *seem* to be disreputable to one of them if not both. We, as well as Mr. Blanchard, however, are ignorant of some of the facts.

P. 226. "James Kinzie came to Chicago about 1824, and was well received by his father, who assisted him in his first efforts to establish himself in the place."

If Mr. B. had given half an eye to the early leaves of our book (which leaves he had), he would have seen that Mr. Kinzie was at Chicago *three years*, at least, before that; but James Kinzie was an Indian trader, along the west shore of Lake Michigan, still earlier.

We will further respond that it was not a remarkable circumstance that a father should assist a son, but we may add that intelligent, active energy, and other traits of personal merit, were then, probably, quite as much as to-day, the key to success.

Do. "This (the Kinzie house) was the first private dwelling ever built in Chicago as an American city."

What the writer means by "American City," we do not, perhaps, understand; Chicago was never a city other than "American," and never a *city* until 1837, which was after the Kinzie house disappeared.

It is, though, rather a rash saying possibly, of Mr. B. to call this the *first* private dwelling. If it was built by Au-Sable in 1779, or earlier, as it is believed to have been, would he class it *American?* If not, then it would not enter the competing list. But there were, doubtless, numerous other cabins before, without being the *first* by any means.

P. 227. "Capt. Whistler's wife, then a bride of but sixteen years, is still, in 1879, living."

A mistake, she died in February, 1878.

Do. "Henry W. Hurlbut, Esq., a present citizen of Chicago, visited her in 1875, and thus describes the interview," etc.

Alas for fame! When ones very name meets transmogrification!

Here is what Mr. B. says that we began to say:

Do. "It was a coveted *privilege in* which we sought," etc.

We *said:*

"It was a coveted pilgrimage which we sought," etc.

Quite a difference; one has a meaning with what follows it, the other has none. We must protest; we are willing to take the responsibility of our own nonsense wherever found, but must object to have laid to our charge, the authorship of any body else's foolishness.

Do. Other mistakes follow, such as "her" for *hers;* "La Duke" for *LaDake*, etc.

P. 228. Is it a typographical accident, or eccentricity, the new name for Mrs. Kinzie's book, called on this and other pages, "Wabun"? once we observe it "Wauburn".

P. 261. "Afterwards, Captain William Wayne Wells," etc.

Where does Mr. B. get the "Wayne"? Captain Wm. Wells, killed at Chicago, had no *Wayne* in his name.

P. 276. "Mrs. Helm, who, after the return of the Kinzie family to Chicago, became the intimate friend of Mrs. John H. Kinzie, has drawn a vivid picture of the Chicago Massacre, seldom equalled by a historic pen. In Wabun, it has been reproduced, in Mrs. Kinzie's lucid style, whose freshness can never be equalled by any future historian, since the hand of time has spread its mantle of oblivion over the incidents of that day."

The "vivid picture," "lucid style," and "freshness," we are well assured of, and have complimented before; and we will here add, that the details of a good share of Chapter 17, in Mr. Blanchard's work, have previously attracted our attention in the original work of Mrs. Kinzie, as may be seen in our pages, 351—4 and 379, to which we call the reader's attention.

P. 317. "With this end in view, President Madison, in his message at the opening of Congress, in 1814, recommended its attention to the importance of a ship canal, connecting the waters of Lake Michigan, at Chicago, with the Illinois. This was the first official mention of such a scheme, however much it might have been talked of among geographers of the country."

Whether it might be termed "official" or not, the subject had attention on the floor of Congress in 1810; (*see ante, p. 356.*)

Do. "Captain Hezekiah Bradley, who had entered the United States Service, April 19, 1814,"

Error; Capt. B. was in the U. S. Army as early as Dec., 1808, he was brevetted *Major*, 19 April, 1814.

Do. "As chance would have it, he (Capt. Bradley) arrived on the ground, with his men (two companies), on the 4th of July, just thirteen years after his predecessor, Captain Whistler, had landed with his men, to build the first fort."

A mistake; Capt. Whistler didn't land with "his men;" they came over land, while he came on a vessel to St. Joseph River, and from there in a small boat.

Do. "The bones of the victims of the massacre of 1812, still laid scattered over the sand-drifts, amongst the sparse growth of bunch-grass and stunted shrubbery that grew there, and thus remained until 1822."

That is a mistake; after Capt. Bradley's arrival, in 1816, the remains were collected and buried by his order.

P. 324. "The English company, engaged in it (the fur trade), was chartered in 1670, under the name of The Hudson Bay Company. It had no rival, until one sprung into existence, in 1805, called The North-West Company."

The Hudson Bay Company, we believe, was chartered in 1660. "It had, indeed, a somewhat powerful rival in the North-West Company, after about 1790." (*Johnson's Cyclopædia.*) "During the winter of 1783–4, the merchants of Canada, engaged in this trade, formed a juncture of interest, under the name of the North-West Company," (*Alex. Mackenzie*). Other strength was united, or a reörganization had under the same name, in 1787.

P. 327. "In the year 1817, the enterprising house of Conant and Mack, whose headquarters were at Detroit, had established a branch fur-trading station at Lee's place, on the south branch of the Chicago River, under the superintendence of Mr. John Crafts."

There is, possibly, some doubt about Messrs. C. and M. being owners of the establishment for which Mr. Crafts was the agent, at Hardscrabble. We have heard it suggested that Abram Edwards, of Detroit, was the proprietor of that store; Mr. E. had, in 1818, a trading establishment here, so we understand; *(see ante, p. 186.)*

P. 329. "His (John Kinzie's) family consisted of John H., who has ever since (1818) lived at Chicago, till his death, in 1865;" etc.

A mistake; that same year of 1818, his father placed him at Mackinaw, for a five years' apprenticeship with the Am. Fur Co. Subsequently, he resided at Prairie du Chien and Fort Winnebago; and, after living abroad some sixteen years, he returned to Chicago in the latter part of 1833, or early in 1834.

P. 332. "This (the Indian Agency) was established in 1817, shortly after the completion of the fort, and Charles Jowett, of Kentucky, appointed to its charge," etc.

Mr. B. adds in a note:

"His name is spelled *Jowett* in the State Papers, but in the histories of the day incorrectly spelled Jewett."

Neither *Jewett* nor "*Jowett*," as Mr. B. has it, is the true name; nor can we see that the State Papers presents it "*Jowett*," as he tells us.

It is scarcely proper, perhaps, to say that the Indian Agency was "established" at Chicago in 1817, when Mr. *Jouett* had held the same office here a dozen years before.

P. 333. In the year 1816, Alexander Wolcott, of Connecticut, succeeded Mr. Jewett as Indian agent. Miss Eleanor Kinzie was then a blooming miss of twelve. She certainly had no rival charmers to alienate the affections of her suitor, Mr. Wolcott; or if she had, it is fair to assume that she would have eclipsed them, for the happy couple were married, Mr. John Hamlin, a justice of the peace from Fulton County, Illinois, officiating on the occasion, the two lovers, with commendable serenity, waiting many days for him to be sent for for that purpose. This may be set down as the first wedding ever celebrated in Chicago, according to the improved style of modern days. Its date was 1820."

Dr. Alex. Wolcott *did n't* succeed Mr. Jewett, "in 1816"; it *was n't*. "Jewett" either; Miss Kinzie's name *was n't* "Eleanor"; the year *was n't* "1820" when they were married.

P. 346. "The annual payment of the Pottawattomie Indians occurred in September of the year 1828."

Rather a loose way of putting it; for evidently 1827 was the year intended.

P. 355. "Billy Caldwell, the Sauganash, the nephew of Tecumseh, voted the Jackson ticket."

Caldwell, we think, was not a nephew of Tecumseh.

Do. "The Agency House was on the North Side, and was the second house built in Chicago, Mr. Kinzie's being the first."

There was an Agency House, indeed *two*, on the North Side, one of them Mr. B. appearing to have no knowledge of; and he ignores the earlier one on the South Side. Indeed, with our slim knowledge of Chicago, and of such as may have dwelt here during the hundred years preceding 1779, when, as we are informed, Monsieur Baptiste AuSable was the principal citizen of the place, it is an idle and presumptious statement to call this or that log structure, occupied at one time by some still living, as *the* "first" or *the* "second" of its kind. It is allowable, in our ignorance, to *suppose so* and *so*, but to assert as *fact*, what we merely *guess at*, is not within the province of wisdom, nor the office of history.

P. 358. "and David McKee who came in 1822."

Mr. McKee told us the same, that he arrived at Chicago May 31, 1822. Yet we have since heard that he came from Fort Wayne, in company with the last exploring expedition of Major S. H. Long, in 1823 (Long's earlier tour to the Rocky Mountains was in 1819–20). Mr. Wentworth also repeats the story in one of his lectures, that Mr. McK. came with Long; if so, Mr. McK. has mistaken the year of his arrival.

P. 374. "The news that an Indian war had broken out on the north-western frontier rapidly spread through every hamlet in the middle and eastern States. * * * The press of the country teemed with speculations. * * Abundant food for romance was economized out of the situation, and a volume of hasty poetry was published, entitled Black Hawk and Scenes in the West, which met with a ready sale. Under this pressure measures were promptly taken by the administration at Washington to meet the crisis."

A false impression is given in the above as far as the literary production named is concerned. That choice volume of doggerel, written by a half-witted egotist, and which we think had an extended and *burlesque* review in *Putnam's Magazine*, made its appearance long after the Indian disturbances of the year 1832.

After the name of Major Wm. Whistler, a gentleman who was in Chicago in 1803 and 1832, Mr. Blanchard refers to a note at the bottom of the page, to which he has appended the name of Gurdon S. Hubbard;

P. 376. "Joseph Biella, a native of Quebec, descended from Aubert, an explorer of the St. Lawrence, married the daughter of Mons. Lafevre, a Frenchman, whose wife was an Ottawa girl, and settled in Porter Co., Ind. She was an estimable woman, who adorned his household with those graces so highly prized by the most refined circles of civilization. The children of this worthy pair, per force of their superior training and education, found their true station in the best ranks of society. Four of them were girls, one of whom married Edward Biddle, of Philadelphia (brother to Nicholas, the President of the United States Bank). Another married Wm. Whistler, spoken of above. Another married Joel Wicker, where she and her husband still live at the old family mansion in Baillietown; and another became Lady Superior in the Convent at Terre Haute, where she remained till her death, two or three years ago. There was but one son. He settled in Prairie du Chien, where he spent his days as one of the prominent citizens of the place."

Whatever information Mr. Blanchard may have received from Col. Hubbard, it seems evident that he (Col. H.) never wrote the note as it is. There may be therein several items of fact, which would have been useful to us in our notice on page 94 of this volume, of Baies, Bailly, or "Biella," evidently the same individual. Yet, with the knowledge of one gross error in *the note*, we cannot feel assured of accuracy in the remainder. Certainly the wife of Wm. Whistler was never Miss Biella, Bailly, or Baies.

Referring to the interment of the dead soldiers from cholera:

P. 377. "The burying-ground was at the foot of Madison Street, on the lake shore."

No, it wasn't, if we are correctly informed.

P. 391. "There are now (1880) two men living in Chicago who were residents of the place before the Black-Hawk War."

These were Gurdon S. Hubbard and Philo Carpenter; but in a note, Mr. B. names another, Mr. F. D. Park.

Yet are there not still others? The names of Willis Scott, Alex. Beaubien, and John Bates occur to us.

See page 393. Another instance of our author's versatility appears at the foot of this page; still hammering *around a fellow's name like a cooper at a barrel.*

P. 394. "Immediately south of this (corner of Water and Lake St.) stood a log tavern, kept by Mark Beaubien. This was sometimes called the Sauganash, but it was not the famous hotel known by that name, subsequently erected about at the present corner of Franklin and Lake Streets."

We had supposed the "Sauganash" tavern, the one that was "famous," was the "log-tavern" and its successors, "immediately south," as referred to.

P. 395. "and Mr. Williams, at the suggestion of his wife, drove across the river, on a floating log bridge, to a tavern kept by Abner Taylor."

A mistake; Abner Taylor kept no tavern, in Chicago, at that time.

P. 398. "At Toland, (meaning Tolland,) Connecticut, in his (Mr. E. B. Williams) father's house, John Buel Fitch planned and built the first steam engine ever made."

Without doubt, John Fitch there "planned and built"; but as to the "first engine" we must beg to differ, and will refer Mr. B. to any general encyclopædia. Steam engines, not a few, were invented and built, and some of them successful in propelling boats, *many years* before Mr. Fitch studied the subject.

P. 407. "Her father, J. B. Laframboise, was a man of education. His wife, an Ottawa girl, the mother of Josette, soon learned to read and write, and taught an Indian school at Chicago."

Her father was not "J. B." but *Francis* Laframboise, Sen., as we understand.

Mr. B. quotes "Schoolcraft's Thirty Years," as authority for the last above-quoted sentence, and did it appear in that work, we would have noticed the item in the "Early Schools of Chicago", but there seems to be no such statement in the book.

P. 408. "Helen M." (Kinzie.)

Another variety of the *Ellen.*

P. 409. "The *Chicago Democrat*, edited and published by John Calhoun, corner of LaSalle and South Water Streets."

A mistake; the office was on the *corner of South Water and Clark Streets*, and the first paper so states it.

P. 412. For *Wolf Point*, Mr. B. writes "Wolf's Point", and for *Laughton*, he writes "Lawton".

Do. "On the west bank of the river, at the immediate junction of the two branches, was a tavern kept by Elijah Wentworth, in 1833."

An error; we understand Mr. W. left Chicago some time before.

Do. "It (the Green Tree Tavern) was built by John H. Kinzie"; and on p. 420, the same statement also appears from Prof. Colbert.

Mr. B. says it "is the oldest building in the city at the present day.

It was *James*, not "John H.," as we understand, that built the G. T. Tavern.

The Green Tree Tavern has been supposed to be the oldest building now remaining, and, by ourself, so intimated before, yet, according to a note on a later page of Mr. Blanchard's book, it would seem that one of the Fort Dearborn houses, or the timber which composed its walls, is still standing. Here is the note from Mr. Hinkling:

P. 439. "At this present time there is standing, fronting on State, near the N.-E. corner of 33d street, what appears to be a two-story *frame* house; the body of this edifice is made of hewn timber which formerly formed a part of the officers' quarters of Fort Dearborn (erected in 1816). Many years ago, the late Judge Henry Fuller removed this building from its old site, on the Fort reservation, to its present locality; then modernized it by covering with siding and a new shingle roof. In another building, erected by Judge Fuller, No. 872 Michigan Avenue, may be found an oaken window-frame, inserted in the kitchen part of said building; this venerable relic was also removed from the 'officers' quarters' of the old Fort, after having done duty there for some thirty years. It seems that the Judge had a great liking for these old Fort Dearborn buildings, for he removed a portion of another log building belonging to the old Fort, converting the same into a stable on the rear of his property, No. 872 Michigan Avenue. This old relic of the Fort he afterward sold, and I understand the purchaser broke up the old timbers for firewood."

Do. "Mr. Robinson's father was a Canadian voyageur, of Scottish descent, in the employ of a fur company;"

Perhaps so; but Mr. B. has no personal knowledge of the matter beyond that of many others, and we have heard *various* statements, and also that it is "a wise child that knows his own father." Mr. Robinson used to tell a story which reflected somewhat severely on his *paternal* at least. It was, that his father was a missionary from over the sea, and his mother was a white domestic in the family, and Alec., at birth, to avoid scandal, was placed in a wigwam with an Indian family, by whom he was raised. We add, however, that neither do we give any credit to *this* story.

P. 414. "He (Robinson) took Mr. and Mrs. Helm under his charge, and rowed them in his canoe around the extremity of Lake Michigan, and along its eastern shore to Mackinaw."

Not so; Mr. and Mrs. Helm did n't go to Mackinaw.

P. 414. "He (Robinson) died the next year, April 19, 1872."

It is a mistake; he died on the 22d.

P. 422. "And on the 18th May, 1836, the 'sloop Clarissa' slid from her stocks into the river."

That is a mistake; she *did n't.*

Do. The beginning of the canal was celebrated July 4th, 1836, by nearly the whole *village* of Chicago going up to Bridgeport on the small steamer George W. Dole, towing two schooners.

Another writer said of that occasion, referring, probably, to the same steamer, "There was a little, wheezy, clattering boat named *Chicago*, which, when the weather promised fair, used to run to St. Joe. This boat was employed for the excursion." Another individual, in a newspaper article, says: "There was a small steamboat in the City called the *Chicago*. It was about the size of the common river tug-boats of the present time, and, if I am not mistaken, was the only steamboat that had been in Chicago River; eastern steamboats always, in those days, anchored in the lake. The steamboat was to take a load of passengers up the river."

P. 423. "Granting to Rev. Wm. Lee the right to keep the ferry."

Mr. B. might readily *See* it *was n't* Mr. "Lee".

In the list of early settlers, on p. 424, and several succeeding pages, we discover many mistakes, but will not here review them; we merely instance one or two names:

"Dr. Peter D. Hugunin," "1833," "County Judge Wisconsin."
"Daniel Hugunin," "Pilot for Commodore Perry on Lake Erie."

Peter D. Hugunin was *never a doctor;* never officiated as "Judge" in Wisconsin, but was a member of the Wis. Territorial Council; was *never* a resident of Chicago, but was on a visit to his son, Henry M. Hugunin, living on West Lake Street, Chicago, where he died, April 22, 1865, in his 83d year.

Daniel Hugunin, though he distinguished himself at the battle of Queenston, was never a pilot for Com. Perry.

We cannot undertake to correct all the errors in Mr. Blanchard's book. But others may think with us, inasmuch as the work is intended to be permanently valuable, that the author ought to reconstruct, with care, the entire edifice; he should take out, and cast aside, all the rotten timber, and substitute in its place the genuine and sound.

The Chicago Times, in a recent notice of Mr. Page's painting, "Chicago Massacre", said:

"Of another interesting group, Mr. John Kinzie is the central figure. * * * The picture of Mr. Kinzie, by the way, is a portrait, and is pronounced a good likeness by Gurdon S. Hubbard, who knew him well in those old days."

Having known of no *likeness* of Mr. K., and as it has been over fifty years since that gentleman died, we had some curiosity to learn more of the accuracy of the statement, and asked Mr. Hubbard if it was so. He replied, "Not exactly; the late Major Robert A. Kinzie, U. S. Paymaster, was the son of John Kinzie; in build, he *resembled* his father, and looked much like him in features. The painting-likeness gives probably as good an idea of the person intended as could well be given."

In an early number of a small paper, called "The Record," a printer's publication, some half dozen years ago, it was stated:

"Some of our oldest residents have indistinct recollection of small fonts of type and a simple old style press having been brought to Chicago as early as 1830, but the undertaking was of so feeble a character, and so destitute of results, that even the name of the rash adventurer is forgotten."

We have made diligent inquiry of many "oldest residents," but have never been able to get trace of any warrant for such a report; and as no names or references are given, we must believe the story has no reliable foundation.

A contributor to *Whittaker's Milwaukee Magazine*, in the latter part of 1872, referring to a recent visit to Geneva Lake, says:

"Stopping at the St. Denis Hotel, was Captain Leonard C. Hugunin, of Chicago, whose name must henceforth appear in connection with the history of that City. His modesty has prevented his giving his narrative for publication before, but as he is now an old man 68 years of age, he gave it to me about as follows:

'I am an old lake captain, and sailed the first vessel, a yacht, named the *Westward Ho*, that ever entered the port of Chicago. It was in August, 1833. I, with two brothers, Judge Peter D. Hugunin and Captain Hiram Hugunin, sailed from Oswego, N.Y., having the unlimited credit of two banks,—which was something unheard of before—the Bank of Oswego and Bank of Cuyahoga, in the form of bank accepted drafts, for our use as we saw fit, none of which, however, we used. We were nearly three months on the trip, leaving Oswego in June, making various stops on the way, and arriving the latter part of August. We had to go ashore and hire eight yoke of cattle to draw this yacht over the bar, at the mouth of the river. There were then, including the garrison of Fort Dearborn, but 350 inhabitants, as stated by Judge Caton, of the United States Supreme Court, in a speech made during the last year. Hon. Alvin Bronson was the President of the Oswego Bank, and is still living in Oswego, and his brother Edward was President of the Cuyahoga Bank. One reason for taking the unlimited credit of the two banks was, that Chicago was so remote from Oswego, that we were afraid that the Bank there might not be known, and its money not accepted, and, as a provision against such an emergency, the credit of the Bank of Cuyahoga was obtained, being much nearer Chicago.'

It has hitherto been unknown to the public who made the first voyage to Chicago."

Nearly all the six brothers Hugunin, had practical knowledge of lake navigation, and we remember the sailing of the *Westward Ho*, at Oswego, in 1833. The services of the little

craft were afterward in demand on Lake Michigan, and we notice by the newspaper departures and arrivals at Chicago, in 1834, "Sloop *Westward Ho*, Freeman, master," for St. Joe and elsewhere. Captain "Len," who was really a pleasant companionable gentleman, a lover of adventure, fond of gunning, and who, after that voyage of the *Westward Ho*, had the misfortune to lose his right arm on a duck excursion to Sodus Bay, made one error, at least, in the above statement; the Captain's memory must have been somewhat mystified. The "unlimited credit" is certainly a mistake, as far as the Oswego Bank or its President was concerned officially; no such indiscreet act was perpetrated; the compiler of this book was connected with the Bank at that time and for ten years succeeding, and knows of what he speaks. [Hon. Alvin Bronson, the President, was a prominent merchant, a gentleman distinguished for more than ordinary talent, and we think is still, 1880, living, at the age of near 100 years.] Judge Peter D. Hugunin was a gentleman of some pecuniary ability, and, if there may have been extended to the party of that voyage a *limited* and definite amount of certified checks, it was from funds of the Judge on deposit, or from the avails of discounted paper negotiated by him, and mainly on his responsibility.

We have the impression that Judge Caton was Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court of Illinois, and not of the United States Court.

The statement that "it has hitherto been unknown to the public *who* made the first voyage to Chicago," and also, that the *Westward Ho* was the first vessel "that ever entered the port of Chicago," seems to require a remark or two. Hon. John Wentworth, in his lecture, May 7th, 1876, says:

"Gen. John McNeil, one of the heroes in the battle of Lundy's Lane, commanded the Fort when Mr. McKee came to Chicago. Soon after his arrival, a sailing vessel, called the *Heartless*, undertook to enter the mouth of the river, ran ashore, and was beached in the sand. They tried to cut her out, but she went to pieces. About a year thereafter, *the first* vessel entered the harbor, and anchored opposite the Fort. It was the United States revenue-

cutter *Fairplay*. When we speak of the first vessel coming to Chicago, there is always a confusion between the vessels that anchored outside and the vessels that actually came up into the river. It is claimed that this United States revenue-cutter *Fairplay* was the first one to enter the river." "Mr. E. Buel, now residing in Clinton County, Iowa, near Lyons, aged 75, claims that he was pilot and navigator on the schooner *Aurora*, Captain Titus, that came to Chicago in 1820 or 1821; but he leaves the question unsettled, as to whether or not he came up into the river."*

So then if the *Fairplay* report is true, why then it will be but fair play to the record of that vessel to allow it to hold *the belt*. Yet we desire to say that sail vessels were on *all* the great lakes more than a hundred years ago; there was *one* on Lake Superior in 1775; but what vessel made "the first voyage to Chicago," it would be difficult to prove. Whether or no, any one of the small vessels in use on the lakes in the long past, may have entered our river before the *Westward Ho* and *Fairplay*, it would also be a perplexing question to decide. In any event, it is quite improbable that they could, like Captain Hugunin, go ashore and order up a "horned breeze"† to enable them to sail into the river.

The statement in the published account of the "old folks" pic-nic, at Ogden's Grove, September 9th, 1880, appended to the name of Capt. L. C. Hugunin, who is a native of the Town of Oswego, N.Y., that *he* was the "first white inhabitant born there," is, upon any reasonable supposition, to be considered a mistake. The name *Oswego*, applied to the locality, *ante-dates* any of the written histories of the region.‡

* In a letter we received several years ago from Captain Buel, he said, "All the goods were landed in Mackinaw boats and yawl; no water on the bar to admit the vessel even when light."

† Captain Rodgers applied the *phrase* to a somewhat parallel case. The *Walk-in-the-Water*, built at Black Rock, making her first trip in summer of 1818, was the first steamboat of the lakes above Niagara; the *Ontario* of Lake Ontario was earlier, having commenced running in spring of 1817; yet Lake Champlain had a steamboat earlier still. But of the *Walk-in-the-Water* we were going to say, that her engine was not powerful enough to take her from the wharf at Black Rock, up the rapids to the lake; so a dozen yokes or so of oxen were employed to assist; this aid, Captain Rodgers, according to Schoolcraft, who took passage on the boat, called "*the horned breeze.*"

‡ The French *via* Canada were early within its borders; Champlain passed

No great part of the 150 years at least, past, has Oswego been without the presence, temporarily or otherwise, of white men and their families. Captain Hugunin's father, though a settler there early in the present century, was not, by any means, *the first.* It is not to be suggested as possible, that the generous "*tar*," Captain L. C. H., now a citizen here, whose mother we knew at Oswego near fifty years ago, was the first white inhabitant born there. We are willing to claim for a Chicago man almost anything else, but this we can not.

In *Tribune*, of August 5th, 1863, Col. J. B. Beaubien is referred to as then living in Naperville; but he had died in the month of January previous.

---

into the basin drained by the Oswego, in 1615. Subsequently a colony of French from the St. Lawrence, and a Spanish expedition from the Mississippi, met and sat down within the same basin, by the side of Onondaga Lake. The plan of the French colonists was, to civilize and Christianize the natives; that of the Spaniards was, to discover precious metals, having heard of a white deposit—the salt upon the marshes of that lake, which they supposed might be silver. But the savages at length, in 1669, attacked both parties, the French as well as the Spaniards, and all were utterly destroyed. At a later day, in 1696, de Frontenac landed an army at Oswego, marching up along that river to the castles and cornfields of the Onondagas, which nation, with others, he went to punish. Oswego was an important point in the early days of the fur-trade, and always, as far as we know, a noticeable place of interest. Governor Burnet, of New York, erected a stone trading-house there in 1727, but which directly became a military post of importance, and a matter of protest and annoyance to the government of New France. We can not here give details; but other British forts were built there by the colony of New York, though subsequently, in 1756, the place was captured by the French, under Montcalm, who destroyed the works. The capture of all Canada by the British, however, in a few years thereafter, cancelled all claims here of French dominion. British possession, we may say, continued, notwithstanding the Treaty of Paris of September, 1783, to hold Oswego, with other border posts, till 1796. During the years of the Revolution, it was a place of refuge of tories of the State, and the great rallying point, whence sallied, not only the large force for conquest, but the numerous smaller parties of whites and Indians, who sought, in the country of the Mohawk and elsewhere, revenge, blood, and scalps.

The history of Oswego should be written; at least we have as yet seen nothing worthy of the name.

In the lecture by Hon. Wm. Bross, January 23rd, 1876, he says:

"Philo Carpenter (still among us) and Captain Johnson, established the first Sunday-School here, July 30th, 1832."

The date August 19th, 1832, we had from one who was present at that "first Sunday-School," as appears on p. 113 of this volume. Moreover, July 30th *was not* Sunday.

In Mr. J. A. Marshall's lecture, delivered before the Centennial Library Association, March 21st, 1876, as printed in the *Fergus' Historical Series, No. 9*, he says of his arrival in Chicago:

"Upon the register of the hotel where we remained for a few hours, my entry ran something like this, 'April 20th, 1832, James A. Marshall, Ogdensburg, New York,' etc. I found the place too small for me to hope to make anything by my profession (physician), the garrison being supplied with one of the best in the country, in the person of Dr. Philip Maxwell, so we shipped at once for Navarino, Green Bay, Wis."

Fearing those lines may mislead the future historian of Chicago, we take the occasion to say, that we believe the year given should be *1833* instead of 1832. In the spring of 1832, Chicago was somewhat excited with the news of the Indian raid inaugurated by Black Hawk, and I do not think the hotel registers were spread open at that time. Moreover, Dr. Maxwell was not here in 1832 (though Mr. A. S. Hubbard's list of early residents in Mr. Blanchard's History so gives it), for he was connected with the army as Assistant-Surgeon, when he came early in 1833, his appointment bearing date July 13th, 1832.

Speaking of Fort Dearborn, Mr. M. says, *p. 21*, "the two-story buildings at the east of the hollow square, are the quarters of the commandant and officers;" it should be *west* instead of east; the error is probably typographical.

In Col. Gurdon S. Hubbard's narrative, printed in *No. 10, of the Fergus' Historical Series*, detailing some particulars in the year of the so-called "Winnebago War" of 1827, and in that connection, it is stated:

"The annual payment of the Pottawatomie Indians occurred in September of the year 1828."

If, as appears, the reference was intended to have a place there, the year, of course, should have been *1827*, and the *month* earlier than September.

In the 5th vol. of the Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, appear the reminiscences of John H. Fonda, (referred to on p. 213 of this vol.) Mr. Fonda said he carried dispatches from Fort Howard to Fort Dearborn, delivering the same to Capt. Morgan, in command there, in January, 1828. Mr. Draper, the Secretary of the Society above named, in a note, suggests that Captain Willoughby Morgan, who subsequently rose to the rank of Colonel, was this Captain Morgan; but *he* was *Major* in 1813. We think, however, that *the* Captain M. intended, was not Willoughby Morgan. Fort Dearborn, it is understood, was not occupied by a United States force during the five years from October, 1823, to October, 1828. But, in the summer of 1827, during an alarm occasioned by the behavior of the Winnebago Indians, there was a company of volunteers raised at and near Danville, Illinois, which chose to its command a Mr. Morgan, whom Gurdon S. Hubbard calls an "old frontier fighter." These forces marched directly for Fort Dearborn, which they occupied for a short period, until news came of the treaty with the Indians, held by Governor Cass and Col. McKenney, at Butte des Morts, in August, 1827, when the volunteers returned to their homes. We suppose the despatches or mail, referred to by Mr. Fonda, if delivered in the month named, was received by some one at the Fort, who probably represented *the* Captain Morgan of several months before.

In the October number, 1880, of *Harper's Magazine*, in an article concerning Chicago, by A. A. Hayes, Jr., it is said of the Kinzie house, that it was the

"First family residence in Chicago;" that of *Chicago*, "the name

is of Indian origin, *Cheecaqua*, meaning *stony*," and of John H. Kinzie, an "eminent pioneer and citizen of Chicago, celebrated the *first* anniversary of his birthday on its site, his father having arrived three days before, in company with Major Whistler and his command."

Regarding the "first family residence," we would again refer to a previous page, 411.

That "Cheecaqua," meaning "strong," was so written and used, might, by very competent witnesses, be difficult to prove.

Neither John H. Kinzie nor his father arrived here "in company with Major Whistler and his command."

A writer in the *Inter Ocean* newspaper of November, 1880, who places the name "E. H. Cummings" at the foot of his communication, may claim the merit of originality, at least. He says:

"I have read many articles published in the Chicago papers from various writers, trying to prove that Chicago was named after a skunk, none of which did I place any confidence in, for I could at one time speak the Indian language as well or better than I could the English."

He finally concludes "that Chicago was more Spanish than skunk," urging that the names *Chicago* and *Chickasaw* or "Chicazo," as he gives it, were identical.

We will only remark, that the writer, having been at one time more familiar with the Indian tongue than with his own, we must conclude, seems to have made very poor use *philologically* of his advantages.

Still another meaning of "Chicago."

From Potter's American Monthly.—"Forty-five years ago, the place was called 'Tuck Chicago.' Tuck, in the Indian dialect, means wood or timber, and Chicago, gone, absent, or without. The words Tuck Chicago signified, therefore, the waste prairie, or, literally translated, 'wood gone.' Mr. John Jenkins, an old resident of Momence, Ill., says that when he was a boy he was as familiar with the Indian tongue as with his own language, and that the above may be relied upon as correct. They were surrounded by Indians at that time, and his father was the first white man who

raised a crop of corn in Cass County, Michigan, which was in the year 1825. The usual definition given to the word Chicago is entirely erroneous."

It is rather queer though, that nobody else ever heard of it, and that it does not appear in any of the Indian vocabularies.

We met accidentally, not long since, a lithograph, intended, as we have since heard, as a prominent illustration of some German History of Chicago, soon to be issued. The picture is intended as a copy of a pencil drawing taken from the north side of the river, probably about 1850; and although some of the items in said drawing are incorrect, its general appearance is truthful. The lithograph, however, presents beneath the picture, two lines as follows:

"FORT DEARBORN (CHICAGO,) 1804.
mit dem 1830 errichteten Leuchtthurm."

Now, it is a pity to have the universal German nation of Chicago, or its colony in the old world, (by which we mean the German States of Europe,) thus misled. Fort Dearborn of 1804 and that of 1850, were two different institutions; neither were that light-house, light-house keeper's dwelling, nor old Noah Scranton's ferry-boat to be seen in 1830.

C. Fenno Hoffman, in a note in his *Winter in the West*, said:

"It was soon after the infamous surrender of General Hull, at Detroit, in pursuance of the terms entered into with the enemy by that officer, who was commandant-in-chief upon the North-West frontier, Captain Heald, the commandant at Chicago, prepared to surrender his post to the British. The Pottawattomies, and other hostile Indians in the vicinity, were on the watch for the movement; and, on the morning when the garrison evacuated the place, they had so completely succeeded in duping Captain Wells, the credulous and unfortunate Indian Agent, that the fatal march of the 15th October, 1812, was precipitated by his advice."

There were several errors in the foregoing extract. It was *not* the purpose of Captain Heald to surrender his post to the British. Captain Wells *did not*, that we are aware, deserve

the term "credulous;" indeed, Mrs. Helm said that he blackened his face, showing his lack of faith and *incredulousness*. Though unfortunate, Captain W. was *not* duped; the fatal march was *not* precipitated by him, which march was begun in August, not in "October."

Mr. Hubbard (*see ante p. 31*) would seem to be mistaken in the year in which John Crafts died. It could not probably have been in "1823," as his name appears in the Tax-List of July, 1825. (See supplement to lecture of Hon. John Wentworth, April, 1875, in *Fergus' Historical Series*).

Referring to the "Memorial" Chart of S. S. Hurlbut, we may say that *we* are responsible for its statements, and in giving the date of the arrival of Willis Scott as "*1823*" it was a mistake of ours; it should have been *1826*.

In the same memorial above named, in speaking of the Village Government, it is stated that Hiram Hugunin was the last President of the Board of Trustees. This would seem to be a mistake by the following, which we copy from Hon. John Wentworth's lecture, of April, 1875:

"It was on Monday evening, the 23rd of January, 1837, that a meeting was called in the Saloon Building, south-east corner of Lake and Clark Streets, for consultation upon a City Charter. It was called by the order of the last Board of Trustees of the Town of Chicago, of which body, Eli B. Williams, now of this City, was President."

In same memorial, we said we believed the old Kinzie house was "taken down in 1835." An early resident informs us that it had gradually disappeared *before* that date.

We will take this occasion to say, that in the paper read by ourself before the Chicago Historical Society, in October, 1878, appeared words as follows:

"But I do not believe that Marquette was ever, either in life or death, at what is now called Point St. Ignace. However, be that as it may," etc.

It is due to candor to admit that we now think that *so far*

we were mistaken. We shall not urge it as any excuse for us, that Mr. Shea even seemed considerably in doubt as to dates, or *when* and *where* were the various missions of St. Ignatius; we acknowledge too, that sometimes we have looked for *old Mackinaw* on the south side of the Straits, when really the *older* one north, was what we wanted.

We will here speak of several communications (four in number) which appeared last year (1879) in the Chicago *Times*, signed "Pointe St. Ignace." While we can not allow that the writer's argument is powerful enough to persuade us to concede the claim, that the grave of Father Marquette, whose remains were re-interred two centuries ago, in some church at Point St. Ignace, has in any manner been identified,—we yet esteem those letters as of no slight depth of research, and of much value; we would be pleased to see them printed in pamphlet form.

It has been hinted to us, that our brief words above quoted, occasioned the production of the articles named in the *Times*; yet, we can scarce flatter ourself to believe that such a slight expression or casual intimation of a doubt on our part, had sufficient magnetic power, as to draw out such are elaborate essay as that in the *Times*.

It was, we believe, a mistake of ours, on *p. 25* of this vol., to give the maiden name of Mrs. Whistler, "Ferson;" we understand that it should have been *Fearson*. John Fearson her father, was, we think, a resident of Detroit, in 1806.

See do. p. 27.—Capt. John Whistler did not, in 1803, belong to the Artillery branch of the service, but to the 1st Regiment of Infantry.

See do. p. 39.—In referring to the marriage of Miss Kinzie to Dr. Wolcott, we said:

"It was, we believe, in 1821."

The true date was July 20, 1823.

Do. p. 40.—We said,

"In the spring and summer of 1828, Mr. Heacock and family were living inside Fort Dearborn."

This, no doubt, was an error; in summer of the year 1827 Mr. Heacock lived there, having arrived here that season. But in March, 1828, he was residing near where Bridgeport is now.

Do. p. 45.—Perhaps the Indian Execution referred to, was in the year 1835, instead of 1832; at least, we see in Mr. Calhoun's paper of the summer of that year, a notice of such an event; possibly it was *another* however.

Page 106.—Perhaps, after all, we may have done the Menomonie Chief, *White Elk*, injustice, on *p. 106*, for we see by the Treaty of 1817, at the foot of the rapids on the Maumee, a *Pottawatomie* Indian's name "*Wabinsheway*" or "*White Elk.*"

Page 277, do.—At a much later day than the bear spoken of on the above-named page, it seems there was one told of by Mr. B. F. Taylor, in his Old Stories. Dates and many particulars are not given, but bruin came along the lake shore from Wisconsin, was overtaken, he says, and captured at Cottage Grove, which was followed by a dinner at the Tremont, and the extraordinary movements of a-quarter of that bear meat.

In an interesting communication by John L. Wilson, in the *Chicago Tribune* of December 11th, 1880, and one also a few days later from Charles Cleaver, in same paper, bruin comes in for some notice; one named by Mr. W. was, apparently, the one killed by Mr. Sweeney. We copy as follows:

"I can remember but two bears that were caught here previous to those of the Board of Trade. The one was discovered coming into the South Branch timber, and the whole available force of the settlement, including a detachment from the garrison, turned out to destroy him. All the dogs, as an accompaniment, turned out also. Bruin ran up a tree to see what was the matter, and was shot for

her curiosity; it was a female. The remains were barbecued at the Tremont, and a quantity of corn-juice followed them to their resting-places."

Mr. Wilson and Mr. Cleaver also refer to another bear captured many years ago in the lake, opposite Waukegan, some distance off shore, (Mr. Cleaver says five miles, at least); he was taken alive to the deck of the steamer, but in cold blood, was soon ignominiously butchered.

Page 375, do.—The impression received by Mr. Gates, as named, that Mr. W. H. Stow established the first iron-foundry, we are assured by Mr. Geo. Chacksfield, is a mistake, and that the firm of Jones, King & Co., established it. Mr. Stow, he says, was an employé merely. This foundry was located, it is said, on what was afterward Polk Street, near the river. It is claimed in the *Evening Journal* (1875) that Mr. Stow built the first frame building on the West Side; this would seem to be an error.

Page 377, do.—Our remarks about the "starvation," were made, supposing the reference was to *this* neighborhood and the garrison of Chicago, not otherwise.

Page 378, do.—The source of our information regarding the death of Mrs. Helm, seems to have been defective; she did not die, as we were told, in 1830; she married a Dr. Abbott some years afterward.

On *p. 402* of this vol., the authority for a statement of Mr. Blanchard is a subject of remark. A paper appears in the 1st volume of French's Historical Collections of Louisiana, entitled

"Memoir of Robert Cavelier De LaSalle, on the necessity of Fitting out an Expedition to take possession of Louisiana."

It is quite likely that was where Mr. B. derived his information; though it is without date, and we are not informed where the original is. We are not quite sure of its identity,

though probably the reasonable inference may be, that LaSalle was the author.

We found, not long ago, in a street book-stall, a volume which, apparently, from its smoked-marked leaves, had passed through the great fire. The book was published here, in 1868, and is entitled "Chicago and her Churches, by Geo. S. Phillips, (January Searles)." The book, we think, is written with a good deal of ability, though we can not, in many particulars, endorse its accuracy. Several chapters, giving something of early facts relating to this locality, preface the account of the modern religious organizations. Numerous suggestions and fanciful pictures are given in the details which we do not credit; but there are yet many statements, palpably incorrect, some of which we have previously noticed in this chapter in speaking of other authors. We will quote here a few mistakes:

Page 12.—"LaSalle, who resided in Fort Frontenac, and though a Jesuit, and a man of adventure, subsequently undertook to explore the source of the Mississippi, which he did as far as the Falls of St. Anthony, which received their name from him."

LaSalle *didn't* explore the source of the Mississippi; the Falls of St. Anthony *didn't* receive their name from him.

Page 15.—"Of such Marquette seems to have been; and his self-sacrificing life, in preaching about Chicago and the lakes, for years after he had discovered the Mississippi, shows that he was a long way in the truth."

The statement has been made by others also, that "Marquette for years preached about Chicago," but improperly. Father M. passed Chicago in the fall of 1673, to the Mission Station, at Green Bay, where he remained in ill-health for a year. He then left for the Illinois River, but was detained at Chicago, within his wigwam, by sickness, through the winter. Yet in the spring he was barely able to proceed on his journey and make a brief visit to the Indians on the Illinois. He then returned to Chicago and made an effort to get to Mackinaw, *via* the east shore of the lake, but died on his way, in May, 1675.

Page 17.—"Here at last was the great watercourse (the Mississippi) which was to carry the French commerce to Asia, which was to plant the tricolor in China, and Christianize, through the Roman propaganda, that strange, calm, impassible people, and stamp the impress of the modern culture upon their ancient and mysterious cultivation. Already along the line of their explorations, they had given Chinese names to the cities which they had planted."

The French, of the reign of Louis XIV., *did not* intend to plant the "*tricolor*" in China, for that was a standard of the revolution, a hundred years later; nor are we aware of any cities with Chinese names which they planted "along the line of their explorations."

Page 19.—"For a long season, the Ohio, which was called by the French the river of the *Iroquois*, was left unexplored through dread of these splendid savages."

We were not aware of it, indeed without further reference, we shall continue to doubt the statement.

Page 24.—"On his (Marquette's) return, and whilst engaged in that preaching business with the Miamis round Chicago, he made a rude map of his late explorations, and the geography of the lake region, and deposited the same in St. Mary's College, at Montreal, —one of the most precious of all the historic documents of the West, which ought to be in the collection of the Chicago Historical Society."

Marquette probably made that map, not at Chicago or its neighborhood, but during the year of his sojourn and sickness at St. Xavier, Green Bay. He *did not* deposit it in St. Mary's College, but it was sent to his Superior, and was a long time in the Jesuit College, at Quebec. Canada fell to Britain, and the Jesuit Institution was proscribed and new members forbidden. Father Cazot, the last survivor of the Jesuits, Shea tells us, deposited various papers, Marquette's map included, in the Hotel Dieu, or hospital, at Quebec, where they remained from about 1800 to 1842. Since that time, after being copied by Dr. Shea, they appear to have been at St. Mary's College, Montreal. We would be pleased to see the original map of Marquette in possession of the Chicago Historical Society. But, suppose, as Mr. Phillips suggested, "it ought" to have been in the keeping of that

Society; without the copy of Dr. Shea, the West would never have been the wiser. Unfortunately, the Chicago Historical Society never copied or published any of their priceless manuscript treasures; "*accumulate*" was the motto. *The fire!* tells the rest.

Page 30.—"Here, then, we have before us, in visible form of primitive architecture, the old Fort Dearborn of 1804. Up to the time of its erection, no white man had built his house on Chicago ground."

The natural effect of parading just such nonsense as the above, before the people, as we often see, is to demean Chicago, and to degrade its history. Wm. Burnett, a white man, (see *p. 66* of this vol.) wrote that he had a house here in 1798, and how much longer before that we can not say. It is true, however, that white men, Frenchmen, had lived here still earlier, a hundred years and more, and we may reasonably suppose they had houses.

Page 35.—"A company of United States troops (1812) occupied the Fort; John H. Kinzie kept a trading station there."

The last part of the sentence, scarcely; John H. Kinzie was aged nine years.

Page 43.—"Then the officers remonstrated with him (Captain Heald), and there was insubordination even among the soldiers; but all was of no avail. This proud military man, with his ideal of duty, believed that, rather than disobey his superior officer, he had a right to run the risk of involving his command and the whole settlers—men, women, and children, including the sick, the old, and the halt—in one indiscriminate slaughter." And more of the same sort.

The above we consider the merest *twaddle.* It had its origin in a relation by Mrs. Helm or Mrs. Kinzie, or both, (for we are unable to separate the responsibility of the authorship,) and, we believe, has little foundation beyond an evident grudge of one or more prejudiced women. John Kinzie, Sen., as far as we can learn, never authorized those statements.

Page 49.—"But after whispering in her ear that he was *Black Partridge,* and her father's friend, (the leader of the massacre,) he," etc.

That he whispered "in her ear" is something *new;* no one else says so. Nor was Black Partridge "the leader of the massacre."

Page 62.—"The Fort was occupied by the same troops from July 4th, 1816, to May, 1823, when they left it for good."

The same troops *did not* occupy from 1816 to 1823; nor was the post evacuated until October, 1823.

Page 70.—"Opposite the Kinzie house (1831) stood the far-famed "*Cobweb Castle,*" once the Agency house, and now the chief hostel in the 'City,' kept by Elijah Wentworth,—'Old Geese,' as his neighbors, for some facetious reason, loved to call him."

"Miller's house was called 'Rat Castle,' and stood on the opposite side of the river."

"Near Miller's house lived Mr. Lee,—the Rev. Mr. Lee."

Cobweb Castle was *not* the "chief hostel," indeed, it was *never* a hostel that we heard of before, nor did Elijah Wentworth live in it. Neither was Miller's house called Rat Castle; *nor* was there a Rev. Mr. Lee who lived near there.

Page 73.—"Then Black Hawk fell on the settlements. Strange to say, two Indian chiefs, Sha-bo-nee, our old friend of Chicago, and Billy Caldwell, saved by their warnings, advice, and interposition, another massacre of the settlers."

Our author evidently mixed up the troubles of 1827, with those of 1832.

Various other erroneous and absurd statements may be found in the above named volume, but we omit further notice.

In the *Chicago Tribune*, November 12th, 1875, there was an article with the heading, "An Old Settler. Mr. Willis Scott's Reminiscences of Young Chicago." As a few of the statements given seem to be denied, we copy from the *Tribune*, as follows:

"When the Scott family arrived in Chicago (1826), they found *only one house*, that occupied by Kinzie on the north side of the river, besides the Fort and block-house. In the latter, lived Col. Beaubien, who was agent for the American Fur Company. Kinzie's house stood near the river, and three or four poplar trees adorned the front yard, the only shrubbery in the neighborhood, as the woods on that side of the river began about where Washington Square and Collyer's Church are now."

"It has been stated heretofore, by different parties, that there were some woods on the south side in early times. Mr. Scott says on the contrary, that there was not a tree in sight anywhere west or south, with the exception of a small clump on the bank of the river, about where it is crossed by Monroe Street. The country was all prairie, as far as the eye could reach."

Looking at Schoolcraft's view of Chicago, in 1820, (see copy opposite *p. 189* of this vol.,) as well also as Mrs. Kinzie's sketch in Wau-bun, made eleven years after, there would probably seem to have been *more* than one house here in 1826.

That there was "not a tree in sight," appears to be contradicted, for we were assured by an early settler, that there was in 1834, a very tall cottonwood tree on the south side of Randolph Street, near that street and near the river, which served as a guide for land travelers from the west, as well as to the sailors upon the lake. We were also told by Mr. E. H. Hadduck, that when he arrived at Chicago, in 1833, there was quite a body of heavy timber lying along the river, on the east side of the south branch.

Mr. John Noble also said to us, that as far north as Randolph Street near Market Street, there were large cottonwood trees all about; the timber on the south side he said, was principally basswood, cottonwood, and elm; the south side, said he, was not prairie, but a timber swamp.

In the *Chicago Tribune*, August 12th, 1877, appeared a communication over the initials "J. M. H," relating to early Chicago; we extract the following, which also seems to show that Mr. Scott was mistaken:

"At that time (1836), there was a dense body of timber on the east bank of the south branch, beginning at Washington and extending as far as Twelfth Street. At VanBuren Street, this timber extended as far east as Clark Street, curving from there each way toward the river. From Twelfth Street, there was open prairie, till timber was again reached, which was on both sides of the river, about at Eighteenth Street. That on the west side extended along the river, as far as the canal lock, and about half-a-mile wide from the river at the widest point. On the east side of the river, or rather the south side, the timber followed the east fork for a mile or two."

In closing this chapter, we will add, if we have not hesitated to point out the errors of others, we must yet invite the correction of our own as well. It is in no aid of truth, to bespeak the mercy of the critics. If truth is the purpose of history, then let the mistakes be pointed out, let the facts be established. We would rather submit to the knife of the surgeon, than anticipate the gentle offices of the undertaker. We would deprecate fraud of every kind; may no historical quack, with his inviting nostrums, whether compounded of legendary empyricism, or the artful inventions of plausible adulteration, persuade us to swallow his doses, to the confusion of our annals and the health of valued memorials.

NAMES, FORMERLY APPLIED TO SOME OF THE WESTERN LAKES AND RIVERS, ETC.

Canada and the Northwest.—"Nova Francia—New France—appears to be the name," says Mr. C. C. Baldwin, "given to the country drained by the St. Lawrence, until it came under the dominion of the English; although Charlevoix, in history, says it was first bestowed by Samuel de Champlain, in 1609. Mr. Shea, in his valuable edition and translation of Charlevoix, says, the name is first known upon the Copper Globe of Ulpius, in 1542; and appears next in Cartier, in 1545, who speaks of Hochelaga and Canada, otherwise called by us New France, showing the name to have been somewhat common. Mr. Parkman says the name was first used after the return, in 1524, of Verrezano to France."

Lake Ontario.—Champlain called it "*Lac St. Louis;*" Count de Frontenac, in 1674, called it "*Ontario;*" on Sanson's map, 1679, it appears "*Ontario ou Lac de St. Louis;*" it had also the name "*Frontenac;*" Hennepin called it "*Ontario or Frontenac;*" Tonti and Father Membre call it "*Lake Frontenac;*" on De L'Isle's maps, 1700, 1703, it appears "*Lac Ontario;*" the English on claiming dominion called it "*Kataraqui or Ontario;*" Mitchell's map gives it "*Ontario or Catarakui.*"

Lake Erie.—This name, says Mr. Baldwin, was derived from the tribe of Eries, on the south shore; the same tribe

was also called the *Cat* nation, "whence the lake had sometimes *the alias* '*The Cat*,' '*Felis*,' '*Du Chat*.' Senex, in 1719, called it also '*Cadaraqua*' the name sometimes given to Ontario; Washington's Journal, Mitchell, and Pownal, called it '*Okswego*.'" Hennepin called it "*Erie*," and also "*Conty*;" and Sanson's map, 1679, gives it "*Erie Lac*;" somewhere we have seen it "*Lac Teiocha-rontiong, dit communément Lac Erie*;" Membre called it "*de Conty*;" De L'Isle's maps give it "*Lac Erie*."

Lake Huron.—This lake was named "*des Hurons*" from the tribe of Indians of that name; somewhere it appears "*Lac Huron, ou Mer Douce des Hurons*;" Champlain called it "*Mer Douce*;" Father Membre, as well as Hennepin, called it "*Lake Orleans*; De L'Isle's maps, 1703, 1718, give it "*Lac Huron ou Michigane*," on his map of 1700, it appears "*L. des Hurons*;" Coxe, in 1721, called it "*Huron or Karegnondi*," or the *deep lake*; Washington's Journal, in 1754, has "*Quatoghi or Hurons*."

Lake Superior.—Champlain applied "*Grand Lac*" to what is supposed to be this lake; Marquette's map gives it "*Lac Superieur ou de Tracy*;" Hennepin called it "*Lake Conde*;" on De L'Isle's maps it is "*Lac Superieur*;" on Senex's map, 1719, and Coxe's, of 1721, appears "*Nadouessians*."

Lake Michigan.—Father Marquette, Dablon, LaSalle, and others, called it the lake of the "*Illinois*;" Claude Allouez, journeying in 1676, reached this lake on the eve of St. Joseph, and said "we gave it the name of that great Saint, and shall henceforth call it '*Lake St. Joseph*;'" but Shea says that Allouez was the first to give it the name of "*Lake Machihiganing*;" somewhere we have seen it given "*Lac Mitchiganong ou des Illinois*;" LaSalle and Father Membre called it "*Lake Dauphin*;" St. Cosme called it "*Miesitgan*" and also "*Missigan*;" Marest (says Shea) was one of the first to call *Lake Michigan* by that name; Coxe called it "*Lake of the Illinouecks*."

Lake St. Clair.—Somewhere we have seen it termed "*Tziketo, ou Lac de la Chaudiere*;" Hennepin wrote it "*St.*

Clare" (as by the translation); on the map of De L'Isle of 1700, it is "*L. de Ste. Claire;*" on his maps of 1703 and 1718, it appears "*Lac Ganatchio ou Ste. Claire.* Shea says, "the name is commonly written St. Clair, but this in incorrect; we should either retain the French form *Claire*, or take the English *Clare.* It received its name in honor of the founder of the Franciscan nuns, from the fact that LaSalle reached it on the day consecrated to her."

Mississippi River.—One or more of the outlets of this river was discovered in the year 1519, by the Spanish officer *Don Alonzo Alvarez Pineda*, in the service of de Garay, Governor of Jamaica, and who surveyed a great part of the northern coast of the Gulf of Mexico; he named the river "*Rio Del Espiritu Santo,*" or the *River of the Holy Ghost.* It was known to De Soto by that name, being inscribed on the maps and charts of the day. De Soto named it "*El Rio Grande del Florida,*" which name was long used in Spanish histories. Marquette gave it the name "*de la Conception,*" and which appears on his map; he also used the name *Missipi.* The Indian name it is said was "*Meechacebe;*" LaSalle, Membre, Hennepin, and Donay, called it the "*Colbert;*" Joutel said the Indians called it "*Meechassippi;*" but *he* called it the "*Colbert or Mississippi;*" on De L'Isle's map it is "*Mississippi*" and "*S. Louis;*" the name "*Chucagua*" is a name that has also been sometimes applied to it, also those of "*Sassagoula*" and "*Malabanchia;*" Allouez first speaks of it as "*Messipi*" and again as the "*Messi-sipi;*" St. Cosme calls it "*Micissipi.*" Henry de Tonty made a map of the Mississippi, and to some extent the region of the country along its banks; but we are not aware that it has ever been published, or if the original or a copy is in existence.

Missouri River.—Marquette called it the "*Pekitanoüi,*" meaning *muddy water;* the Recollets called it "*the River of Ozages;*" Membre called it the "*Ozage;*" on De L'Isle's maps, 1703, 1718, it is "*le Missouri ou de R. Pekitanoni;*" Coxe called it "*Yellow River*" or "*River of the Massorites.*"

Arkansas River.—Marquette first called it "*Akansea;*" St.

Cosme and Montigny call it "*Akanseas;*" on De L'Isle's map of 1718, it is "*Riv des Arkansas ou Tonti.*"

Red River of La.—It is called by LaSalle "*the Sabloniere;*" on De L'Isle's map, of 1718, it is called "*Riv. Rouge ou Sablonier.*"

Ohio River.—Marquette called the lower Ohio "*Ouabouskigou;*" Joutel called it "*Douo or Abacha;*" from the mouth of the Ohio to the Wabash and up that stream, was generally known as the "*Ouabache,*" so it was called by Membre, St. Cosme, LaHontan, and others; above the mouth of the Wabash, the Ohio was more particularly known as "*Ohio ou Belle Riviere,*" so the river is called on De L'Isle's map, 1703, on that of 1718, appears "*Riv. d. Ouabache ou de S. Jerome;*" on some old maps it appears "*Ohio or Fair River.*" "The English (says Mr. Baldwin) were more inclined to extend the name '*Alleghany,*' down that river." Evans, in 1755, calls it "Ohio or Alleghany or La Belle;" the Shawnees called the Ohio "Palaw The'piki;" Mitchell called the river the "*Ohio or Splawcipiki;*" in 1790, Mr. Burnett called it the "*Oahiya.*"

Illinois River.—Marquette speaks of it, but gave it no name; on Franquelin's map it appears "*Riviere des Ilinois ou Macopins;*" LaSalle called it the "*Seignlai;*" Fathers Hennepin and Membre the "*Seignelay;*" Dablon not only applied to one of the upper branches of the Illinois (the Desplaines) the name "*St. Louis,*" but to the continuation, the Illinois itself; Coxe called it the "*Chicagou;*" De L'Isle's map, of 1718, and others, give it "*Riv. des Ilinois.*"

Lake Peoria.—Marquette calls it "*Pewarea;*" on Franquelin's map it is "*L. de Pimitcau;*" on one or more of De L'Isle's maps it is "*Lac Pimitoui.*"

Des Plaines River.—It is generally written "*Desplaines,*" though some insist that "*Aux Plaines*" is the more correct term. It is understood to receive its name from a variety of maple, which the Canadians call *Plaine.* Sometimes the name appears "*Des Planes,*" and "*Plein,*" as well as "*Aux Pleins.*" Prof. Keating said the Pottawatomies termed it the "*Sheshikmaoshike Sepe.*" LaSalle, in 1680, called the Des-

plaines the "*Divine River;*" Membre and Charleviox did the same. LaSalle afterward, however, called it the "*Checagou.*" Dablon called it "*St. Louis River,*" including, perhaps, the continuation, the Illinois; Franquelin's map, 1684, gives it "*Peanghichia.*" The river was formerly, and not unfrequently, called the "*Chicagou;*" see De L'Isle's map, 1718, and D'Anville's, 1755.

Chicago Portage.—This, generally so-called, was an institution of the past, an overland path between the waters of the Chicago River and those of the Desplaines. We see upon the old maps, that it appears frequently "*Portage des Chenes,*" probably so-called from the scrub-oaks along the route. On the map of Moll, 1720, it is marked "Land Carriage of *Chekakou;*" on Popple's map, 1733, there is placed "*Portage*" without the name, and the same also on Mitchell's, of 1755. Medore Beaubien told us that he remembered seeing them haul, with oxen, over the portage, not only freight passing over the route, but the boats also. The length of this portage, of course, varied according to the condition of the water in the neighboring streams. The usual distance traveled by land, it is said, was from four to nine miles; in very dry seasons, however, the portage extended much farther.

Mud Lake.—Such is the name by which is has for some time been known and goes at the present day; formerly it was known as "*Portage Lake,*" or by the name given it by Frenchmen, who called it "Le Petit Lac." We have seen it written "*Marais Lac,*" or *Swamp Lake.* This slough, without doubt, represented one of the channels by which the waters of Lake Michigan used to seek the Illinois and Mississippi. In wet seasons or high water, there was often free navigation between the Chicago and Desplaines. In dry seasons, indeed, there was much swamp and wet prairie (since recovered by drains) in its immediate vicinity. A beaver dam is said to have formerly divided the pond into two parts. In this connection we give the name of a neighboring morass, the "*Sa-gua-nash,*" or "Saginaska Swamp," and called "the Sag" for short.

Chicago, and River.—Marquette called it "*Portage River;*" LaSalle applies the name "*Checago*" to this locality, but his *Checago River* was generally the *Desplaines;* Franquelin's map, 1684, gives to this locality or river, the name "*Cheagoumeinan,*" and to another stream "*R. Chekagou;*" deTonty, in 1685, says that he arrived at the "*Fort of Checagou.*" Joutel, as we see by the translation, gives "Chicago*n*," but, probably, it is a typographical error. St. Cosme, as by Mr. Shea, calls it "*Chikagou,*" "*Chicagu,*" "*Chicaqw,*" and also "*Chicag8.*" LaHonton, 1703, has it "*Chegakou.*" The name, in former times, was often applied to the Desplaines River; the name "Divine River," generally given to the Desplaines, was sometimes applied indiscriminately to both the Chicago and the Desplaines. Mr. Barry once referred to a map of Reineckes, published at Weimar, 1704, in which "*Fort Chicagou*" is named. Senex, 1710, gives it "*Checagou;*" De L'Isle's maps have it both "*Checagou*" as well as "*Chicagou;*" Moll, 1720, presents it "*Chekakou;*" Charleviox, "*Chicagou.*" It is called "*Chicagoux*" in an early French memoir. Col. De Peyster speaks of it as "*Eschecagou,*" and again as "*Eschicagou,* a river and Fort at the head of Lake Michigan." Popple's atlas, 1733, has it "*Fort Miamis ou Ouamis;*" Mitchell, 1755, "*R. and Port Chicagou,*" and Sayer & Bennett's map, 1797, says "*Point Chicago River.*" Prof. Keating, in Long's Expedition, 1823, speaks of the *north branch* as "*Gary River;*" Gurdon S. Hubbard told us that it (the north branch) used to be known as "*Guarie River,*" from a trader of that name, who, somewhat more than a hundred years ago, lived on the west bank of the north branch, his buildings being located about where Indiana street is now.

Calumet River.—On some old maps it appears "*Kennomekou;*" at a later day it was often written "*Calamick;*" and also "*Calamink.*" The Big Calumet was called by the Indians, says Prof. Keating "*Kenomokouk.*"

Kankakee River.—Charlevoix wrote it "*Theakiki,*" and said the Indians incorrectly pronounced it "*Kiakiki.*" De L'Isle's map, 1718, gives "*Huakiki,*" and same stream lower

down, "*R. de Macopin.*" Gov. Ninian Edwards called it "*Quin-que-que.*"

St. Joseph River, Mich.—Tonty called it "*Miamis River;*" Membre the "*Myamis.*"

Maumee River.—It has frequently been called the "*Miami of the Lake;*" Mr. Burnett, in 1790, called it the "*Aumies,*" sometimes the "*Mies.*"

Muskingum River.—Mr. Howe says it is a Delaware word, meaning *a town on the river side.* Sometimes it was called "*Elk,*" and so appears on some of the old maps. Mr. Harris, in 1805, said the Indian word means "*the Elk's Eye;*" Mr. Baldwin says that Mitchell gives this last name to one of its branches.

Sandusky Bay.—The name *Sandusky*, though some years since claimed as originating from a Polish trader in Ohio, named *Sodousky*, who once lived at or near the locality, and some of whose descendants wrote their name "Sandusky," was yet of Indian origin. The Indian name was "*San-doos-tec,*" or, as sometimes given "*Sa-un-dus-tec,*" meaning *at the cold water*, or *water within water-pools.* On De L'Isle's map, 1718, it appears "*Lac San-dou-ske;*" Mr. Burnett, in 1787, called it "*St. Tuskey.*"

Saginaw Bay.—On De L'Isle's map, 1703, 1718, it appears "*Baye de Saguina,*" and "*Baye Saguinam;*" Coxe called it the "*Sakinam.*"

Patterson's Point.—A rocky point of land on the north shore of Lake Michigan, some sixty miles from Mackinaw, is or *was* formerly so-called, from the fact, that Mr. Charles Patterson, one of the principal members of the Northwest Fur Company, with all his crew, was there drowned about the year 1788. [Mr. P. was the same gentleman addressed by Mr. Burnett, on *p. 55* of this volume.]

Marquette River.—On De L'Isles map, 1703, it is "*R. Marquet;*" as per Charlevoix, it was "*River Marquette,*" or "*River of the Black Robe.*"

Isle Royal, Lake Superior.—De L'Isle's maps, 1700, 1703, it appears "*I Monong;*" Coxe calls it "*Minong.*"

Michillinackinac.—Marquette called it "*Michilimakinong;*" Hennepin and Membre speak of it as "*Missilimakinak;*" Joutel called it "*Micilimaquinay;*" on De L'Isle's map, of 1703, appears "*Isle et Habitation de Missilimakinac.*" Mr. Shea informs us that he learned from a Rev. Mr. Pierz, that the Indian name of Mackinaw was "*Mitchikan,*" meaning *a fence.*

Green Bay.—Marquette called it "*Bay of the Fetid;*" Hennepin and Membre did the same. Marquette says the Indians called it "*Salt Bay;*" St. Cosme called it "*Bay of Puants;*" on De L'Isle's maps, 1700, 1718, it appears "*Baye des Puans;*" sometimes it was called "*Le Grand Baie;*" Mr. Burnett, in 1798, called it "*Le bay.*"

Milwaukee River.—Membre calls it "*Mellecki;*" St. Cosme termed it "*Melwarik;*" on De L'Isle's map, of 1718, it appears "*Melleki.*"

Root River, Racine.—St. Cosme called "*Kipikwi*" and "*Kipikuskwi;*" it has also been called "*Chippecotton,*" or "*Schipicoten,*" as Mr. Storrow termed it in 1817, the signification of which we have heard was "*Maskalonge;*" we have seen it called in print, "*Masquedon.*"

Fox River of Illinois.—Joutel, on his map, gives it "*Petescouy;*" St. Cosme calls it "*Pistrui;*" Charlevoix calls it "*Pisticoui;*" it was sometimes called "*Pistaka*" and "*Bestikwi.*"

Du Page River.—Prof. Keating said the Indians called it "*Otokakenog,*" which means *uncovered breast.* The voyageurs, he said, called it "*De Page River,* from a Frenchman of that name, who died, and was buried on the banks of this stream."

St. Croix River.—Hennepin called it "*Tomb River.*"

Lake Pipin.—Hennepin called it "*the Lake of Tears.*"

Black River.—Hennepin says it was called by the Indians "*Chabadeba*" or "*Chabaaudeba.*"

Wisconsin River.—Father Marquette called it the "*Meskonsing;*" Hennepin quotes the Indians as calling it the "*Ousconsin*" or "*Misconsin.*" Membre called it the Miscon-

cing; St. Cosme, the Wesconsin. We think Gov. Doty, one of the Territorial governors, used to insist on the name being written "*Wiskonsan;*" but the mode was unpopular, and if we remember rightly, the Legislature irrevocably established the form of its orthography as "*Wisconsin.*"

Fever River.—Le Sueur called it "*Riviere a la Mine.*"

Rock River.—It was called by the French "*Riviere a Roche.*"

Iowa River.—Hennepin called it "*Otontenta.*"

We have given above, only a brief notice of a few of the main features as proposed. A work upon the subject, however, to be done properly, comprehensive enough to take in our whole country, would require years of travel and thorough research among the early publications and other documents; such a work would fill a large volume.

CHICAGO WITH VARIATIONS.

The following is a variety list, said to have been made up from letters received, some years since, at the Post-Office, here, intended for this locality. Whether this catalogue equals the one spoken of to the Hon. John Wentworth, by the former President, John Quincy Adams, we can not say; but the latter gentleman said that during his administration, no two government officers, writing from Chicago, ever spelled it the same way:

"Chicago, Chigego, Chikilgo, Sheskawgin, Shiggoggo, Sigogo, Cicago, Chigako, Chikago, Sikago, Schikago, Chigago, Shigaco, Chigaco, Shigogo, Chickagoe, Chikaio, Chookago, Chago, Chicgago, Cikago, Chicoaga, Sikicaco, Schigacho, Cicaco, Schikako, Cillikogo, Chicvago, Cigago, Chacgo, Chicopo, Chicowgo, Shegargo, Secago, Schecargo, Cheekoge, Chigo, Chiciego, Chichago, Chictgoo, Ciago, Cakorego, Chicggo, Chicaugo, Chuago, Schekoga, Chioga, Chicugo, Chicgo, Chicagow, Sckicago, Checago, Sigago, Chechaugor, Chihago, Chichaigoe, Chigagoue, Shilgogu, Schickaukoy, Chilhago, Schicaco, Schukgago."

SOMETHING ABOUT THE CHIEF WABANSA, AND HIS STATUE.

NOT *very* much are we able to tell concerning the Pottawatomie Indian *Wabansa*, though he was much at Chicago, and his home mostlv was not far distant. His band and village in 1818, is understood to have been at the mouth of the Mazon Creek, in the present town of Wauponsee, Grundy Co, Illinois; but some years afterward, they were located on Fox River. Yet he was here so much, that he may properly, perhaps, be called a Chicago Indian. He is understood to have been a man of middle age in 1812, when he was at the battle of Chicago, taking part with the enemy against the American forces, though with a few others of his tribe, he endeavored to save the life of Captain Wells, and also, to protect the Kinzie family from harm, as we learn in the pages of *Wau-bun*.

In a published account of the late Indian chief Shabonee, by Mr. Wm. Hickling, it is said:

"The last attempt made to embroil the Pottawatomies and Ottawas in a war with the pale faces was that made by Black Hawk and the Prophet, in 1832. These two chiefs representing the Sauk and Fox nations, met the Pottawatomies and Ottawas in council at Indiantown, in February of that year, and eloquently pointed out to the large number of Indians assembled there, the necessity of co-operation, in order to save their nations from the further encroachments of the white men upon their hunting-grounds; for at the time emigration was fast spreading over the rich prairies of Northern Illinois and Eastern Iowa. In that large assemblage, the voice of but one Pottawatomie chief was raised in favor of war and union with Black Hawk, and that was given by old *Wau-pan-seh*."

Medore Beaubien told us that Wabansa was a brother of "Black Partridge." At the treaty of St. Louis, in 1816, "Wapunsy," probably the same, was a party; "Waubonsa" was at the treaty of 1826, at the mouth of the Mississinowa, on the Wabash; "Wa-ban-see's" name appears in the treaty of 1828, on St. Joseph River, Michigan; "Wau-pon-eh-see" appears in the treaty of 1829, at Prairie du Chein; at the treaty of Camp Tippecanoe, in 1832, on the Wabash, "Wah-

pon-seh" was granted a reservation of five sections of land, and at the treaty of Chicago, in 1833, "Wah-pon-seh" was a signer.

Yet we are sorry to have to place here an item concerning this chief, which would seem to show a most irritable, inconsiderate, and brutal temper; yet the tendency of indulgence in an angry temper, naturally leads to brutality, and passion and cruelty are much cultivated as accomplishments among savages. Whatever talent or bravery Wabansa may have exhibited in war against enemies, this deed at his home has left a blot upon his name, worthy of a coward and a fiend. The following appears on page 668 of Schoolcraft's "Thirty Years":

"October 2d, (1839), Mr. J. H. Kinzie, of Chicago, mentioned to me, in a former interview, a striking trait of the barbarity of the Pottawatomies in the treatment of their women. Two female slaves, or wives, of Wabunsee, had a quarrel. One of them went, in her excited state of feeling, to the chief and told him that the other had ill-treated his children. He ordered the accused to come before him. He told her to lie down on her back on the ground. He then directed the other (her accuser) to take a tomahawk and dispatch her. She split open her skull and killed her immediately."

The triangular piece of land in Chicago, lying between Kinzie street, Jefferson street, and the north branch of the river, laid out in lots many years ago and known as *Wabonsia*, was named from this Indian; possibly it was there where the chief had his camping-ground; we believe that Jas. Kinzie was proprietor of the tract. This chief led one of the parties of his tribe which left for the West in fall of 1835. It was at Booneville, Missouri, in 1846, that Medore Beaubien saw Wabansa, (as he informed us), with several others of a party that were returning home from a visit to Washington. The season was unfavorable for traveling, being late in fall or early in winter, and the stage-coach or conveyance in which they arrived, had upset, and several of them were hurt, Wabansa, as also some others. At any rate, that chief was laid up there from an injury or sickness, and very soon died. Medore assured us that when it was known that a chief of some note

had deceased, and, as it was told, that he belonged to a sort of secret society among the Indians, the Free-Masons took the matter of the funeral into their own hands, and conducted the affair with no little display, at their sole expense. Beaubien said that Wabansa had evidently been much cut up in battle, for his person showed numerous scars from old-time wounds. His age was believed to be near eighty years. We will remark here that Mr. Page tells us, that in presenting *Wabansa*, in his late painting of the massacre at Chicago, he has reproduced the features of that Indian, as represented in McKenney and Hall's Indian Tribes of North America, the portraits of which last-named work, are copied from original paintings, as we understand, in the Indian Gallery at the War Department.

On the lawn at the residence of Hon. I. N. Arnold, on Pine street, in this City, is *a rock* to which attaches a story of some interest in connection with the personage whose name is given in the heading of this chapter. The bowlder we may say is of a red granite, whose early home we are assured by Prof. Hager, was at the far North, and which had a free ride upon a cake of ice to Chicago, in the day's probably when the prairies were formed. The stone is about eight feet in length or rather in height, for it sits in the ground upon one end to the depth of some three feet, and rises five feet above it; its greatest girth probably is around its middle, and its weight must exceed a couple of tons. These proportions we get from the information of others, for, excepting its crown and upper front, not much is seen in its present position. Its prehistoric record, of course, is not very clear to us, yet of a later period we know rather more. This much we must suppose tradition bids us to confidently believe: Many years ago, after the construction of the first Fort Dearborn, when soldiers of the post not immediately on duty, often lounging around the rock, where it stood outside the Fort partly in the ground, their gossip with the Indians elicited the information, that long ago, even before the French came two centuries since, the rock was used for *sacrifice*, a place of execution,

upon which doomed captives or convicted felons were put to death. Subsequent to the period last named, however, the stone had a more peaceful mission, the concave surface on its upper end being used as a corn-mill or mortar, in which the natives ground their maize. It was in after days, however, since the rebuilding of the Fort in 1816, that the rock was hauled from its long-time position, to within the stockade; how this was accomplished in the absence of horses or cattle we cannot say, yet we might suggest that ten scores of red Indians, harnessed in thongs of elm bark, were a power sufficient for the purpose. Within the Fort, the stone seemed larger than before; occasionally the half-recovered invalid soldiers from the hospital would get upon it, and sit in the sunshine of spring, while their thoughts turned from this remote and wilderness post, to their far-away Eastern homes. But the rock to some was a terror, for it was where such had to expiate the misdemeanors and devilments often breaking loose among soldiers in field or fortress; and however harsh such restraints and examples may be deemed by irrepressibly kind-hearted people, yet the despotism and tyranny which often attend military control, have much to excuse their severity. Whether the "buck and gag" mode, or the milder "barrel surtout," or else some other ingenious style of torture and discipline came into requisition here, we cannot particularly say, yet the rock was where the incorrigible were placed in pillory. It is not, then, surprising, that in the gossip among the rank and file, it was a playful caution and a common mode of expression, that if they should do *so* and *so*, they would "*go to the rock*." Among the soldiers of the fort, however, there appeared an incipient Praxitiles or Michael Angelo, but from a neglect which has often attended the fame of other men, his name has passed into oblivion. But the nameless soldier cherished a design, and this purpose was to mould a likeness upon the rock above named, of some notable individual; the scheme found a hero in *Wabansa*. This chief was a Chicago Indian, and the sculptor, it may be supposed, had won by gifts of various plugs of tobacco

the complacent and available repose of the features of the chief from which to copy. Whether that portion of the American army to which our soldier belonged, was ordered to another post, or that some other obstacle intervened, it is understood that the statue was never completed; the face only was chiselled, a medallion sort of head. We may say that the portrait pleased the Indians, the liege friends of the chief greatly, for a party of them admitted within the stockade to see it, whooped and leaped as if they had achieved a victory, and with many uncouth gestures, they danced in a triumphant circle around the rock. The reasonable tradition is, that the statue is a fair representation of the face of the chief. At the present time, one feature, that is the nose, we are informed, has been somewhat shorn of its original volume; this occurred either from the strange freak of a relic-hunter, or else from some traditional grudge of a revengeful individual, which enmity was handed down from the circumstance, that a relative of his, some generations ago, had his scalp lifted by an Indian.

In the year 1837, the distinguished Senator from Massachusetts, Daniel Webster, paid a visit to the West, and took Chicago in his route. The arrangements for that part of his ride from the Illinois River to Chicago, were conducted by Mr. H. S. Kinney, a canal contractor, who, if tradition does not belie him, had an axe to grind, and *it was ground*, we have heard, at a tremendous cost to some one. The conveyance was a barouche with four elegant *creams* attached; Mr. Webster was accompanied by his daughter and son. Every wheel-vehicle, every horse and mule in town, it is said, was in requisition that day, and the Senator was met some miles out by a numerous delegation from this the *new city*, who joined in the procession. We have the impression that it was the 4th of July; the column came over Randolph street bridge, and thence to the parade ground within the Fort. There were guns at the Fort, which were eloquent of course, though we think the soldiers had left some weeks before. We now wish to say that the foundation of all this outcry about Mr.

Webster, the base and platform upon which that gentleman stood when he made the speech within the Fort, was *the rock*, the same *Wabansa stone* of which we have been telling. If any reader of this may have been present on that occasion, he will no doubt remember how vigorously the late eminent lawyer, Justin Butterfield, (who stood directly in front of the Senator), swung his hat and cheered the speaker. Coming down to later years, we will say, precisely, *when* the late Mr. Henry Fuller became the owner of some of the grounds of the Fort Dearborn Reservation, we cannot state, but we think it was at his suggestion that the statue made its appearance at the Great Northwestern Sanitary Fair, held on the grounds of Dearborn Park, in the year 1865, where it was not only esteemed a curious relic of early Chicago, but having been drilled and tunnelled for the water-pipes, it occupied a representative position as the almoner of the bounty and beauty of Lake Michigan. Mr. Arnold came in possession of the statue in 1866, having purchased it of Judge Fuller, and removed it to the North Division, where it officiated as part of a fountain in front of his house on Erie street. There it stood on that day of October, '71, when, on marched the flames like a devastating army, unfeeling, and unsparing; the gleams of flying fire above, and the murky clouds of smoke were reflected in the pool of the shallow basin at the fountain. But the great wheels and levers at the Water-Works were soon stilled, and the North Division, even as the South, went down before the fatal simoon; what fortunes passed away with the flames, what health and comfort and hopes and lives were crushed in that storm of fire, will never be fully told.

After the great conflagration, which destroyed nearly everything in the North Division, excepting the statue, one isolated mansion, and a few fragmentary rocks the remains of lofty and beautiful structures, the *Wabansa stone* was placed in its present position, surrounded by numerous deferential carvings of a more modern date, remains which survived the fire. It is the central shaft or column, the head of which

is the pinnacle or dome of a most tasteful and classic style, externally, of a rather diminutive *wigwam*. This Wabansa, we must suppose to be looking out from the mural folds of his tent, if not to guard against the surprise of an enemy, yet possibly with the instinct of an Indian-hunter, seeking in the distance some *Ursa-Major*, for the statue faces the North; we remark that a peculiarity of the mouth would appear to show a preparation for a grand yell or *whoop*, for victory no doubt. If the question shall be asked, whether or no Wabansa really sat for the portrait, it may be answered that such is understood to be the fact; yet whether he sat or stood for the statue or not, the statue sat and still sits or stands for him, and is, as far as we know, the sole and only piece of sculpture of a Chicago Indian wrought in stone; indeed, the oldest piece of art in that line which Chicago may claim as its own production. Above the head appears what may seem in the picture to be *a cross*, but was not intended for such insignia; Wabansa was not only a war chief, but he was *a great medicine man*, he was a pagan.

As before mentioned, the crown of the rock was pierced

for a fountain of running waters; they now often flow in jets and spray, in gurgling curves or cascades; these streams would seem to be trying to wash out the old-time blood-stains, and where were sighs and groans also, as our fancy might invest the stone, and as by the tradition, we are told of a sanguinary age. Calling the attention of the readers to the view above, of the rock and fountain, from a photograph copy which the politeness of Mr. Arnold allowed us to have taken, we will add that Erin has its *blarney-stone*, New-England its *Forefather's Rock*, New York its *Cleopatra's Needle*, Utica its *Oneida Stone*, and Chicago its *Wabansa Stone;* the latter may properly claim the dignity of as great age as all of the others.

ALEXANDER ROBINSON.

Alexander Robinson, "Indian Robinson," *Chee-chee-pin-quay, Chee-chee-bing-way*, or *Tshee-tshee-beeng-guay*, his Indian name, meaning *blinking eyes*, from a peculiarity attending the appearance of his visual organs, it is believed was born at Mackinaw, or that immediate vicinity. His mother is understood to have been wholly or in part of the Indian race. In a newspaper article, some years ago, it was stated that

"His maternal grandfather was a Frenchman, and his father was a British officer in the Garrison, at Mackinaw, where he passed his boyhood. He is believed to have been about 104 years old at the time of his death."

His gravestone tells that he "died, aged 110, April 22nd, 1872."

Mr. Blanchard's History credits the statement, that he was 110 years old, quoting Robert Kinzie, who believed he was older than his (Kinzie's) father.

The following communication, however, appeared in the *Chicago Times* in September, 1880:

AN APOCHRYPHAL METHUSELER.

To the Editor,—Your ancient historian—or writer of ancient history—tells us that the monument at the grave of Alexander

Robinson, "chief of the Pottawatomies," etc., has recorded the years of that patriarch as one and one-tenth of a century. "Chief" Robinson died April 22, 1872. If he was 110 years old at the time of his death, he must have been born in 1762. Your historian says his father was a captain in the British army, stationed at Macinac, and his mother a half-breed woman, whom the amorous captain found there. Unfortunately for the verity of this romantic tale, there were no British officers or soldiers at Mackinac in 1762. The conquest of Canada by the British expedition, under Gen. James Wolfe, occurred in 1760. In 1762, a military expedition penetrated as far as Detroit. In 1763, Macinac was first taken by a British force, commanded by George Etherington, who moved thence to Green Bay. The French commandant at Macinac, when Etherington arrived there, was M. Langlade, who received from Etherington permission to live at "La Bayes" (now Green Bay); but he does not appear to have retired to that place immediately, and seems, after Etherington's departure from the Island, to have still been addressed as commandant. The first record of a British garrison on the island of Macinac appears to have been in 1775, when A. De Peyster was commandant. These historic facts are hardly compatible with the assumed birth of "Chief" Robinson at Macinac in 1762.

The writer hereof heard "Chief" Robinson testify on the witness-stand, in the famous "sand-bar case" (Bates *v.* the Ill. C. R. R. Co.) in 1858, when he was questioned by the attornies (among them Abraham Lincoln) concerning his age. He had no idea how old he was; did not know the date or place of his birth, and could give no data from which either could be fixed or inferred. He was a very old man, that was apparent; yet his memory of events, localities, etc., in his earlier days was fairly clear. According to the inscription on his tomb stone, he must have been at that time 98 years old. No one who saw or heard him could have believed he was nearer than twenty or thirty years of that age. The fact is, Mr. Editor, these cases of modern Methuselahs will not bear investigation. Examination will too often show that, as in the case of Robinson, the Methuselah had no knowledge of his own age.

SKEPTIC.

It would be a difficult matter to establish the age and the line of ancestry on the paternal side of Alec Robinson. This condition of mystery and doubt, which broods over his birth-record, led Alec, sometimes, to burlesque his own genealogy; (*see ante p. 415*). Yet, after an interview had with him in 1866, by Mr. Draper, Secretary of Wisconsin State Historical Society, Mr. D. says: "His father was a Scotch trader, and his mother an Ottawa woman; and

Robinson, the son of this union, was born at Mackinaw, in 1789." There seems a variety of opinion regarding the number of years that Alec Robinson had lived upon the earth; we ourself are impressed with the belief that the Chief, at his death, in 1872, had not passed his 85th birthday, or was 25 years younger than the age 110, sometimes claimed for him. Mr. Draper called his age 83 at death.

We have heard that sometime, possibly early in the present century, Robinson was an associate, in some manner, of Joseph Bailly, at the place which is now called Bertrand, Mich. In the year 1809, Robinson is said to have come to Chicago and bought about a hundred bushels of Indian corn, whether shelled or on the cob, we are not advised, and which he shipped by boat or canoe (getting over the bar at the mouth of the river with some difficulty) across the lake. This, it has been suggested, was the first shipment of grain, as far as known, from this port; yet, as we see by a letter of Mr. Burnett (*ante, p. 50*) shipments of corn from St. Joseph River are spoken of as early as in 1786, it is not unlikely that Chicago also sent out, quite as early, from cabin or *cache*, its initiative consignments, from this now greatest of cereal centres. If Alec Robinson was not here at the time of the evacuation and battle of 1812, it is yet told that he came here immediately afterward, having left his canoe at the Big Calumet, "and came stealthily to Antoine Ouilmette's cabin, which was near Mr. Kinzie's, on the north side of the river." Secreted there, it is said that he plainly heard the screams of the victims of the massacre following the capture. It is understood, however, that he accompanied the Kinzie family to St. Joseph, and soon afterward rowed Captain and Mrs. Heald to Mackinaw, where he (Capt. H.) surrendered to the commandant there. We are further told, that after a year spent at Mackinaw, he (Robinson) returned to Chicago in 1814, finding here then, only one white man, Antoine Ouilmette. The year following (1815), it is stated that these two were the only white men here, and the grounds of the late Fort, both that year and in 1816,

were planted by them with Indian corn. When Major Bradley arrived, in 1816, to construct the new Fort, he paid Messrs. O. and R. for their field of corn. At that time it is stated that Alec and his Indian wife lived on the north side of the river, near the intersection of the present Dearborn and Kinzie Streets. Several of the foregoing items are given upon the authority of an article in the *Chicago Tribune* of May 14th, 1872.

Mr. Blanchard, in his History (p. 412), tells us that the "old Miller house on the north side," near the junction of the north branch with the main river, was built by Robinson, in 1820. Mrs. Kinzie, in *Wau-bun*, (speaking of the year 1831,) says it was built by "a former resident of the name of Miller; * * * This house, which stood near the forks of the river, was at this time vacant."

From the year above-named (1814), we conclude that the home of Mr. Robinson, might, for many years succeeding, be said to be at Chicago, though we believe he was generally ready for any reputable outside expedition, which promised a fair compensation. Possibly it was he that piloted Mr. Jouett, the Indian agent, and his bride, from the Ohio to Chicago, in 1809. That he assisted and served in various ways of business through several decades, the elder Kinzie, Gurdon S. Hubbard, John Crafts, J. B. Beaubien, and others, we are assured. He often officiated as Interpreter for the Government, and in 1823, he seems to have been employed in in that capacity by Dr. Wolcott, the Indian agent. When Major S. H. Long's expedition, on its way to the upper waters of the Mississippi, in the summer of 1823, passed Chicago, Robinson was interviewed by Prof. Keating, who tells that he furnished "much information concerning the Indians of this vicinity."*

* Prof. K. speaks of Robinson as "a half-breed Chippewa," and that "he informed us that the Indians, who frequent this part of the country, are very much intermixed, belonging principally to the Potawatomis, Ottawas, and Chippewas, from which circumstance a great admixture of the three languages prevails here. The vicinity of the Miamis has also, in his opinion, tended to

We have heard that a Father Badin, a Roman Catholic priest, on one of his visits to Chicago, administered the rite of baptism to Mr. R., but of the date of the occurrence we are not advised. Mr. R. was a voter here in 1825 and 1826.

On Thursday, September 28th, 1826, Mr. Robinson was again married (John Kinzie, J.P., officiating), to Catharine Chevalier. His former marriage with an Indian woman, seems to have been annulled, or rather duplicated, for she still retained a place in the household, though we have heard that her position was an inferior one, the new-comer being *the lady* or leader of the domestic arrangements of the

adulterate the language of the Potawatomis in the neighborhood of Fort Wayne; and it is believed that this language is spoken in the greatest purity, only along the banks of the St. Joseph, of Lake Michigan. Robinson did not suppose the Potawatomis to exceed two thousand five hundred souls; but it is probable that their numbers must be greater, especially as they are united with the Kickapoos, whose population amounts to six hundred in the State of Illinois. According to his observations, the Potawatomis believe that they came from the vicinity of the Sault de St. Marie, where they presume that they were created. A singular belief, which they entertain, is, that the souls of the departed have, on their way to the great prairie, to cross a large stream, over which a log is placed as a bridge; but that this is in such constant agitation, that none but spirits of good men can pass over it in safety, while those of the bad slip from the log into the water, and are never after heard of. This information they pretend to have had revealed to them by one of their ancestors, who, being dead, traveled to the edge of the stream, but not liking to venture on the log, determined to return to the land of the living, which purpose he effected, having been seen once more among his friends, two days after his reputed death. He informed them of what he had observed, and further told them, that while on the verge of the stream, he had heard the sounds of the drum, to the beat of which the blessed were dancing, on the opposite prairie. This story they firmly believe.

"With a view to collect as much information as possible on the subject of Indian antiquities, we inquired of Robinson whether any traditions on this subject were current among the Indians. He observed, that their ancient fortifications were a frequent subject of conversation; and especially those in the nature of excavations made in the ground. He had heard of one, made by the Kickapoos and Fox Indians, on the Sangamo River, a stream running into the Illinois. This fortification is distinguished by the name Etnatack. It is known to have served as an intrenchment to the Kickapoos and Foxes, who were met there, and defeated by the Potawatomis, the Ottawas, and the Chippewas. No date was assigned to this transaction. We understand that the Etnatack was near the Kickapoo village on the Sangamo."

wigwam. Such it seems was a custom of social life at Chicago, and elsewhere, in the wilderness of the West, at that day. We may say here, that the home of the parents of the new bride was at the Calumet, and where they died; yet Catharine, their daughter, (Mrs. Robinson), was born within our present City limits, at Bridgeport, near where was afterward the canal pump-works; so she had been often told, but whether born in tent or cabin we can not say. About the period above named, 1825 or 1826, Robinson lived in a log-cabin on the west side, at what was subsequently called Wolf Point; near him also, on the river bank, lived a Frenchman, or half-breed, named Muller, a brother-in-law of Robinson, as Medore Beaubien informed us. [Muller's widow was probably the same half-sister of Robinson, their mother being the same, of whom we were told. Mrs. Muller, or at least *a half-sister* of Alec, made her home at his house some sixteen years, and died December 29th, 1876.]

In 1831, Robinson received from the Commissioners of Cook County, a license to keep a tavern, and in same year also, one to sell merchandize; we never heard that he, at any time, availed himself of the business privileges so conferred.

At the Treaty of Prairie du Chien, in July, 1829, and that of Chicago, of September, 1833, Mr. Robinson was a signer; in the first named, he was granted a reservation of two sections of land on the "Riviere Aux Pleins," and by the Treaty of Camp Tippecanoe, October 20th, 1832, he was to receive an annuity of $200 during life, and a further annuity of $300, was given him in the Treaty of Chicago above named. He was not, however, as Mr. Blanchard's History tells us, "principal chief."

In vol. 7, Wis. His. Soc. Coll., appears a chapter by Hon. John T. Kingston, entitled "Early Western Days," from which we make an extract in the note.* We are a little

* From Mr. Kingston, we copy as follows: "The Pottawattamie Indians remained at peace with the whites during the war. Those west of Lake Michigan were collected mostly at Ottawa and Chicago, and were fed by the Government during the summer. Near the close of the war, they took open

inclined to doubt the accuracy of the report of Chief Robinson's address to his warriors; we will not say that the account is *manufactured*, yet the story seems a little ostentatious.

It is believed that Robinson conducted one branch of his people, the Indians, in their removal beyond the Mississippi; but he returned and located permanently on his reservation on the west side of the Desplaines. We are informed that Mr. R. was rather below the average stature of men; the photograph, of which the above *cut* is a good copy, was taken about two years before his death, and is called a good likeness; it was the only one ever taken. He never had the benefit of much, if any, schooling, and he did not write his name. We have noticed, on *p. 109*, the circumstance of his joining the first Temperance Society of Chicago. Blanchard, in his History, says that Alec witnessed the great fire from Lake Street bridge, and as he beheld its desolation, "he

ground against the Sauks. At the commencement of the war, however, the great majority of the young men of that tribe manifested a strong disposition to take up the tomahawk against the whites, and were only prevented doing so by Robinson, their war-chief, a half-breed."

"The following account was narrated by Robinson himself soon after the war, and is, no doubt, true. The old men were for peace, but being largely in the minority, their opposition in council to the young men amounted to but little; war was, therefore, resolved upon, and they even went so far as to lay plans for the taking of Fort Dearborn by surprise, in which they would probably have been successful had it been attempted. [Gurdon S. Hubbard responded to this, from which we extract as follows: "Your informant is mistaken in his statement, that the young warriors of the Pottawattamies designed attempting to capture Fort Dearborn, in 1832. No such design was ever contemplated; had there been, I certainly should have known it. * * * Mr. Kingston is, no doubt, mistaken, his statement applying to the Winnebago War, of 1827, not to the troubles of 1832."] The officer, in command of the Fort, had no suspicion of any hostile intention on their part, and had, for some time, allowed them to come into the Fort every morning to draw their rations for the ensuing day. In this way they intended to get possession of the Fort, and massacre the inmates. At this time, Robinson, and Half Day, the orator of the tribe, wishing to make a last effort to dissuade them from their purpose, called a council of the warriors. The council lasted two or three days, and they used all the eloquence and influence they possessed, to induce the young men to change their purpose, but without effect. The final vote was taken, and declared, by a large majority, for

gave a lusty *whoop*, and exclaimed that he once more saw the open prairie there, as in the old days of his own prime."

war. Upon this decision being made, Robinson arose, walked to the door of the council-house, then turned and faced his warriors. Returning their fiery and defiant glances with equal defiance, he said: 'You see me before you. I led the old men to battle when they were young. They have told you of my deeds in war, of the scalps I have taken. I am brave and you know it. I have never turned my back to an enemy; that you also know. I fought the white men as long as there was any hope of success; but when I saw our warriors become few and weak, and the white men become many and strong, I knew that all hope of success was gone. I then said to the whites, 'let us live at peace. I will be your friend, I don't speak with two tongues (don't lie).' You intend to take up the tomakawk against the whites; but first cut me in two, throw one-half to my white brother, keep the other for my Indian brother, then fight. I will not hear the war-whoop.' After standing silent for a few moments he continued: 'If you must go to war, why not fight your old enemies, the Sauks? I will lead you on the war-path. Will you follow me? Decide now.' Instantly the war-whoop was given by more than a hundred warriors."

We will append to this note furthermore, an extract from Gov. Bross' History of Chicago, as follows; the stories are not very much alike: "Information was again received through Billy Caldwell, by Col. Owen, that the hostile chiefs were tampering with the Ottawa, Pottawatomie, and Chippewa Indians, belonging to his agency, and that, in consequence of the success in the fight at Kishwaukie, many of the young men were strongly inclined to join them. It was with difficulty the chiefs could restrain them. A consultation was had with Messrs. Robinson and Caldwell, both influential chiefs among the Indians, who advised an immediate council with the principal chiefs, together with some of their young men, at which Col. Owen was to address them, and let them know distinctly, that if they formed any alliance or connection with Black Hawk, or furnished them men, or aid of any kind, the Government would hold them to a strict accountability for it, and would punish them severely. The council was held at or near the place where Rev. Mr. Richardson's Church now stands, in the North Division of the City. (This church was at corner of Wolcott Street, now North State and Illinois Streets). There were present a number of the chiefs of the United Nations, including Caldwell and Robinson, and Col. Owen and Col. R. J. Hamilton on the part of the Government. The council was opened by a few remarks from Caldwell to the chiefs. Blackfoot, a chief of considerable influence and power, then addressed the council. He recounted many of their grievances, and charged the Government with gross injustice towards them, and concluded by remarking that now was a good time to redress them. His speech was evidently well received by the young men. Col. Owen followed him, and his boldness, energy, and the scathing rebuke he administered to Blackfoot, changed the whole current of feeling against the chief. The Indians retired for a few minutes, and then returned, presenting their hands to Col. Owen, declaring their friendship to the Government, and offering to furnish a hundred braves to march against Black Hawk if desired."

Mr. Robinson, we understand, was the father of fourteen children, all I think by his second marriage, two only of whom (Mrs. Ragor and Mrs. Cooney) survive. We copy in note* the inscriptions upon the monuments in the graveyard at Mr. Robinson's late home. Yet, unless there was some irregularity in the record which does not appear (such as living with his wife "Cateche" some years before marriage) then *one error* is plain enough carved on her tombstone; it says, "she lived with her husband 42 years."

* Inscriptions from the Robinson graveyard:

"Margaret, wife of John E. Ross, and daughter of Alex. and Cateche Robinson, died Jan. 14, 1841, aged 17 years."

"John, son of Alex. and Cateche Robinson, died Feb. 24, 1843, aged 18 years, 6 months."

"Catharine, wife of Alex. Robinson, (Chief of the Pottawatomies, Chippewas, and Ottawas) and daughter of Francois and Mary Ann Chevalier, died August 7, 1860, aged 60 years; she lived with her husband 42 years."

"Alexander Robinson, Chief of the Pottawatomies, Chippewas, and Ottawas, died, aged 110 years, April 22, 1872."

She died 1860
She married *1826*—34

Several other mistakes occur; namely, upon the monuments of Mrs. Ross, and John Robinson.

In a trial, in the spring of 1873, regarding the title to a part of what was called "Robinson's Reservation," the reporter of the case in the *Chicago Tribune*, used the following words, which we copy: "As Robinson had been very infirm for several months preceding his death, and a part of the time laboring under insanity, there were grave doubts as to the validity of the conveyance," etc. The Court (Judge Farwell) said, "that Alexander Robinson was not of mind and memory sufficiently sound, to qualify him to transact business of that description."

Mr. Robinson died at his home on the Desplaines, April 22nd, 1872, after, as we were told, but three days' illness; his disease was *meningitis*, the result, perhaps, of a condition of mind named above.

BILLY CALDWELL AND SHABONEE.

On calling the attention of the reader by the names of two prominent natives of the northwest, given at the head of this article, we are led to say, that the sketches of those Indian Chiefs, prepared by Mr. Wm. Hickling, for the Chicago Historical Society, and printed in No. 10, of Fergus' Historical Series, though but brief, yet contain many authentic and reliable particulars not before given to the public. We shall merely in this notice refer to a few items in the lives of each.

Billy Caldwell was born in Canada, but at what place we are not informed, about the year 1780. His father is said to have been an Irish officer in the British army, and his mother an Indian woman of the Pottawatomie tribe. Educated in Roman Catholic schools, he acquired a facility of writing "both the English and French languages, and was master of several Indian dialects." Growing up under British rule and

patronage, it is not surprising that the interests of Caldwell were apparently identified with that side of the line, even though a large portion of his own and kindred tribes were at home on American soil. But the persuasions of the talented and active Tecumseh in aid, not merely of the British king, but to dispossess or drive away white men, who were rapidly occupying the broad hunting-grounds of Indian domain, helped for the time to fasten the cords more firmly which held Caldwell to British fealty.

From the year 1807, down to the battle of the Thames, in October, 1813, Caldwell was intimately connected with that Chief, indeed he was often called "the Secretary of Tecumseh." What battles, or forays, or scalping expeditions Caldwell may have had a hand in, we are not advised; that he was one who took part in the Indian attack on the troops at Chicago we have never heard intimated, yet it is not altogether impossible that he was with those savages; certainly he was in the neighborhood. We have the impression, however, that Billy Caldwell, "the Sauganash," had little taste for blood and carnage, indeed, that he was averse to all that sort of pastime. We copy here a few sentences from Mr. Hickling's sketch:

> "But little is known of Caldwell's individual history as a warrior, or of his connection with the hostile tribes, who, after the declaration of war between the United States and Great Britain, in 1812, made their savage forays upon the forts and frontier settlements of the West. When questioned about his participation in some of these affairs, he was unusually reticent; but we have unquestioned authority to state, that he, with Tecumseh and Shabonee, used all their influence, and did all that lay in their power to mitigate the horrors of savage warfare, in restraining the fury and ferocity of the Indians toward the unfortunate captives who fell into their hands."

The authoress of "Wau-bun" gave details of a thrilling incident of apparent danger of assassination to the Kinzie family, following the battle here of 1812, but happily relieved by the opportune arrival and judgment and tact of Billy Caldwell.

In 1816, Caldwell and Shabonee were at Amherstburg,

(Fort Malden), on the Detroit River, in Canada, as will be seen by the following, which is a copy of a document now in the library of the Chicago Historical Society; it was long carried by Shabonee, or "Chamblee," as he was frequently called, who gave it to Mr. Wm. Hickling, in 1858, and by him presented to the Historical Society:

"This is to certify, that the Bearer of this name Chamblee, was a faithful companion to me, During the Late war with the United States. The Bearer Joined the Late celebrated warrior Tecumthe of the Shawnee Nation,—in the year 1807,—on the Wabash River, & remained with the above warrior from the commencement of the Hostilities with the U. S., untill our Defeat at Moravian Town, on the Thams, 5th October 1813—I also have been witness To his intrepidity & courageous warrior on many occasion & show'd a great deal of Humanity to those unfortunate Sons of Mars—who fell into his Hands—

AMHERSTBURG *1st Augst 1816*

At the treaty at L'Arbre Croche, and Michilimackinac, July, 1820, there appears the name "Shaganash, or Englishman," a Chippewa Chief, and also at the Treaty of Maumee, Feb., 1833, "Saw-ga-nosh," possibly the same, was present as a signer; but we must not suppose he was *our* "Sau-ga-nash" or Billy Caldwell.

Mr. Hickling says, "It is probable that Caldwell fixed his residence in Chicago about the year 1820." A few years later, in spring of 1826, he held here the office of Justice of the Peace, while Chicago was in Peoria County. During the Winnebago Indian excitement, in 1827, the services of Caldwell, as well as Shabonee, were of great use to the whites of this region, directed as they were to the prevention of his tribe, particularly of the band of the Chief Big-Foot, from joining the Winnebagoes in any demonstration of hostility. We quote again from Hickling's Sketch:

"In the year 1828, the Indian Department, in consideration of services rendered, built for Caldwell, probably the first 'frame' house ever erected in the Northwest. The timbers for the frame were readily furnished from trees, then abundant, not far from the spot on which the house stood, *viz.*, near the junction of North State and Chicago Avenue."*

At the treaty of Prairie du Chien, in July, 1829, there was reserved and granted to Billy Caldwell, lands, to wit: "two and a-half sections on the Chicago River, above and adjoining the line of the purchase of 1816."

In 1826, at the election here, Caldwell was one of the voters; also at the election of July, 1830, he was a voter and one of the clerks on the occasion, Medore Beaubien being the other. Mark Beaubien's noted tavern, "the Sauganash," was named for Caldwell.

At the treaty of Camp Tippecanoe, in Indiana, October, 1832, a life-annuity of $600, was guaranteed by the Government to Billy Caldwell; he was the head chief of the Pottawatomies. He continued to reside, while he remained here, at his house on the north side, built for him by the Government. He is well remembered by some of our early settlers, who all speak worthily of him; one tells of the *steeds* of the Sauganash; these consisted of a pair of red-roan Indian ponies, which, with bells on their necks, often ran in the woods upon the north side. Another resident of near a-half century, informs us, that Caldwell once requested him to get for him a copy of the Scriptures for use at his home. The gentleman referred to, accordingly procured, in New York, a large, fine copy of the Bible, which the Chief ever after, during his residence here, kept in sight at his cabin.

The wife of Billy Caldwell, Mrs. Kinzie said, "was a

* We learn also from Mr. H. that the material, excepting the hewed timbers, such as clapboards, sash, nails, brick for chimney, etc., were brought from Cleveland, O. Another gentleman tells us that the house was of one story, with a low garret above, in length perhaps fifty feet, with a door in the centre, and a window on each side of the door, and also windows in the rear, but none in the ends, excepting small ones in each end of the attic. The house was afterward removed to a lot on Indiana Street, where it remained until the great fire.

daughter of *Nee-scot-nee-meg*,* one of the most famous chiefs of the nation." Mr. Z. Eastman in his History of Chicago in the *Chicago Magazine*, says, "she was the wild daughter of an Indian chief, and her presence did not always hallow his wigwam with the sanctity of peace." Mr. Hickling says, "Caldwell, I believe, had but one wife, a sister of the Pottawatomie Chief 'Yellow Head.'" Their only child, a son, he thinks, died in his youth.

Caldwell was a tall, fine looking man, and the Indians, it is said, sometimes called him the "Straight Tree." He was blessed with good common sense, and was a firm friend of the whites, yet felt deeply for his kindred, the red men. Such was his interest in the weaker and fading race, that he felt called to pass and abide with them beyond the Mississippi; Medore Beaubien, in 1877, told us that Caldwell finally left Chicago in 1836; that he spent the first winter at what was called the Platte Purchase, opposite Fort Leavenworth, and the following season moved up the river, to what was called Kanesville, at or near Council Bluffs, Iowa, where he afterward lived and died.

Hon. John Wentworth, in a communication to the *Evening Journal*, a year or two since, says of Billy Caldwell, "He was Captain in the Indian Department of Great Britain in 1816, and never renounced his British allegiance. He was Justice of the Peace in Chicago in 1826, and he was an Indian Chief all the time, and died a British-American-Indian subject.

* * * I find the following in one of my old papers, dated October 22, 1841, which will be conclusive as to the time of his death:

'DEATH OF BILLY CALDWELL.

'Died.—At the Council Bluffs, on the 28th of September last, (1841) Sau-ga-nash, (Billy Caldwell) the principal Chief of the united nation of Ottawa, Pottawatomie, and Chippewa Indians, in the 60th year of his age. He was well and favorably known to the old residents of Chicago, and the northern frontier of Illinois, as an

* Samuel A. Storrow, who visited Chicago and Fort Dearborn in 1817, said, "Traces yet remain of the devastation and massacre committed by the savages in 1812. I saw one of the principal perpetrators, Nes cot no meg."

old and efficient friend during the Sac and Fox troubles of 1832. By his powerful influence and efficient management, he prevented the Ottawas, Pottawatomies, and Chippewas from uniting with the enemy on that occasion.

'Among those of the whites that were interested and knew him well, he was esteemed an honorable, high-minded, intelligent gentleman, generous to a fault, but attentively devoted to the interests and welfare of his people, who had continuously called him to the Chieftainship of their nation.'"

Shabonee, the Ottawa Chief, or, as he is sometimes called, Shaubena or Chamblee, was born (as he told Mr. Hickling) near the Maumee River, about the year 1775. Mr. N. Matson, who has written "Memoirs of Shaubena,"* says he was born in the year 1775 or 1776, at an Indian village on the Kankakee River, now in Will County. The father of Shabonee was an Ottawa, who fought under Pontiac in the wars which that chieftain carried on, but came with him to the Illinois in 1764. Shabonee, we are told, "married, in early manhood, the daughter of a Pottawatomie chief, whose village was on the Illinois River bottom, a few miles above the present City of Ottawa." The name of that chief was Spotka; his death soon happened, and Shabonee succeeded to the chieftaincy of the band. They all soon removed, however, to what was since called Shabonee's Grove, in the southern part of DeKalb County; here, we are informed, Shabonee and his band had their village and council-house, and he resided there until the fall of 1837.

The continued perseverance of the British authorities in meddling with the Indians on the American side of our northern line, to the great prejudice and harm of our people, was a habit long in vogue with the officers and agents of Johnny Bull, this side of the Atlantic. It was a mode of

* Mr. Matson's book, besides telling a good deal about Shabonee, takes in details of many other kindred matters in Western history. We will mention, however, one error which we notice. The Chief Wabansa died in his bed at Boonville, Mo., late in the year 1846, as Medore Beaubien, who was there at the time, told us. Therefore, he was *not* killed a short time after he went West, by a party of Sacs and Foxes; his scalp *was not* taken off, nor his body mutilated and left on the prairie to be devoured by wolves.

statesmanship, inaugurated early in the revolution, though inveighed against by great men in the British Parliament more than a hundred years ago. Our British enemies, with plausible argument in the name of *right*, urged the savages to regain their fair woods, and fields, and streams; yet there was implied in this advice, the knowledge and expectation of resulting cruelty, blood, and murder. The allies thus sought to be secured, found payment in British finery, in presents and pensions. Fort Malden was a Mecca, a shrine to which the tawny pilgrims flocked from the American border; there was little thought of existing treaties with Uncle Sam.

James M. Bucklin, Chief Engineer of the Illinois and Michigan Canal, who came here in 1830, to initiate surveys for that work, says:

"From Billy Caldwell, a half-breed, with some education and great intelligence, who had explored the country in every direction, I often procured valuable information during my explorations. It was he who first suggested making a feeder of the Calamic River. To Chaubene, a Menomone Indian Chief, I often felt indebted for useful information. He lived at Paw Paw Grove on the Fox River."

We are indebted to Hon. John Wentworth for a copy of a letter of Shabonee and Billy Caldwell, to which he called our attention. It will be proper to reprint and present the communication here. The memorable political campaign of 1840, like every other, as we know, brought out many falsehoods upon either side. Some squib, it would seem, which they here combat, met the eye of Caldwell, who doubtless read the papers, and as may be supposed, aroused his indignation, as well as that of his brother warrior, Chamblee. Knowing better, they did not, after having with so much effort, pains, and hardship, fancy the reputation, of having fought *a coward.*

(From Chicago Daily American, 9th June, 1840.)

"COUNCIL BLUFFS, 23d March, 1840.

"TO GENERAL HARRISON'S FRIENDS:

"The other day, several newspapers were brought to us; and, peeping over them, to our astonishment, we found the hero of the late war called a coward. This would have surprised the tall Braves, Tecumseh, of the Shawnees, and Round Head and Walk-in-the-

Water, of the Wyandotts. If the departed could rise again, they would say to the white men that Gen. Harrison was the terror of the late tomahawkers. The first time we got acquainted with Gen. Harrison, it was at the Council Fire of the late old Tempest, Gen. Wayne, on the head waters of the Wabash, at Greenville, 1796, from that time until 1811, we had many friendly smokes with him; but from 1812 we changed our tobacco smoke into powder smoke. Then we found Gen. Harrison was a brave warrior, and humane to his prisoners, as reported o us by two of Tecumseh's young men who were taken in the fleet with Capt. Barclay on the 10th September, 1813, and on the Thames, where he routed both the red men and the British; and where he showed his courage, and his humanity to his prisoners, both white and red. [Probably the word "Read" or "See" omitted here]. Report of Adam Brown and family, taken on the morning of the battle, 5th Oct., 1813. We are the only two surviving of that day in this country. We hope the good white men will protect the name of Gen. Harrison.

"We remain your friends forever,

"CHAMBLEE, Aid to Tecumseh.

"B. CALDWELL, Captain."

The efforts of Shabonee, to avert the evils consequent upon Indian war to the white settlers (as well as to the people of his own race), of the Illinois and Lake Michigan country, not only at the time of the Winnebago excitement, in 1827, but five years later also, when Black Hawk set about abating his grievances, will not be forgotten by the few remaining settlers of that day, nor by the student of history, who chooses to inform himself of the facts incident to those occasions. We need not go into particulars; they are detailed elsewhere.

[The opposite portrait of Shabonee, has its origin from a photograph taken, we think, but a short time before his death; it is rather unlike his portrait on canvas at the Chicago Historical Society Library, as well as the pictures in Mr. Matson's book, and in the History of DeKalb County, Ill.]

The testimonial given Shabonee by Billy Caldwell, regarding the courage as well as the humanity of this Chief, is copied above; the paper bears date 1st August, 1816. The 24th of that same month, Shabonee ("Chamblee") was present as a signer to the treaty of St. Louis.

At the treaty of Prairie du Chien, in August, 1825, "Cha-

boner or Chambly" was a signer; also at the Chicago treaty of 1853, "Shab-eh-nah" appears, and in a supplement to the same "Shab-e-nai" was signed.

At the treaty of Prairie du Chien, in July, 1829, "Shab-ehnay" had reserved and granted to him "two sections at his village near Paw Paw Grove." Yet it seems, that by some inadvertence, possibly by Shabonee himself, the small reservation, once set apart for him—a slight consideration for his great services to the white men of the western prairies, was stript away by an action of our Government, which ought to have been his protector. The details are related in Mr. Hickling's Sketch, and additional items appear in Mr. Matson's volume. Our sympathies, even after the old man has been laid in his grave for more than twenty years, are strongly moved at the account of the undeserved cruelty of the treatment which he received.

It is gratifying to know, that a few white friends of the Chief, seeing what ill-treatment he had received, joined and procured him a few acres of land near Morris, Ill., and built him a house, which were given him. There Shabonee died

on the 17th (Mr. Hickling says 27th) of July, 1859; he was buried with much display, in Morris cemetery.

The first wife of Shabonee, spoken of above, and her two children, died within a few years, and he married a second, and third, and there were children by each.

His oldest son was killed in Kansas, and another died in Iowa, and there were a number of daughters. The second wife of Shabonee, a very large woman, weighing about 400 pounds, was, together with her grandchild, drowned near Morris in the spring of 1864.

THE KINZIE FAMILY.

The history of Chicago never omits the name of *Kinzie* from its pages; it would not be a history otherwise. We purpose here to say something of the Kinzies, and incidentally of various names of relatives by marriage or otherwise, more or less identified with the settlement at this point.

The father of John Kinzie, our early pioneer, we are told, was a Scotchman; his name was John Mackenzie; and he lived in Quebec, and lastly in Detroit, where he died. The wife of that gentleman, we are told in *Wau-bun*, was a Mrs. Haliburton, whose daughter by her previous marriage, was mother, it is said, of the late Gen. Fleming and Nicholas Low, of New York. Mr. Kinzie, at his death, left a widow and a son—John Kinzie. The widow married (3d) William Forsyth. [William Forsyth, originally Scotch, came from Blackwater, Ireland, to New York, about 1750. He was a soldier under Wolf at the capture of Quebec, and was twice wounded; he was subsequently stationed at Detroit, and where, after the expiration of his term of service, as we are told in a note by Mr. Draper, Sec'y of the Wisconsin State Historical Society, he settled, and married, as stated above. He kept a tavern, without doubt, some years in Detroit, and was also engaged in the fur-trade; he died in Detroit about 1790. There were also five younger half-brothers of John

Kinzie with name Forsyth.] John Kinzie, son of the above John Mackenzie, is said to have been born in Quebec, in the year 1763, but lost his father in infancy; that his stepfather and mother removed to New York, but who at length got around to Detroit. There is some discrepency or incompleteness of detail concerning the movements of the family at that time, as given in *Wau-bun*, and the adventure of Johnny Kinzie, as told therein, when he ran away from Long Island, more than a hundred years ago, with his conversation with various persons, and his spending several years learning a trade at Quebec, before his mother again knew anything of him, seems a little extraordinary. Yet, whatever the real circumstances were, John Kinzie, without doubt, acquired something of a knowledge of the business of a silversmith, and which occupation he followed, in connection with his trade with the Indians. It is stated in *Wau-bun*, that "he early entered into the Indian trade, and had establishments at Sandusky, Maumee, and afterwards pushed further west, about the year 1800, to St. Josephs." This was probably so; on a previous page *(p. 68)*, Mr. Burnett refers to "Kinzie," evidently of that vicinity, previous to March 27th, 1801. By what we learn from a search in the County Records at Detroit, John Kinzie seems to have been doing business in Detroit in the years 1795, '97, and '98. In May, 1795, some portion of the Ottawa tribe of Indians, conveyed lands on the Maumee to John Kinzie and Thomas Forsyth, of Detroit. In November, 1797, the Ottawa Indians conveyed land to John Kinzie, silversmith, of Detroit; also, in same year, to John Kinzie, merchant, of Detroit. It appears also from same records, that in September, 1810, that John Kinzie and John Whistler, Jr., were lately copartners in trade at Fort Dearborn, and same year John Kinzie and Thomas Forsyth were merchants in Chicago. [We were told by Robert A. Kinzie, that his father was sutler for Fort Dearborn, when he came to Chicago, in 1804; possibly Mr. Whistler, Jr.,* was

* John Whistler, Jr., entered the army in 19th Regiment Infantry, as Ensign, in Spring of 1812; was wounded at battle of Maguago; became first Lieutenant, but died December, 1813.

his partner in that enterprise.] In October, 1815, John Kinzie and Thomas Forsyth were copartners in trade, "in the District of Detroit, Territory of Michigan"; Chicago was then considered to be in that District, though their trade may not that year, have extended to this point. In March, 1816, appear on the records, the names of John Kinzie, *silversmith*, and Elenor, his wife, of Detroit. June 24th, 1816, John Kinzie and wife, Elenor, convey a lot, and he says, "where I now live, and have built and made improvement." Also in 1816, John Kinzie conveys a lot, which he says is the lot donated to him, because he was a sufferer by the fire in 1805. It appears also that in 1811, he bought United States Government lands. By these items, it seems, though Mr. Kinzie took up his residence in Chicago in 1804, (the first entry here upon his books, bore date May 12th, 1804) that he left here after the battle of August, 1812, but returned in 1816, yet he was still identified with Detroit; certainly until the summer of 1816.* We notice that he was a witness at the treaty of Spring Wells, near Detroit, in September, 1815; he was one of the interpreters.

When, and whether at Detroit, or some other point or out-

* Whether or not either of the lots referred to above, conveyed by Mr. Kinzie, was the one where stood the old Kinzie dwelling on the northeast corner of Jefferson Avenue and Wayne Street, Detroit, we can not say; but we will describe here the old house from the best information obtained. We are told that the building disappeared from sight many years ago. It was of wood, one story and a-half high, and full fifty feet long, fronting the long side or eaves to the street, (Jefferson Avenue). It had in front, two doors, one large, and one rather small, with four, or possibly more, windows in lower front, and as many dormer-windows in the roof. The ground descended toward the river, and while in front, the first floor was but two steps above the street, a basement or lower-room floor in the rear, was about level with the ground. In the back or rear part of the building was a *portail* or veranda, full length of the building, on a level with the floor in front, with steps down to the ground or basement-room beneath. The roof in the rear extended sufficiently to cover the veranda. Mrs. Kinzie, in *Wau-bun*, says that Gen. Harrison, on his arrival at Detroit, tarried at Mrs. Kinzie's. Possibly, long before the Kinzie family left the premises, the house, as we have heard, was occupied as a tavern; certainly after that family had finally left it, it was so used, and was called "the Saginaw House;" subsequently, it was a tenement-house, occupied by one or more families.

post of the Indian trade, he formed a marriage connection with Margaret Mackenzie, we are not informed; but we are told in the supplement to one of Col. Wentworth's Lectures, that Margaret Mackenzie and her sister Elizabeth, who lived near Pearisburgh, Va., were captured by the Indians, "about the time of the American Revolution;" they were "aged about eight and ten years. Their relatives were all murdered, except their father, who had heard nothing of his daughters until near twenty-five years afterward, when they were found at or near Detroit." There seems, however, to have been a separation between John Kinzie and his wife Margaret, even after the union had given them two sons and a daughter, namely, William, James, and Elizabeth Kinzie, and she went back, after the long absence, to Virginia. How it came about, what crookedness there may have been, or to whose charge it may be laid, we do not know, for we are not told in *Wau-bun*. Mrs. Margaret Kinzie did not see Mr. K. again, for she never returned to the north. Mr. Kinzie married (2d) Mrs. Eleanor (Lytle) McKillip, the widow, as the authoress of *Wau-bun* informs us, of a British officer. The former Mrs. K. also married (2d) Benjamin Hall, of Giles County, Va.;* she continued there until her death, but the date of which we are not informed.

After the military post of Fort Dearborn was established, Mr. Kinzie came with his family; he was, as we understand, sutler for the newly formed garrison. Whether he performed the labor incumbent upon the office, or else had a partner or clerk, who acted in that capacity, we can not say. It is quite

* It will be proper here to allude to a parallel case, for it was allied to the same family. Elizabeth Mackenzie, says Wentworth, "married a Scotchman by the name of Clarke." The same mystery attends the dissolution of that marriage, regardless of the fact that there were a son and daughter, to remind them of their obligations; but she married (2d) Jonas Clybourn, also of Giles County, Va. We may add that many of those Virginians, and their immediate relatives, found a home in Chicago; indeed, Col. Wentworth was inclined to call the settlement here a Colony of Virginia; (see supplement to his lecture, April 11th, 1875.) But it is not surprising that they were attracted to this locality; sixty years since, Schoolcraft told us "the country around Chicago is the most fertile and beautiful that can be imagined."

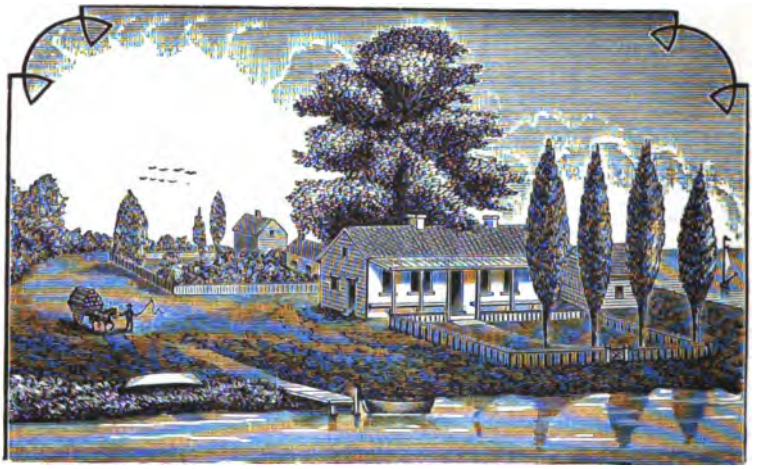
likely that Mr. Kinzie had often been at Chicago before then, on business in the line of his frequent occupation as fur-trader. We may say that he had then only passed his fortieth birthday, and was just in his prime, and we have evidence that he was a man of intelligence and industrious habits of activity. He had the acquaintance and respect of many prominent men, and it has occurred to us, that, possibly, his advice and influence may have had no little effect to locate the post of Fort Dearborn at this point.

We will now, in the spring of the year 1804, consider Mr. Kinzie and his family, as ensconced within the walls of the cabin lately occupied by LeMai. This LeMai was a Frenchman, and, probably, a trader; previous to his possession, it was owned by a gentleman of color, who, it is understood, rejoiced in the rather rare name of Baptiste Point de Sable, said to have been a native of the Island of San Domingo, and was a personage of considerable importance in these parts. De Sable is referred to by De Peyster, a British officer, in command at Mackinaw, also by Augustus Grignon. *(See ante, p. 174).* It is possible that De Sable erected the original structure, or, if by an earlier builder, then the years have spread a veil which tradition has not removed, over the name of the worthy who felled, hewed, and laid the first log. Mr. Kinzie, it is understood, repaired and, perhaps, enlarged the old cabin occasionally, and so it appeared at length, quite a habitable and comfortable-appearing nest, though far outside the borders of civilization. The old cabin has frequently been called the first dwelling ever erected in Chicago; but that story is a mere *guess*, of course, and is one which we do not believe, yet the old wigwam had enough to make it notable without that. That old house might have claimed to be famous, from the truthful associations which still cling to its memory; the black, red, and white races were involved in its story.

On a former page of this volume, we have remarked upon the diversity of appearance, in the several views representing the external appearance of the Kinzie house, and something

of its surroundings, leaving us in doubt as to which is nearest like the original. We suppose they were drawn from memory, or the indefinite information of others, possibly a mixture of each, and by different individuals. The first of these, from which our reduced copy is made, as appears on the next page, is from *Wau-bun*, published in 1856; the original plate is marked "Mrs. J. A. Kinzie, Del." The other is copied from a cut in *Potter's American Monthly* of May, 1876, yet nearly the same, though a smaller view, may be seen in the old *Chicago Magazine* of March, 1857, but by whom, or *when*, this, as well as the first named, were drawn, does not appear. We will here add that the locality of the Kinzie house, as we were told by Mr. Alex Wolcott, the surveyor, was a hundred feet east of Pine Street, near Michigan Street. Mr. J. H. Kinzie said, in 1860, "the Chicago River bent and ran south from our house. After running south as far as Madison Street, it emptied into Lake Michigan, opposite the end of Madison Street. There was a piazza running the whole front of our house, looking south. Sitting there on this piazza, we could see the Indian canoes going down and into the lake, opposite where Madison Street now is."

We would here allude to the fact, not to be forgotten, at this day, when Chicago has risen to such a preëminence as a manufacturing town, that at the old Kinzie cabin, so often referred to as one of our former antiquities, was, as far as we know, *the first manufactory* of the incipient city. We are aware that, from time immemorial, there were domestic manufactures of the Indians within and without the wigwam; garments and moccasins were fashioned and decorated, mats were woven, baskets braided, robes and furs were dressed, the bows and arrows were shaped, and canoes of bark or logs constructed. But to speak of white men as manufacturers, we may say, that in the cabin of Mr. Kinzie lived the first artisan of the pale race, that followed his calling in this locality. Truthfully might John Kinzie have inscribed over the main entrance of his domicile,



THE KINZIE HOUSE.—*From "Wau-bun," edition of 1856.*

KINZIE HOUSE.—*From Potter's American Monthly Magazine, May, 1876.*

"A NUMBER ONE;
SILVERSMITH'S SHOP."

His opening circular, too, might have told of silver brooches, rings, bands, clasps, crosses, ear-wheels, gorgets, and the numerous other and nameless trinkets of Indian adornment. It was a necessity of their language, when the Indians gave to Mr. Kinzie the name "Shaw-nee-aw-kee," meaning the *silver man.* Mr. K. was not unpopular with the natives, and they appreciated the pure white metal in which he wrought and dealt. So Shaw-nee-aw-kee, when not at the Fort, worked in the cabin, and much of his evenings and other odd hours were spent at the work-bench.

The first known white child of Chicago, was born and raised in that cabin; and those were merry and joyous days with the children, when they had grown large enough to dance to the music of their father's violin, for he played that instrument. Possibly it would be strictly proper to call the Kinzie cabin *the first school-house;* we extract from Mr. Wells' Sketch, in 1858, on page 283 of this volume: "The first regular tuition given in Chicago, was in the winter of 1810-11, by Robert A. Forsyth, late Paymaster in the United States Army; and the first pupil was our present respected citizen, John H. Kinzie, Esq. The teacher was thirteen years of age, and the pupil six." But the undisturbed peace of the hamlet, at length met with a change. Mrs. Kinzie, in *Wau-bun,* tells of a thrilling incident there, following the battle and massacre of 1812. After the departure of the owner of the old cabin and his family, in that year, at Chicago, of treachery, blood, and the torch, the building was allowed to stand; there was no feeling of hate and revenge on the part of the savages, to lead them to play spoiler towards the cabin of *Shaw-nee-aw-kee.* We have heard that a Monsieur Du Pin took possession of the cabin, and occupied the same until the return of the Kinzies to their old home, in 1816.

[We will refer the reader to the work entitled *Wau-bun,* wherein is detailed an account of Mr. Kinzie's treatment by the British authorities, after his parole, repeatedly arrested and finally sent to Quebec, etc.]

We do not know that the old house can be called the *first inn*, or house of entertainment, in Chicago, for the authoress of *Wau-bun* apparently scouts at the idea of such a supposition. Yet, we do not think that it was disreputable, or at all unlikely, that John Kinzie, the silversmith, who made jewelry for the natives, and who was also a fur-trader, seeking good bargains among the savages, while abiding here in the wilderness, should deem it perfectly proper to turn an honest penny now and then, by giving shelter and refreshment to respectable-appearing travelers who might be passing, receiving therefor, not merely thanks for an affectation of a generous and patriarchal hospitality, but a just and proper money consideration, a reasonable *quid pro quo*. Indeed, Willis Scott, who came in 1826, assures us that from his own knowledge, as well as from information of others, the Kinzie cabin often extended to the traveler its comforts, upon the express or implied understanding that payment was expected.

At the treaty with the Indians at St. Mary's, Ohio, Sept. 17th, 1818, we notice that "John Kinzie, *Sub-Agent*," was present as one of the interpreters, as well also as "C. Jouett, *Indian Agent;*" also as a witness at same treaty, "Alexander Wolcott, Jr., *Indian Agent, Detroit*." "John Kinzie, Sub-Agent," appears as a witness to the treaty of Chicago, in August,* 1821; he took part also on that occasion in the discussion of one point, referred to.

In Mr. Eastman's History of Chicago, in the old *Chicago Magazine*, we are told that John Crafts, while in the employ of the American Fur Company, occupied the Kinzie house, and a small building just east of it as a store. The date is not given, but it is intimated that it was before he (Crafts) located at "Hardscrabble," (a locality a few miles up the south branch) and while erecting or repairing buildings there.

* That treaty was held near the Kinzie cabin, according to H. R. Schoolcraft, who was Secretary to the Commission; he said, "The northern bank of the river, immediately opposite the Fort, was the spot selected for the council, within range of its guns, perhaps as a measure of caution. In the centre of the grounds an open bower was erected, with rustic seats for the chiefs."

[This statement conflicts with Mr. Hubbard's account somewhat. *See ante, p. 31.*] Mr. Hubbard said he believed Crafts died in 1823; but as his name appears on the Assessment Roll for 1825, it was probably later.

We learn from Mr. Hubbard that Mr. Kinzie had no connection with the American Fur Company until after the death of Mr. Crafts, when he acted as their agent. Mr. Wentworth, as by a note to one of his Lectures, says that Crafts died at the Kinzie house. From the same source we notice that a military election was ordered to be held at Mr. Kinzie's, in September, 1823, for officers of the 17th Regiment Illinois State Militia.

We should, however, have previously stated that Mr. Kinzie's daughter, Ellen Marion, was married at the Kinzie cabin, to Dr. Alexander Wolcott, on Sunday, July 20, 1823; John Hamlin, J.P., of Fulton County, tied the knot. It has been suggested that this may have been the first marriage of those of the white race at Chicago.

[Mr. N. Matson's book "Memories of Shaubena," tells how the lives of John Kinzie and his boat's crew were saved by that chief, in the summer of 1824. Kinzie was returning from St. Louis with a boat-load of goods, having with him Edward G. Ament and Theodore Beaubien. A gang, a dozen or so of outlaws, mostly Indians, having with them a half-breed named George Forqua, and a white ruffian named Mason, the leader of the banditti, had seen the boat, and through Forqua, had learned about its contents. The plan of the pirates was to murder all on board, and rob the boat of the goods. Forqua was willing to join in a robbery, but opposed the murdering of the men; and as he was overmastered regarding the plot, he undertook to defeat the project altogether. The boat tied up at night near Buffalo Rock, on Illinois River, and as Shaubena and his band were not far away, Forqua hastily communicated the design to the chief, and the conspirators were foiled.]

Whatever may have been done under the earlier or French *regime*, we do not know; yet the first judicial proceedings,

the first "*bench*" ever mounted here by "His Honor," under American laws, we confidently believe, was at the old Kinzie house, when John Kinzie had been invested with the title and dignity of Justice of the Peace. His commission bore date December 2d, 1823. Hence we may conclude that the old Kinzie cabin was *our first Court House.* [The Amherst C. Ransom, referred to by Mr. Wentworth in the supplement to one of his Lectures, we can not learn as ever officiated here as a J.P.]

The last distinguished guest from abroad, whom the Kinzies entertained at the old house, we think, was Governor Cass, who was returning, in summer of 1827, from his hasty tour from Green Bay *via* the Wisconsin and Mississippi, to Jefferson Barracks, and returning *via* the Illinois, Desplaines, etc. This was during the Winnebago Indian excitement. [Referring to Gov. Cass' arrival, Gurdon S. Hubbard says, "While at breakfast at Mr. Kinzie's house, we heard singing, faintly at first, but gradually growing louder as the singers approached. Mr. Kinzie recognized the leading voice as that of Bob Forsyth, and left the table for the piazza of the house, where we all followed. About where Wells Street crosses, in plain sight from where we stood, was a light birch-bark canoe, manned with thirteen men, rapidly approaching, the men keeping time with their paddles to one of the Canadian boat songs; it proved to be Governor Cass and his Secretary, Robert Forsyth, and they landed and soon joined us."]

The Kinzie family, we believe, found more comfortable quarters than the old house, in the latter months of 1827; the structure, in various parts, was getting dilapidated; the shifting sands thereabout at that day, and more particularly afterward, were blown against the ancient tenement, leaving piles and drifts high up against its sides. Dr. Wolcott had rooms in the brick building inside the Fort, there being no troops stationed here at the time; but Mr. Kinzie, as his son Robert told us, was living at Col. Beaubien's, though on a visit to his daughter, Mrs. Wolcott, at the time of his death.

Mr. Rufus Blanchard was informed by Mr. Gurdon S. Hubbard, that Mr. Kinzie was apparently in vigorous health, to within a few months of his death, when he had a slight attack of apoplexy. After that his health declined until his second attack, which was within the Fort, and from which he never rallied. Mr. Hubbard, who was soon called in, said he found Mr. Kinzie in convulsions, lying upon the floor, his head supported by his daughter. Mr. H. raised him up to a sitting position, and supported him until he breathed his last, which was but a brief space, may be fifteen minutes. His death occurred on Monday, Jan. 6, 1828. The funeral services were conducted within the Fort, and at which were present nearly every inhabitant of the small settlement, to pay their tribute of respect to the departed pioneer. His remains were first buried on the lake shore, near the Fort, but subsequently removed to the north side of the river, and interred just west of the present site of the water works; again they were removed to the cemetery where Lincoln Park is now, near North Ave. and Clark Street; and finally to Graceland.

Anson H. Taylor told us, some years ago, that he brought goods with him when he came, in 1829, to Chicago, and opened them at the old Kinzie house.

We do not certainly know that the Kinzie house could be properly called the *first post-office*, though we suppose it possible that the first regular mail may have been opened there. The *first postmaster*, Mr. Bailey, certainly was living there the last of March, 1831, when he was appointed to the office.

Later in the last-named year, say in August, Mark Noble, Sr., and family, arrived at Chicago, and occupied a part of the above-mentioned cabin, and lived in it until the spring of 1832. We will add, that it is believed the earliest prayer-meetings in Chicago, were held in the old house, while that earnest christian, Mark Noble, lived there.

But there were many, besides those above named, who, notwithstanding the indifferent accommodations which it afforded, temporarily lived in the old cabin a few days,

weeks, or months. Indeed, we were told that Chicago, in the early days, had few families, who had not, at some time, been sheltered beneath its roof.

After much inquiry, we have been unable to learn, with any accuracy, the date when the old house passed out of sight; it may have been some time in 1834. But as an early settler suggested to us, we will here repeat, "It finally wasted away by the hands of Indians, emigrants landing on the beach, and wagoners, for the purpose of building fires." Thus, even as it emerged from the dim and indistinct past, so did it fade away as a shadow, none of to-day knoweth when.

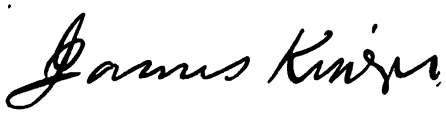
"William Kinzie, the oldest child of John and Margaret (Mackenzie) Kinzie," says Hon. John Wentworth, "married in Giles County, Va., and moved to Elkhart, Ind.;" he died there, leaving descendants, yet, of the date of his death we are not informed.

James Kinzie, full brother of William, was born at Detroit, Mich., April 2d, 1793, as we learn from a son of Mr. K. It is believed that he, with his brother William and sister Elizabeth, accompanied their mother to Virginia, on the separation of their parents, and remained their some years, but precisely how long we do not know. How much earlier we can not say, but we know Mr. Kinzie was selling goods to the Indians at Milwaukee, in 1821, as we learn by the following extract of a letter from Major Matthew Irwin, United States Factor, at Green Bay, to Col. Thos. L. McKenny, Superintendent of the Indian trade, as appears in the Wisconsin Historical Society's Collections, vol. 7.

"Green Bay, Oct. 6, 1821. Mr. Kinzie, son to the Indian Sub-Agent, at Chicago, and agent for the American Fur Company, has been detected in selling large quantities of whisky to the Indians, at and near Milwalky, of Lake Michigan; in consequence of which, the Indian Agent, at Chicago, directed him to close his concerns at Milwalky in sixty days, and then leave the place."

On the 13th of the previous month, as we see on *p. 34* of this volume, there was a consignment of goods shipped from Michilimackinac, for James Kinzie, to Chicago, from the

American Fur Company, on joint account, "for trade of Milliwaki and its dependencies."



We believe Root River, where Racine is now, was one of Mr. Kinzie's outposts; standing on the Court-House Square of that town, thirty-five years ago, with the compiler of this book, he said that he had seen a thousand red Indians just where we were. Mr. K. was then living in Racine, where he had a mill, and was also engaged in farming; ten years before, or as early as 1835, he had taken a stock of goods to Root River, but then more for white than for Indian trade. Mr. Kinzie's home, however, had long been in Chicago, living mostly on the west side, at Wolf Point. The "Point," in the early day, was *the* settlement, and where most of the business was done. In 1830, there were three elections, (two special for Justice of the Peace) held at the house of Mr. Kinzie. [Robert H. Kinzie, of Avoca, Wis., son of James, has the original Poll-Book of the one of August 2d, 1830, referred to by Mr. Wentworth in his Lecture, of May, 1876. The doubtful or indistinct name of the voter, noticed by Mr. W. is plainly "Alexander McDonald" on the Poll-Book.]

Mr. Kinzie was here in those first days of a seeming movement of things, which presaged the building up of a town at this locality. Mark Beaubien said he "bought a log-house from Jim Kinzie," but when they laid out the town, that house stood in the public highway; we may remark also, that the deed of the lot on LaSalle Street, sold by Mark B. to Deacon Carpenter, came from Mr. Kinzie. We think Mr. K. was the owner of the Addition to Chicago, called "Wabonsia"; in 1833, he built what was afterwards called the "Green-Tree Tavern." In that booming year of land traffic, 1836, Lot 7, B. 22, Original Town of Chicago, owned by Mr. K., was occupied by his dwelling, store, and the "Chicago Hotel"; the last named was the same "Green Tree Tavern."

Yet the vicissitudes which followed the speculative era of 1836, we understand, involved Mr. K. as one of the many victims.

[We should before have said, that Mrs. Eleanor Kinzie, the widow of John Kinzie, died of cancer, in the city of New York, early in the year 1834.*]

Mr. Kinzie was one of the Trustees of the School-Section, in December, 1829; he was, we think, our first Auctioneer, as well as first Sheriff, of Cook County; not the first Sheriff elected by the people, for Mr. Forbes was so chosen, but, we think Mr. K. held the first appointment from the Governor; in November, 1835, he was one of the Town Trustees or Village Aldermen.

We had supposed Mr. Kinzie removed to Wisconsin before the year 1839, but his name appears in Mr. Fergus' late Chicago Directory of that year; his first wife certainly died at Root River, now Racine, Wis., June 22d, 1835. Mr. Kinzie married (1st) Leah See, daughter of William See,† married

* Margaret McKillip, the daughter of Mrs. John Kinzie, by a previous marriage, became (at Detroit, in 1808, as by Col. John Wentworth), the wife of Lieut. Linai T. Helm, of U.S. Army. He was Ensign in 1st Infantry, Dec., 1807; 2d Lieutenant, (made prisoner, as also Mrs. Helm, 15th August, 1812); 1st Lieutenant January 13th, 1813, and Captain in April, 1814, but resigned in September, 1814. The date or place of the death of Captain Helm we have not learned; he was at Chicago in 1825; we think he left a son, who is not now living. Mrs. Helm was much at Chicago; Mr. Hubbard says she was here in 1818, when he first came, and he speaks of her as here in 1827. The statement as we were told by a younger member of the Kinzie family, that Mrs. Helm died in 1830, was an error. She was a woman of much energy, often exhibiting a benevolence which followed the impulses of a kind heart. From the reminiscences of Rev. Jeremiah Porter, we extract the following: "Mrs. Helm, sister of Mr. John H. Kinzie, daily walked from her brother's house, on the North-Side, a-half mile, to minister food and a change of garments to a sick and poor family of strangers, who, but for such kindness, would, may be, have followed their deceased mother." This was in 1833 or '34. She was one of the first members of St. James Episcopal Church. As we have already intimated, we do not know in what year Mrs. Helm became a widow; but that lady married (2d) in Chicago, a Dr. Abbott. We have learned no further particulars, excepting that it is told that Mrs. Abbott died at Grand Rapids, Mich., 1845.

† Mr. See, sometimes called *Reverend*, for he was a preacher or exhorter of the Methodist Episcopal Church, was, we believe, born in Virginia. In June, 1830,

(2d) Virginia Hale, who was still living in 1880. Mr. Kinzie, many years ago, left the lake shore for the interior, and died in Clyde, Iowa County, Wis., January 13th, 1866. There were, by his first marriage, three children, of whom one was living in 1879; and by the second marriage, nine children, seven of whom were living in the latter part of 1879.

Elizabeth Kinzie, sister of William and James, also came from Virginia to Chicago, the precise date of which we are not advised. The first important event in her Chicago life, of which we are informed, was her marriage to Samuel Miller, at which her father officiated in tying the knot.* The date

we presume he was living at the Calumet, for the Commissioners Court of Peoria County, passed an order giving him authority to keep a ferry at that stream; but as his name appears in the list of voters in Chicago, of August of that year, it is presumed he had removed here. At the organization of the Commissioners Court of Cook County, in March, 1831, Mr. See was appointed its Clerk, which office he held until his resignation, and the appointment of Col. R. J. Hamilton, in the spring of 1832. Mr. See was, by trade, a blacksmith, and his educational advantages had been but slight, which rather exposed him to ridicule occasionally, yet he seems to have been held in the esteem of his neighbors as an honest man, and no moral obliquity clings to his memory. He removed to the Rapids on Root River in 1835, where he resided several years, but subsequently went to Iowa County, Wis., where he remained until his death, at Pulaski, Wis., about the 20th of August, 1858.

* We desire to say in this note, that we are half-inclined to find fault with Hon. John Wentworth, when he calls the children of the first marriage of John Kinzie, "natural" sons and daughter of that gentleman. The term is scarcely complimentary, as it is understood to be a synonyme of *illegitimate*. We may remark that the laws and their application, by no means always harmonize with the evenly-balanced scales of justice. There is a moral illegitimacy which parents sometimes confer upon their offspring, howsoever the State laws may treat the matter. We would not presume to intimate that, possibly, a strict rendering might place the offensive epithet to the account of the children of either the first marriage or those of the second; we are not to adjudicate in the case. The condition of things, however, was not one of cordiality with all the relatives; there were jealousies, envies, slights, and contempt. The daughter that married Samuel Miller, it is said, was not free from heart-burnings and griefs, incident to the situation. The book known as *Wau-bun*, *mentions not* the name of James Kinzie, nor his brother William, nor sister Elizabeth. In studiously avoiding the name of her husband's brother, James, and his brother-in-law, Samuel Miller, who were residents of Chicago at the time, the authoress of *Wau-bun* was led to make a mistake; she said of Chicago in 1831: "I think this enumeration comprises all the white inhabitants of Chicago." It is true she speaks of "a former

was July 29th, 1826. In the spring of 1832, during the Indian excitement, the family of Mr. Miller, with many others, were living within Fort Dearborn. It was while within the Fort that Mrs. M. was very sick, and she either died in the Fort, or else very soon after moving out.

John Harris Kinzie, son of John and Eleanor, was born on the Detroit River, in Sandwich, Canada, on the 7th day of July, 1803. [It was an error, we believe, when Mr. Kinzie entered on the record-book of the Old Settler's Society, "July 7, 1804," as the date of his birth.] In 1804, it is understood, the family were at Chicago, but whether Mrs. Kinzie and the children came in the spring of that year (as we were led to infer by what Mrs. Whistler said to us), or in some later month, we can not say; there have been various statements. But his early years, until the abandonment of Fort Dearborn, and the departure of the family, in 1812, were spent here. It is said that he was the first and sole pupil in the first class or private school, known at Chicago, which enterprise was brought about by finding a stray spelling-book with some goods received from Detroit. The school comprised one pupil, six years of age, and the teacher thirteen. Returning with the family to Chicago, in 1816, he remained until the spring of 1818, when he was taken by his father to Mackinaw, to be apprenticed to the agent there of the American Fur Company. Gurdon S. Hubbard on his way hither, in July, of that year, saw young Kinzie at Mackinaw, and from whom he received a letter of introduction to his parents here.

resident of the name of Miller, but he had removed." Yet Samuel Miller had not removed, but *was* a present resident in 1831; he was here the year before, voting in July, and also in November. Samuel Miller was one of the Commissioners of the County, and was present at a special term, April 13th, 1831. At that meeting he was licensed as one of the inn-keepers of the Town, and he kept a tavern on the north-side at that time. He was also one of the first licensed merchants. He it was that offered the lowest bid to construct the first public building of the County—an Estray Pen. It is, however, a recorded joke at Samuel Miller's expense, that when the structure was completed, only $12 was allowed him instead of $20, the contract price, it not being built according to agreement. This, we understand, was the first outlay for improvement upon the Court-House Square.

From Hon. I. N. Arnold's Address before the Historical Society, November 19th, 1868, which appears in No. 10 of the *Fergus' Historical Publications*, we copy some things relating to Col. Kinzie, though elsewhere in this volume, we have taken the liberty to correct a few statements, which are made therein, and which were, in part, derived, as we understand, from Mrs. Kinzie's sketch of her husband, printed in same pamphlet:

"No one has been more identified with Chicago, from its first settlement to the day of his death, than he. * * * * At the time of the Fort Dearborn massacre, which took place in 1812, an event which has been so well described by the graphic pen of the widow of Mr. Kinzie, he was nine years old. * * * * The family went to Detroit, remained there until its capture by General Harrison, and until 1816, when they returned to their desolate home at Chicago. * * * * It was at Mackinaw, during the long isolation of the winter months, that he learned to play the violin, his instructress being a half-breed Indian woman. The early settlers of Chicago should ever hold in grateful remembrance this Indian woman, for none of them will ever forget the music with which Col. Kinzie enlivened so many of our social gatherings. In 1824, he was transferred from Mackinaw to Prairie du Chien, and he there learned the language of the Winnebagoes, and compiled, in part, a grammar* of their tongue.* * * * * Some time before 1826, he received an invitation from Gen. Lewis Cass, then Governor of the Territory of Michigan, to become his Private Secretary. While associated with Gen. Cass, who was *ex officio* Superintendent of the Northern Tribes, he was engaged in many treaties and negotiations with the red men. * * * * While in the service of Gen. Cass, he was sent to Northern Ohio to study the language of the Wyandotte Indians. Such was his familiarity with the Indian dialects, that he rapidly learned their language, and compiled a grammar of it also. In 1829, he was appointed Indian Agent, and fixed his residence at Fort Winnebago."

[Yet at the treaties of Prairie du Chien, in July and Aug., of 1829, as well as that of December 5th, 1832, at Fort Armstrong, he signed his name as a witness with the appendage, "Sub-Agent Indian Affairs." We observe that he was also a subscribing witness at the treaty of Butte des Morts, in August, 1827, and at that of Green Bay, in August, 1828;

* This manuscript, upon which we notice written thereon by Mr. K., "Prairie des Chiens, Jan. 1, 1826," is now in the possession of the Historical Society of Chicago.

at the first of these (1827) he wrote his name, "John Kinzie, Jr.," at the other, "John H. Kinzie." Robert Forsyth was secretary for Gov. Cass in 1827, says Gurdon S. Hubbard.] Mr. Kinzie, after the death of his father, fell heir to the name *Shaw-nee-au-kee*, and by which he was well known among the Indians.

Col. Kinzie married in Middletown, Conn., August 9th, 1830, Miss Juliette A. Magill, daughter of Arthur Magill, of that place, but afterward of Ottawa, Ill. A part of their honeymoon was spent in New-York City, stopping at the Atlantic Hotel, No. 5 Broadway; so wrote Mrs. K. many years afterward. They were, however, soon on their way westward, and at Detroit, in the month of September, they went on board the steamboat "Henry Clay," for Green Bay. Their passage and arrival at Green Bay, and onward to Fort Winnebago, is pleasantly described by Mrs. K. in the pages of *Wau-bun*. Their journey on horseback from that post to Chicago, in March of 1831, was by no means so pleasant an excursion. It was not, we think, until 1834, that Col. Kinzie's family made Chicago their residence, though he visited the place the year previous, with Capt. Hunter, his brother-in-law, for the purpose of laying out Kinzie's Addition to Chicago. In number three of the *Chicago Democrat*, (Dec. 10, 1833), we notice the advertisement of John H. Kinzie, as a Forwarder and Commission Merchant; and in first Directory, (1839), *see p. 15 of this vol.*, the firm of Kinzie

& Hunter appear in same business. In 1841, he was appointed Registrar of Public Lands by President Harrison, but was removed by Mr. Tyler. On completion of the Illinois Canal, in 1848, he received the appointment of Canal Collector at Chicago, which position he held, we believe, until his appointment, by Mr. Lincoln, as paymaster in the army, in 1861 or '62; this last-named office he filled at the time of his death. It has been said of Col. Kinzie, that he was

"liberal, energetic, intelligent, and his name will stand identified with the most important features of the early growth of this section." He was one of the founders of St. James Episcopal Church, and was an active and valuable member of the Chicago Historical Society, which he helped to organize. The compiler of this article might certify to the fact that Col. Kinzie was a most entertaining and agreeable stage-coach companion. Something over thirty years ago, he remembers coming from Detroit to Chicago in company with that gentleman; he was apparently running over with a pleasant, humorous sort of gossip. He asked if we knew his half-brother, who lived near us in Wisconsin; inquired about a small sail-craft yonder, called "Memee," (or *the pigeon*), which we think he had owned. There was a Chinaman on the car, rather a tall man, who attracted some attention, as representatives from the flowery kingdom were not as plenty then as now-a-days. He (the Chinaman) left the car at some town, and "Now," said Kinzie, "he will go and get a dish of tea; but see how he walks; what a splendid gait he has, he steps like a Winnebago." The railroad was then built only part way across the peninsula; at the end of the rails over a portion of the road to St. Joe, we had a stage-coach. Kinzie had with him a box of furs, a very tall sort of band-box, and as the coach was not crowded, he placed the box upright in the corner by his side on the back seat. After awhile he placed his overcoat around the box, and with his cap on top, as though pulled down over the eyes, it looked very much like a drowsy passenger. The Colonel called it his "mufti," and it was somewhat amusing at various stations where we drew up, to see the agents count the passengers, including the "mufti," and compare with the way-bill. There was a disagreement, of course, and the "mufti" was, of necessity, convicted every time of false pretence, but the laugh was on the agents.*

* Miss Harriet Martineau, who visited Chicago in 1836, wrote: "We dined one day with a gentleman (Mr. J. H. Kinzie) who had been Indian Agent among the Winnebagoes for some years. He and his lady seem to have had the art of

Hon. I. N. Arnold, in his Address before the Chicago Historical Society, in 1868, speaking of Col. Kinzie, said: "A kinder and more benevolent heart never beat. Chicago may have lost citizens of higher positions, but no one more beloved and cherished, by all who knew him, than John H. Kinzie."

The dwelling of Colonel Kinzie was of brick, and stood on the north-east corner of Cass and Michigan Streets; we have abundant evidence that *there* was the home of genuine hospitality. It will not be improper here to add, that the spacious arm-chair, in which the Colonel usually sat for many years, was the gift of a friend in New York, Mr. P. L. Mills.

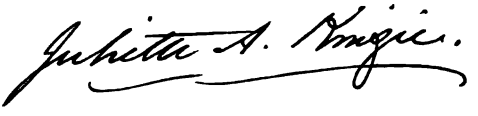
In poor health, accompanied by his wife and son, he was on his way to Pennsylvania, hoping the jaunt might help him. He died on the cars, just before reaching Pittsburg, Wednesday afternoon, June 21st, 1865.

A widow, one son, and two daughters, were left by Colonel Kinzie; his eldest son was killed during an engagement with the enemy on White River, in summer of 1862, and a daughter had died previously.

Juliette A. (Magill) Kinzie, the wife of John H. Kinzie, was born in Middletown, Conn., September 11th, 1806. The

making themselves as absolutely Indian, in their sympathies and manners, as the welfare of the savages, among whom they lived, required. They were the only persons I met with, who, really knowing the Indians, had any regard for them. The testimony was universal to the good faith, and other virtues of savage life of the unsophisticated Indians; but they were spoken of in a tone of dislike, as well as pity, by all but this family, and they certainly had studied their Indian neighbors very thoroughly. * * * * We had the fearful pleasure of seeing the various savage dances performed by the Indian Agent and his brother, with the accompaniments of complete costume, barbaric music, and whooping. The most intelligible was the Discovery Dance, a highly descriptive pantomime. We saw the Indian go out armed for war. We saw him reconnoitre, make signs to his comrades, sleep, warm himself, load his rifle, sharpen his scalping-knife, steal through the grass within rifle-shot of his foes, fire, scalp one of them, and dance, whooping and triumphing. There was a dreadful truth about the whole, and it made our blood run cold." [We will take this place to remark, that we have made effort to get copies of photographs of the late Mr. and Mrs. John H. Kinzie, from which to get engraved portraits, but did not succeed.]

date of her marriage we have given above. This scion from another roof-tree, brought to the house of Kinzie no little part of the fame which clings to it. Mrs. Kinzie gained the reputation of a graceful and interesting writer, which the volume entitled "Wau-bun, the Early Day in the North-West," clearly proves. No one can read the book without an acknowledgment of her ability in the narrative; we yet believe, that the claim of Mrs. Kinzie's excellence in authorship should rest upon her skill in decorative invention. She had the natural gift for romance, and sober history was scarcely her forte; she would not be hedged in by homely, precise and unyielding facts of detail. We have intimated this in a previous chapter; it was, however, in a *historical* sense only, and the demands in that direction, that we were led to the criticisms referred to. Mrs. Kinzie passed from time and earthly scenes more than ten years since, yet the memory of her many virtues still lives fresh and green, with many that were acquainted with her; it is the testimony of all, that she was an accomplished, worthy woman.



It is still, by some, well remembered how active and efficient Mrs. Kinzie was, in the early days of the Episcopal Church here. Such was her great prominence and usefulness in that church, she was frequently called "The Female Bishop of Illinois."

We have no positive information as to where the years were passed of the maiden life of Mrs. K. We have the impression, however, from some memoranda which have come within our notice, that she had spent much time in the city of New York; and whether from her own observation or from that of others, she had, apparently, extensive knowledge of matters regarding that class known by the term "higher circles" of social life in that city; names, alliances, notable qualities, and fateful events, comprise the jottings referred to.

It will remain to the credit of both Mrs. and Mr. Kinzie, that they always continued the steadfast friends of the Indians. They recognized in them, though cheated, wronged, and degraded as they were, by the acts of selfish and corrupt men of the white race, not merely a few virtues, generally unaccorded to them, but that they were a branch of the human family, who had some claim of a right to earthly enjoyment, and not to be altogether debarred the hope of a possibility of a happy hereafter.

The death of Mrs. Kinzie was sudden and sad. She was spending the season at Amagansett, L.I. Sending to a druggist for some quinine, he carelessly and unfortunately sent her morphine instead; this resulted in her death, which occurred September 15th, 1870.

We have referred to the birth of Ellen M., the daughter of John and Eleanor, (*see p. 38 of this vol.*), and suppose it to have occurred in December, 1804. Her first husband was Dr. Alexander Wolcott, Indian Agent, stationed at Chicago; the marriage was, as before named, at the Kinzie house, July 20th, 1823. Dr. Wolcott died here in 1830. She married (2d) in Detroit, Mich., 1836, Hon. George C. Bates. Mrs. Bates died in Detroit, at the residence of Bishop McCoskey, August 1st, 1860, leaving a husband and a son, Kinzie Bates, of the Army. Mr. Bates, Sr., resides (1881) in Colorado.

Of Maria Kinzie, daughter of John and Eleanor, we have few particulars. She was born in 1807, and married Lieut. David Hunter, of the army. From the Calumet Club Reception Pamphlet we are pleased to make the following extract from a letter of Gen. Hunter, of date May 24th, 1879:

"More than half a century since, I first came to Chicago on horseback, from Saint Louis, stopping on the way at the log-cabins of the early settlers, and passing the last house at the mouth of Fox River. I was married in Chicago, having to send a soldier one hundred and sixty miles, on foot, to Peoria, for a license. The northern counties in the State had not then been organized, and were all attached to Peoria County. My dear wife is still alive, and in good health; and I can certify, a hundred times over, that Chicago is a first-rate place from which to get a good wife."

I may say of General Hunter, that he was a cadet as early as 1818, entered the army as 2d Lieutenant, in 1822, and has done much and creditable service; he has been brevetted Major-General. General and Mrs. Hunter reside in Washington, D.C.

Robert Allen Kinzie, son of John and Eleanor, was born in Chicago, Feb. 8, 1810. He was an urchin but two and a-half years old, but he could remember, as he told in 1872, sixty years after the battle of Chicago, of the family returning to their old home again, and also the circumstance of his father cutting a ball from the arm of Mrs. Heald. After a four years absence, the family were again at their home in Chicago. When about nine years old he accompanied his father to St. Louis and back. Afterward, he was sent to Detroit to attend school, going by way of the lakes, but returned over land on horseback. Of that homeward-bound trip, according to *The Post* reporter, in 1872, Mr. Kinzie said:

"Ten days was the distance, and, in company with a couple of half-breeds, I started, supplied with rations for the whole journey. We were five days out, and our provisions were out also. We ate faster than we traveled. Whenever we came to a stream of any ambition, we had to construct a raft in order to cross it. Hungry and tired we reached Coldwater, Mich., then known as Nagg's trading post. Nagg was out of everything but cake-sugar, and so we stayed our stomachs on cake-sugar, and would doubtless have died of a surfeit of sweetness, but for the fact that one of the Indian boys shot 23 pigeons. We ate them all at one meal, and reached Chicago, heaven knows how!"

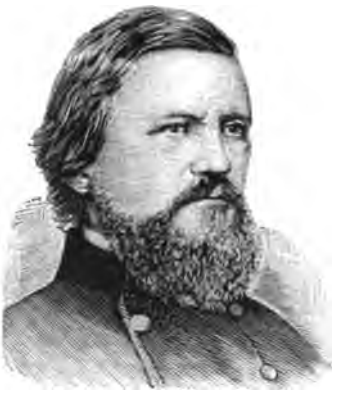
Mr. K. also said he went to Prairie du Chien in 1825, then a frontier settlement of French Canadians, journeying with Rolette, the French trader. At that place, he took a position under his brother John, who was chief clerk. Dousman, son of the Mackinaw trader, was the agent at the post. John succeeded to the place, and Robert stepped into his shoes. In 1827, he returned to Chicago; in 1828, went to Detroit. Returning he was employed as clerk by Captain Leonard,

sutler at Fort Winnebago, where he remained some six months, but was recalled to Chicago by the death of a sister. [We are not fully assured that there was no error of the reporter or printer as to dates given above, and we have, in vain, sought the name and particulars of the death of the "sister" spoken of.] From 1829 to 1840, he remained mostly here, including several years in trade at Wolf Point.* It is generally believed that Mr. Kinzie built the first frame building in Chicago; this, after the government structure, (*see p. 367 of this vol.*), built for Billy Caldwell, was most likely true. The store was erected early in 1832, and Mr. Kinzie told us (July 11th, 1873), that he sent to *Du Pah-zh* (Du Page) for

* We refer to an incident here which is told in *Wau-bun*. In the year 1831, of five bachelors of Chicago, who, on the occasion of a ball at Hickory Creek, were invited, three accepted the invitation; these were Gholson Kercheval, Medore Beaubien, and Robert Kinzie. They clad themselves in their best garments, and if they lacked saddle-horses of their own, they borrowed the best they could find for the excursion. At the Creek, they were received politely, their horses fed, and a bountiful supper provided, after which they were shown up to the dancing-hall, and introduced to the ladies there assembled. The Chicago beaux made great efforts to be agreeable to the ladies, and it would seem they outshone the country lads, and, upon the whole, rather monopolized the attention of the choicest dancers and best looking girls in the company. The effect, as may be supposed, was anything but flattering to the young gentlemen of Hickory Creek; and some penalty, by way of compensation to their injured feelings, was determined on. The sweet revenge hit upon, was, to shear the horses of their Chicago visitors, that is, to clip their manes and tails, so close and bare, the like whereof was, probably, scarce ever seen before. The following we extract from Mrs. Kinzie's book:

"The revelry lasted until daylight, and it was now time to think of returning. There was no one ready with obliging politeness to bring them their horses from the stable. * * * They groped their way to the stable and went in. There were some animals standing at the manger, but evidently not their horses. What could they be? Had the rogues been trying to cheat them, by putting these strange nondescripts into their place? They led them forth into the gray of the morning, and then such a trio as met their gaze! There were the original bodies, it is true, but where were their manes and tails? * * * Gholson sat down on a log and cried outright. Medard took the matter more philosophically—the horse was none of his—it was Lieut. Foster's. Robert characteristically looked around to see whom he could knock down on the occasion, but there was no one visible on whom to wreak their vengeance. * * * * The unlucky gallants mounted their steeds, and set their faces homeward. Never was there a more crest-fallen and sorry-looking cavalcade."

carpenters to build it; "Two old deacons," he said, came to do the work. Mr. John S. Wright, in his "Chicago," says, speaking of Mr. P. F. W. Peck, "In February or March, 1833, I aided to raise the frame of his store. The first framed building was Mr. Robert A. Kinzie's store, on the West-Side; Mr. George W. Dole's store, south-east corner of Dearborn and South Water Streets, was second; and Mr. Peck's third. Previous buildings were of logs." Mr. Wright, evidently, was not aware of the Caldwell "mansion," or its story. Quoting further from *The Post*, we add, that in 1834, Mr. Kinzie fell in love with an elegant and accomplished daughter of an army officer and an early pioneer, who saw placed, or laid, the earliest pallisades and timbers of Fort Dearborn. That lady, in due time, became the wife of Mr. Kinzie. [We will add here that the mother of Mrs. K., whose portrait appears on *p. 23 of this vol.*, died in Newport, Kentucky, Tuesday, 12th February, 1878.] In 1835 Mr. Kinzie became a member of the firm of Kinzie, Davis & Hyde, hardware dealers; in 1840, he moved on to a farm at Walnut Grove, Illinois, where he remained three years. In 1845, he was at



Des Moines, and thence beyond the Missouri River, in Kansas, in trade with the Indians. In May, 1861, he was appointed paymaster in the army, with the rank of Major, and remained in the service to the time of his death. From 1861 to 1864, he was in Washington, D.C.; from 1864 to 1868, in New Mexico, and afterward in Chicago.

In person, Maj. Kinzie was a very powerful, as well as active man. His death was from heart disease, and very sudden. He seemed quite as well as usual in the morning, but later in the day he suddenly became ill, and died in a few moments, at his residence on 35th Street, Chicago, on Saturday afternoon, December 13th 1873. The funeral services were conducted by Father Riordan, at St. James' Roman Catholic Church; the interment was in Graceland Cemetery.

It has been written of Robert A. Kinzie, "He was a man of sterling character and honesty. While his life presented no brilliant succession of great deeds, he was a man who would be remembered as 'Good Major Kinzie.'"

CONTRABAND BEEF.

Mr. B. (the father of Judge B.) was an emigrant from New England fifty years ago (1831). Some years afterward he was engaged in farming at or near Downer's Grove, DuPage Co. Mr. B. had very decided convictions regarding the rights of man, being an active and practical abolitionist, and used to assist in bringing off the negroes, that is, over some of the sections or part of the route freedom-ward. The individual who gives us the information told us that Mr. B. one day drove up to his place in a lumber-wagon, and, after calling him out, addressed to him the inquiry: "Do you want *a quarter of beef* this morning?" Throwing aside a blanket or two, the "beef" proved to be three live, full-grown, runaway negroes lying in the wagon. These, like many others before and afterward, were spirited away, on steamboats and other vessels, across the line to Canada.

EARLY INNS OF THE SETTLEMENT.

It is believed that in the primitive days, before the setting up of any professional and legalized taverns in the hamlet, that it was the custom with the proprietor of the old Kinzie house, it being the most commodious cabin in the settlement, to accommodate an occasional traveler with fire-side, meals, and lodging. The volume *Wau-bun*, however, countenances no suggestion which might hint that compensation for such favors was ever received; yet we have pretty good reason to believe that the practice *was* prevalent, and that through a period of years, payment was generally expected and received. Whether or not there had been any other professed house of public entertainment, yet the first license for a tavern at Chicago, would seem to have been granted to Archibald Caldwell,* by the County Commissioners' Court, of Peoria County, December 8th, 1829.

[We present above a copy of a photograph, taken in 1880, of our first tavern-keeper, Mr. Archibald Caldwell.]

* Archibald Caldwell was born in Pearisburgh, Giles County, Western Virginia, April 30, 1806. His parents were William and Polly (Clybourn) Caldwell. He came across the country *via* Fort Wayne, and arrived at Chicago on horseback, in July, 1827. Probably it was in 1829, that Caldwell, in company with James

The tax was to be eight dollars, a bond for one hundred dollars was to be given, and the prices for meals, drinks, lodgings, horse-feed, etc., were fixed at certain rates. The tavern-house, we are told, was built by Caldwell and James Kinzie, and that,

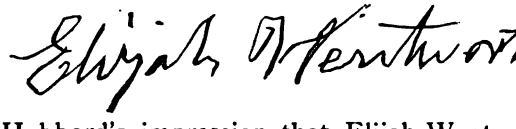
"It was a double log-house, on the west side of the north branch, a few rods up from the main branch. He (Caldwell) had a sign, with a wolf painted upon it, but it had no name."

The above quotation is from Hon. John Wentworth's Lecture, in April, 1875; the river-banks at the junction, or forks, looked differently, in 1829, from what they do to-day; then there were projecting points, and bars, and bogs. We will add here that we had understood that the *sign* with *the wolf*, was an institution of a *later* year, after Mr. Caldwell had left the caravansary; we had heard that Lieut. Jamison, at the Fort, painted that wolf on the sign, though Mr. Gurdon S. Hubbard says it was Lieut. Allen. Here follows an extract from a note to Rufus Blanchard, by Mr. Hubbard, as appears in Mr. Blanchard's History:

"My impression is that Elijah Wentworth opened his tavern on the West Side, near the present West-Kinzie Street, in 1830, at what was then called the Forks. About this date, Samuel Miller bought

Kinzie, built the log-tavern at Wolf Point, for he received a tavern-license, granted in December, of that year. It is understood that he sold his interest in the tavern to James Kinzie, in 1830, and in the year following went north, to the vicinity of Green Bay. There is an indication that Mr. Caldwell sometimes worked at blacksmithing, for he received, as we notice from the public officials, the sum of $5.50 for ironing a scraper. The wife of Mr. Caldwell was a sister of Benjamin Hall, now, or lately, of Wheaton, DuPage Co., but whether she deserted him or he left her, there was a separation, and it is understood that Mr. C. retired to the wilderness of the north, and, for a while at least, employed his time in hunting and trapping. His wife married (2d) Cole Weeks, a discharged soldier. Mr. Caldwell also married (2d) an Indian woman of the Wisconsin woods. We learn in a supplementary note to one of Mr. Wentworth's Lectures, that, in 1834, Mr. C. piloted the schooner *Jefferson* from Green Bay to Chicago, that he tarried here till the following year, and then returned to Green Bay. From Mr. Caldwell's second marriage, we are informed that there are "five big boys, and a girl," who represent both the white and copper-colored races, for the children are half-breeds, and "all live in Indian style." Mr. Caldwell said he had a brother who lived in Chicago, but who died many years ago. Archibald Caldwell now (1880) lives at Black Creek, Wisconsin.

a small log-cabin on the opposite side of the river from Wentworth's, and south of the present Kinzie-Street bridge, to which he added a two-story log-building, finishing the outside with split clapboards. These two public-houses were the first Chicago could boast of. Miller, by his influence and enterprise, erected a bridge, built wholly of logs, across the north branch, just north of his tavern. He and Wentworth being competitors for public favor, the Forks house geting the most patronage, James and Robert Kinzie built stores there, and here resorted some of the officers of the Fort daily for social intercourse and '*drinks*' at Wentworth's bar. Wolves were, in those days, quite numerous; one had the audacity to enter, in the daytime, Wentworth's meat-house, and was, by him, killed. His house had for a sign, a tall sapling topped off just above a prominent branch; it extended some distance above the top of the roof, and was a conspicuous notice, to be seen from the prairie and surroundings, that 'there was food for man and beast'; it lacked, however, something to hang to the branch projection to give it character; how to obtain a proper emblem, puzzled the good landlord, as there was no carpenter or paint-shop, or citizen artist; a happy thought struck him, that Lieut. Allen might condescend to supply the deficiency, if properly approached; this was effected through a mutual friend. The boards of a dry-goods box were obtained, from which was put in shape, under the superintendence of Lieut. James Allen, a well-proportioned sign, the Indian-Agency Blacksmith putting to it hinges, when Lieut. Allen took it in hand again, producing and presenting to Wentworth, the picture of the stealthy wolf, which was to serve not only as an attractive painting, but a memorial of the landlord's valor in the killing, alone and unaided, of a ferocious wolf. Officers and citizens received invitations to be present at the hanging of the sign; the day and hour arriving, found assembled a majority of the people; the sign was brought forth, duly veiled with a blanket, was attached to the branch of the pole, the veil removed, and it swung gracefully, and was greeted with hurrahs from those present; in turn something else greeted the hoarse throats of friends. Thus was produced and baptized the name of Wolf Point."



Mr. Hubbard's impression that Elijah Wentworth opened his tavern on the West Side in 1830 is no doubt correct, though that house could scarcely be said to have been "near the present West-Kinzie Street." The information received from Mrs. Taylor leads us to believe that the house stood a short distance north of, and on the block joining, Lake Street

(B. 22) near the upper or triangular point of ground embraced within the three streets, W. Lake, Canal, and W. Water Streets. But if Elijah Wentworth gave up the tavern at the Forks in 1831, as we suppose, or possibly early in 1832, could Lt. Allen have painted the sign for him, being that the Lieutenant had not, as we understand, arrived at Chicago at as early a period? Or was he here with Capt. Fowle before 1831? Or is it possible that Mr. Wentworth returned to keeping the inn at a later day?

Mr. Hubbard, as per the account in the quotation above, seems at least to have demolished two plausible theories or, may be, two cherished legends. One is, that Wolf Point had its name given it by some inmate of Fort Dearborn, who thought it appropriate, inasmuch as the wolves formerly are said to have gathered from all parts of the West-Side, and there, nightly, held high carnival of barks, yells, and howls. The other exploded legend referred to, is, *that* tradition or conceit, recorded by the ingenious authoress of *Wau-bun*, who told that the name was so given, from it having been the residence of an Indian named "Moaway," or *the wolf*.

We extract from one of the series, entitled "By-Gone Days," published in the *Chicago Times* a few years since:

"The hostelry was known by name of *Geese Tavern;* there was a goose, a sign that swung in front of it, painted by one of the officers at the Fort, and the proprietor was generally known by the cognomen of 'Old Geese.' At first it was a log-house, one story in height. Next it was weather-boarded; and to give it a pretentious appearance, the front was run up two-stories high, and a sort of balcony was prefixed to it, which was mounted on the outside. This tavern, it is believed, dates from 1829."

We must protest against one of the utterances above; the writer was not "sound on the goose," for there was no goose painted on that sign; he evidently confounds *a goose* with *the wolf*.*

* Wolf Point and the first Wolf-Point Tavern! In the coming and far-distant future, when Chicago antiquities shall be studied as a classic, when the future poets of this mighty metropolis shall sing of marked achievements, who knows

It will be proper, also, to contradict another absurd story, relating to the origin of the sobriquet "geese," as applied to Elijah Wentworth. A newspaper communication, over the name of "Benjamin T. Lee," accounts for the term aforesaid, by representing, that Mr. W. committed a fraud in the sale of some feathers, and hence the use of the phrase. That is altogether a mistake, for it arose from *a song* and *a term* used by Mr. Wentworth himself. Mrs. Kinzie said:

"Facing down the river from the west, was, first a small tavern kept by Mr. Wentworth, familiarly known as 'Old Geese,' not from any want of shrewdness on his part, but in compliment to one of his own cant expressions."

From Mr. Eastman's History in the old *Chicago Magazine*, we quote:

"But the centre of attraction was at Wolf Point, opposite the Miller house. Here too, was another tavern, the public-house *par excellence*, of Chicago. * * * This building was partly log and partly frame, and was situated on the ground north of Lake-Street bridge, now (1857) occupied as a lumber-yard. * * * Mr. Wentworth's* tavern was the best one kept in Chicago. It was the place

but the story of Romulus and Remus, the founders of old Rome, whose renown is so much indebted to a much motherly wolf, may not be eclipsed by the side of a parallel at Wolf Point. If it shall be asked, what were the qualities or properties of the *pap* furnished to the fathers of a later city than Rome, who gathered in the bar-room of the log-tavern, under the shadow of that sign of the wolf, we may quote, "Whiskey, ½ pint, 12½ cts., Gin, 18¾c., Rum and Brandy, 20c." Such was the fashion and the law of the day. So, if the founders of Rome were traditionally wolf-suckled, still more likely is it, that the loungers at the Wolf Tavern were there cosseted, and coddled, possibly, sometimes, profoundly fuddled.

But whether or not, Rev. Father Walker's cabin, whose site was near by, had yet been reared, it held some time earlier, or later, the first temperance meeting of the village. All were not converts, however, to that faith, as we judge from the following advertisement, which we notice in one of the early months of the first Chicago newspaper:

"Hoosiers, Wolverenes, and Suckers, Behold!!!! The subscribers respectfully tender to their above-named friends, and to his liberal patrons, the Pottawatomies, their sincere thanks for past favors, and inform them that they have on hand at their Man Trap, one door north of Mr. R. A. Kinzie's store, a constant supply of fresh Bread, Cakes, Pastry, etc., also Liquors of every description, which they will sell at reduced prices, and his friends can come and get tired for nothing.

"JOHN WELLMAKER & CO.

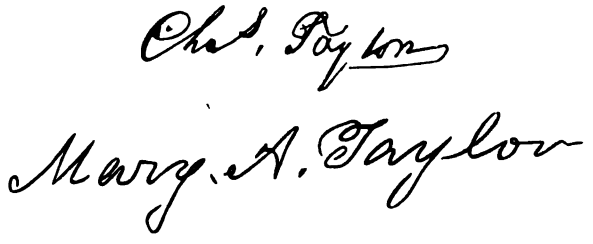
"Chicago, Dec. 10, 1833."

* Elijah Wentworth, as we learn from one of Hon. John Wentworth's Lectures, removed with his family from the State of Maine to Kentucky. In 1823

where men of character who visited the town always stopped. It was the headquarters of Gen. Scott, when he came to Chicago with the troops for the Black-Hawk war, in 1832. The distinctive name of the celebrated tavern, as familiarly used by all the settlers, was Rat Castle."

That house was built of logs. Moreover, John Bates, who came to Chicago in 1832, says there was not a rat in the town in those days.

We must also contradict the story that Gen. Scott put up with Mr. Wentworth at the Forks or Wolf Point, when he arrived at Chicago in summer of 1832. Mr. Wentworth was not keeping the house at the time, he had given it up some time previous. Mr. and Mrs. Charles Taylor went into the house in the month of June or July, and continued to keep it nearly a year.†



and '24, he was living somewhere in Fulton County, Illinois, but subsequently went to Dodgeville, Wisconsin, and in 1830, came to Chicago. We notice in 4th number of the *Chicago Democrat*, (Dec. 17, 1833), that E. Wentworth advertises to keep a tavern "at Flag Creek, 18 miles south of Chicago," but this, it is understood, was the advertisement of Elijah Wentworth, Jr.; we believe Mr. Wentworth, Sr., soon located on the Sand Ridge, where is now the village of Jefferson, and where he kept the somewhat noted "Wentworth Tavern." Mr. W. sold his farm at Jefferson, to Mr. D. L. Roberts, and died, it is belived, somewhere south of Chicago, the date not learned.

† Mr. and Mrs. Charles Taylor, in the summer of 1832, were on their way in their own conveyance from Detroit to Chicago, but had heard of no Indian excitement here until they reached the Calumet. Hastening on, they reached Chicago and stopped at the house of J. Baptiste Beaubien. This, it is believed, was on or about the 7th of June. The same night, however, or the one succeeding, there was an Indian alarm, and all, including the families of John B. and Mark Beaubien, went into the Fort for safety. There was a crowd of refugees within the stockade, with great confusion and discomfort, but the Taylors found relief the day after by an invitation from Col. Owen, the Indian agent, to accept of other and more agreeable quarters. Then James Kinzie, the owner of the

The late George Davis, of Chicago, who arrived in October, 1833, is understood to have sketched, perhaps in that same fall of his arrival, a view at the junction of the two branches of the River. There appears in the *Chicago Magazine* (1857) what is supposed to be intended to be understood as a copy of that sketch. It shows the Wolf Tavern, Father Walker's Cabin, and the Miller House, bridge, etc. But the sign with *the wolf* at that West-Side tavern, does not appear, though the sign post is there. That original wood-cut is a coarse specimen of the art, but what we wish more particularly to complain of, is the title given to the picture, which is this:

"Wolf's Point in 1830; View on the West Side, at the Junction of the North and South branches."

That view of Wolf's Point (more correctly *Wolf Point*), was from the South Side, but could not so have appeared in 1830; there was no bridge over the north branch, in that year, nor had George Davis yet, by three years, come to the village. In 1832, we understand, there was a log foot-bridge over the north-branch.

Major Robert A. Kinzie, on the 11th of July, 1873, told us that there was no bridge over the north-branch in 1830; some logs or stringers, he said, were laid across in 1832, but the bridge was not finished until 1833. We have similar infor-

premises known as the Wolf Tavern at the Point, it is understood, was living in the house, having something of a stock of goods there, and it seemed to him desirable to get some one to take the premises, and, by boarding himself and family, cast off one great load and grievance, that of house-keeping then in Chicago. Mr. and Mrs. T. were applied to and arranged to accept the position; and so it was, within ten days after their arrival, they became *hotel-keepers*, without design or anything intentional on their part. There was a crowd of refugees from the country and we have heard that from the pressure of those hungry visitors, who now beset the Wolf Tavern, Mrs. T. immediately provided supper for the number of some half-a-hundred.

Gen. Scott took his first Chicago bowl of soup at the Taylor's Wolf Tavern, and we are told by a resident here of that year who had a room there in company with the late Geo. W. Snow, that the neat and orderly appearance of that tavern was worthy of commendation.

Mr. Taylor died in Indianola, Texas (where he was collector of the port), Sept. 20, 1867. Mrs. Taylor resides in Chicago, 1881.

mation from Mrs. Charles Taylor, who says there was a foot-way of logs over the north-branch in July of 1832, but not then available for teams.

In 1867, there was published by Rufus Blanchard, a colored lithograph, 15 by 18 inches, of same sketch evidently, though scarcely correct, we think, and the River appears too narrow, even allowing for the untrimmed shores of the lagoon. This last-named picture (the lithograph) is highly decorated with the grass and gay flowers supposed to border the stream; such adornment is allowable, but we would like to know more respecting the truthfulness of other parts of the picture; it is certainly different from the picture in the *Magazine* referred to; and supposing *that* view gives mostly a fair representation in the fall of 1833, the lithograph is erroneous. We give on the opposite page, reduced copies of those two views.*

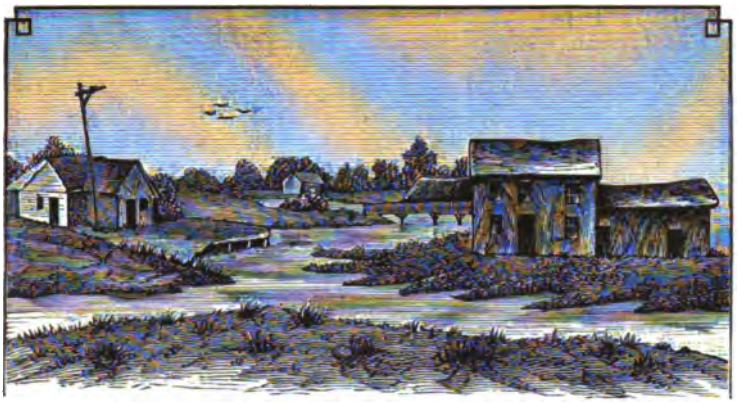
One of the pictures has a swinging sign, with a wolf painted thereon, the other gives the sign-post, without such painting on the sign. The house on the *north side*, is different in these pictures; in one the main building is partly boarded upright, which does not appear in the other; and other variations.

* We will here speak of the old log-cabin of Rev. Jesse Walker, in which he lived awhile and preached, and which appears, as will be seen in the sketches. It was sometimes called the "school-house," and for the purpose of making plain the fact of its position, *(see ante, pp. 370, 391)*, we copy a few words from that early paper, the *Chicago Democrat*, announcing that James Kinzie, Auctioneer, would sell, on the 13th December, 1833,

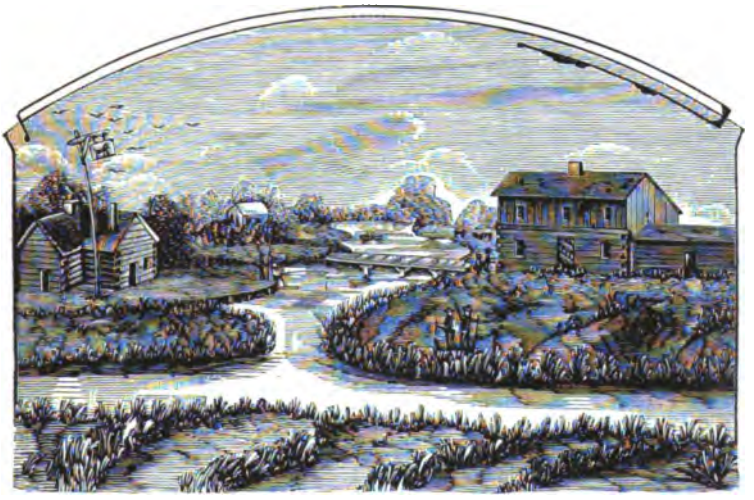
"Lot 7, Block 8, and house, formerly occupied as a meeting-house, opposite the bridge on the north branch of the Chicago River."

Lot 7, of B. 8, Original T., is at south-west corner of Kinzie and Canal Streets; the railroad bridge, which is opposite this lot, is perhaps at the same spot as the bridge of 1833.

Rev. S. R. Beggs in his book, page 95, says: "Jesse Walker was my successor in 1832. He moved his family up to Chicago as soon as possible and set to work. I attended his first quarterly meeting; it was held in an old log school-house, which served for a parsonage, parlor, kitchen, and audience-room. The furniture consisted of an old box stove, with one griddle, upon which we cooked. We boiled our tea-kettle, cooked what few vegetables we could get, and fried our meat, each in its turn. Our table was an old wooden chest; and when dinner was served up, we surrounded the board and ate with a good appetite, asking no questions for conscience sake." Mr. Beggs said the house stood some 30 yards west of the river.



Reduced copy of a cut in *Chicago Magazine*, of 1857, erroneously entitled "WOLF'S POINT IN 1830."



Reduced copy of a Lithograph published in 1867, marked "WOLF'S POINT IN 1833."

Since we wrote the above, we have received from the artist, Samuel M. Brookes, of San Francisco, Cal., a former resident of Chicago, who came in the fall of 1833, a communication in which he remarks upon the above cut, copied from the *Chicago Magazine*, which we sent him, as follows:

"I must say that I do not see how the view of the Forks of the river ever could be taken for such. The river was wide enough for a large steamer to turn at the fork; they would head up the south-branch and back up the north-branch,—and this view looks like a small creek; the house on the right is wider than the river; the bank on the west side did not slope like this. The only likeness that I can see is, that there was a house on that point."

The successor of Mr. Taylor, as landlord of the *Wolf Tavern*, according to the recollection of Deacon Carpenter, was Wm. W. Wattles, sometime in 1833. As per the first number of the *Chicago Democrat* (Nov., 1833), Chester Ingersoll advertises the "Traveler's Home," lately occupied by Mr. Wattles; we have also the statement, in a newspaper communication, by Hon. John Wentworth, that the tavern that Mr. Taylor kept was afterward kept by Mr. Ingersoll. [The first job of printing done in Chicago, we are informed by Mrs. Calhoun, was after the arrival of her husband, Mr. John Calhoun, in autumn of 1833. He was the first printer of Chicago, and the work referred to was some hotel-cards for Chester Ingersoll.] So the log Wolf Tavern became the *Traveler's Home.* We observe also in the *Democrat*, in speaking of the "first" arrival in the river of the schooner *Illinois*, July 12, 1834, it says: "The draw-bridge was soon raised and she came *to*, at Ingersoll's wharf, in front of the *Western Stage House.*" Had the tavern then become the "Western Stage House?" It would seem so. (See note on page 525.)

In Fergus' new Directory, for 1839, is given:

"Murphy & Titus, proprietors of 'Rat's-Castle Hotel.'"

But *what* Murphy or *what* Titus does not appear.* The position at "corner of W. Water and N. Canal Streets" we believe was the true one, if indeed the *Wolf Tavern* was yet standing.

We may, no doubt, say of the old West-Side pioneer tavern, that it underwent some changes in its external appearance at various dates, but of the times *when*, we have not been enlightened; the engraved portraits which we have, and

* P. Murphy and J. W. Titus, Mr. Fergus adds, were the names.

the description, do not altogether agree. We are unable further, to tell when the old cabin was torn down.

The tavern on the North-Side, known as the Miller house, Mr. Rufus Blanchard tells was built by Alexander Robinson, in 1820, though Mr. Eastman's History says:

"It was a log structure, partly sided, and was erected by Mr. Samuel Miller. This house was used as the occasion required, as a tavern, for, as few as were the inhabitants of Chicago at that time, one of their principal avocations seems to have been that of keeping tavern."

[The quotation on a previous page, from Mr. Hubbard's note, tells of the addition of the front or two-story part of that house of Mr. Miller.] That building, perhaps, was in part used by Samuel Miller and Archibald Clybourn, for a store as early as 1829, for they were in partnership selling goods, and that year owned, or were authorized to keep, a ferry across the Chicago River "at the lower forks."

Whether Mr. Fonda's account *(see ante, page 213)* is altogether reliable, as to the date, we do not know, but he says, on his arrival at Fort Dearborn, in Jan., 1828:

"Getting a pass, I went outside the palisades to a house built on the half-breed system, partly of logs and partly of boards. This house was kept by a Mr. Miller, who lived in it with his family. Here Boiseley and I put up during the time we were in the settlement."

Mr. Miller received a license as a tavern-keeper, in April, '31.

How long he pursued the calling, we can not precisely say, but Mrs. Miller died in the spring of 1832, and we think he left Chicago that year. The old house was made available, (as we learn from Gov. Bross' History), by Mr. P. F. W. Peck, as a store, in 1832, after the Indian troubles of that year had subsided. Some of the Harmon family occupied it also at one time.

We should have said before that the Chief, Alex. Robinson, received, in 1831, a license from Cook County Commissioners

to keep a tavern in Chicago; but we never heard of but one man who put up at Alex's hotel, and he slept on the floor, rolled up in his blanket.

When it was that the house of Mark Beaubien, on the South-Side, at south-east corner of Lake and Market Streets, was first used as a tavern, we can not precisely say; possibly it should take precedence to the Miller house before spoken of. Mr. Beaubien was certainly keeping a house of public

entertainment there in 1831, and, may be, that year he gave it that appellation of "The Sauganash," in honor of Billy Caldwell. That christening was a success; the fame of the *Sauganash* tavern will go down to the far-distant future. The first or old log-house there, stood near, or directly on the corner, Mrs. Murphy tells us, and the addition or frame part adjoining, was built at the south side of the cabin. We are a little in doubt as to *when* that "frame part" was added; it was certainly not before Robert Kinzie built his frame store, which was in 1832. Yet, the volume *Wau-bun* tells as follows:

"At the point, on the South Side, stood a house just completed by Mark Beaubien, Sr. It was a pretentious white two-story building, with bright-blue wooden shutters, the admiration of all the little circle at Wolf Point."

It is possible that the writer of *Wau-bun*, in 1856, toward the end of a-quarter of a century, after she first saw the improved Sauganash tavern, may have forgotten the precise year *when* that house was "just completed," and that it was in 1833, may be, instead of 1831.

If we have been much confused in trying to give chronological distinctness to the history of the Wolf tavern and the Miller house, the muddle extends to the career of "the Sauganash" with nearly as great despair; so it will be seen, though we are enabled to get at *a few* facts.

The traveler Latrobe *(see ante, page 217)*, who was here in 1833, hints of "five or six hotel-keepers," though he gives us no names; he evidently, however, was a guest at the "Sauganash," and if he speaks in no very complimentary terms of that house of entertainment, there must be taken into account the *circumstances* of the time; he was, besides, it has been said, one of those Englishmen rather inclined *to grumble;* but he had not then journeyed much in the Western settlements.

Mr. Beaubien* was still keeping the Sauganash early in 1834. The following is from Hoffman's "Winter in the West," whose author stopped there:

"Jan. 10, 1834. * * * and the thermometer having ranged as low as 28 below zero, during several days it has been impossible, notwithstanding the large fires kept up by an attentive landlord, to prevent ink from freezing while using it. * * * This room, which is an old log-cabin aside of the main house, is one of the most comfortable places in town."

* From Mr. Wright's "Chicago; Past, Present, Future," we copy: "My first winter in Chicago, 1832-3, I boarded with that whole-souled friend and natural gentleman, Mark Beaubien. The 'hoosiers' drove in a lot of hogs of the breed more famous for the time they could make, than for the lard they could yield. The bipeds staid a week or two to kill and pack the quadrupeds, and it was my privilege to have the former for fellow-boarders. They were never too busy with killing, and never wasted time with washing, to keep them behind at meal-times. Mrs. Beaubien—a noble woman was she, and devoted Christian mother, who corrected many of my New England anti-Catholic notions, tried her best to get some of the 'slap-jacks' to me, but the hog-killers were so on the alert, that two weeks' fighting for my living, impressed upon my memory pretty effectually the early days of Chicago pork-packing." The above portrait of Mr. Beaubien is a copy of a photo taken a few years ago; it is a likeness of a much later period

to keep a tavern in Chicago; but w[illegible] left the Sauganash in man who put up at Alex's hot[illegible] thinks the house was vacant rolled up in his blanket.

When it was that th[illegible] summer previous to the South-Side, at south[illegible] when a Mr. Davis took it, was first used as [illegible] it its old name. The following editorial in the it should take[illegible] of January 10th, 1835, says:

"We have a number of good houses in this City—that is to be. The 'Sauga-nash' has been recently fitted up, and furnished with neatness and taste, and so far as it goes, will, we have no doubt, be found just the thing, and there are others whose qualities are well known."

The Sauganash was kept in August of 1835, by Mr. Davis; but Joseph N. Balestier, in his Lecture, in Jan., 1840, said as follows:

"In 1835, the taverns were miserable. The Sauganash was esteemed the best; but the crowd of strangers and the scarcity of provisions, rendered every tavern in the place an abode of misery. The luxury of a single bed was almost unknown, and the table had no charms for the epicure."

But the landlords were scarcely responsible for "the crowd of strangers and scarcity of provisions." In the same Lecture, however, he said:

"The celebrated tavern of Mr. Mark Beaubien, known as the

than the one on page 331. We regret to have to add here, while we were penning the foregoing, the early settler, Mark Beaubien, has passed away. He died at Kankakee, Ill., on the evening of April 11th, 1881.

It will be proper to add here that at the Old Settlers' Gathering, at the Calumet Club, on the evening of May 19, 1881, Hon. John Wentworth, in his speech, said he had "another duty to perform. There is one man missing." He then turned to the table and took up the late Mr. Beaubien's violin, and continued: "On his death-bed he willed this old violin to me, and as this Club did more for him in his last days than anyone else, I deemed it my duty to bring it down and present it to the Club."

Whether it was in Rome, or Florence, or in Paganini's native City of Genoa, we do not precisely remember, but somewhere we have seen it stated that the violin of the great *maestro* is carefully preserved in a glass vase. It is quite proper that the instrument of that extraordinary man should be embalmed, for the gaze, and to aid the memories of his countrymen.

Yet the violin of Mark Beaubien, that for more than a half-century has caroled forth its festive tones, familiar, we may say, from early manhood to gray hairs and old age of not a few of our pioneers, warbling gaily the airs of encouragement,

'Eagle,' stood on the site of the Sauganash. I grieve to say that no trace of this model of Chicago Inns can now be found, so unsparing is time."

But if that was so, were there two "Eagles"? We notice the "Eagle Hotel" advertised in the *Democrat*, January 7th, 1834, by A. Steele, Landlord, and April 15th, of same year,

hope and gladness, should also be preserved, as one of the veritable antiquities of a greater city than Genoa, or Florence, or Rome.

By the politeness of Mr. F. B. Tuttle, the Secretary of the Club, which now possesses the instrument, we have been allowed to make a copy of the violin and bow of the late Mark Beaubien, which we here present. Appropriately it will be seen the violin is pictured as borne up by the *Calumet*.

We suppose Mr. Beaubien may have left the Sauganash in that year of 1834; Mrs. Murphy thinks the house was vacant some time after their arrival that summer previous to the succeeding January, probably, when a Mr. Davis took it, returning to it its old name. The following editorial in the *Chicago Democrat* of January 10th, 1835, says:

"We have a number of good houses in this City—that is to be. The 'Sau-ga-nash' has been recently fitted up, and furnished with neatness and taste, and so far as it goes, will, we have no doubt, be found just the thing, and there are others whose qualities are well known."

The Sauganash was kept in August of 1835, by Mr. Davis; but Joseph N. Balestier, in his Lecture, in Jan., 1840, said as follows:

"In 1835, the taverns were miserable. The Sauganash was esteemed the best; but the crowd of strangers and the scarcity of provisions, rendered every tavern in the place an abode of misery. The luxury of a single bed was almost unknown, and the table had no charms for the epicure."

But the landlords were scarcely responsible for "the crowd of strangers and scarcity of provisions." In the same Lecture, however, he said:

"The celebrated tavern of Mr. Mark Beaubien, known as the

than the one on page 331. We regret to have to add here, while we were penning the foregoing, the early settler, Mark Beaubien, has passed away. He died at Kankakee, Ill., on the evening of April 11th, 1881.

It will be proper to add here that at the Old Settlers' Gathering, at the Calumet Club, on the evening of May 19, 1881, Hon. John Wentworth, in his speech, said he had "another duty to perform. There is one man missing." He then turned to the table and took up the late Mr. Beaubien's violin, and continued: "On his death-bed he willed this old violin to me, and as this Club did more for him in his last days than anyone else, I deemed it my duty to bring it down and present it to the Club."

Whether it was in Rome, or Florence, or in Paganini's native City of Genoa, we do not precisely remember, but somewhere we have seen it stated that the violin of the great *maestro* is carefully preserved in a glass vase. It is quite proper that the instrument of that extraordinary man should be embalmed, for the gaze, and to aid the memories of his countrymen.

Yet the violin of Mark Beaubien, that for more than a half-century has caroled forth its festive tones, familiar, we may say, from early manhood to gray hairs and old age of not a few of our pioneers, warbling gaily the airs of encouragement,

'Eagle,' stood on the site of the Sauganash. I grieve to say that no trace of this model of Chicago Inns can now be found, so unsparing is time."

But if that was so, were there two "Eagles"? We notice the "Eagle Hotel" advertised in the *Democrat*, January 7th, 1834, by A. Steele, Landlord, and April 15th, of same year,

hope and gladness, should also be preserved, as one of the veritable antiquities of a greater city than Genoa, or Florence, or Rome.

By the politeness of Mr. F. B. Tuttle, the Secretary of the Club, which now possesses the instrument, we have been allowed to make a copy of the violin and bow of the late Mark Beaubien, which we here present. Appropriately it will be seen the violin is pictured as borne up by the *Calumet*.

the same house is advertised by P. I. Carli. We do not suppose *it* was "on the site of the Sauganash."*

And yet a daughter of Mark Beaubien has lately said that she once "lived in the first frame building erected in Chicago, called the '*Eagle Exchange*,' on Market Street, near the corner of Lake Street."

From the *Democrat's* sketch of Chicago, written in 1854:

"A log-building, at the corner of Dearborn and South Water Sts., the once celebrated Tavern of Mark Beaubien."

Here is what T. S. Eels said, in a newspaper communication a few years since:

"When the Sac and Fox war was over, Chicago was a mud village; at that time I boarded with Mark Beaubien, who kept a log-tavern where the Exchange Hotel now stands."

Mr. Blanchard, in his History, says:

"Immediately south of this, on Market Street, stood a log-tavern kept by Mark Beaubien. This was sometimes called the Sauganash, but it was not the famous hotel known by that name subsequently erected at about at the present corner of Franklin and Lake Streets."

There are mysteries in the above items, as we have hinted before, which we are unable to clear up, as well as the following from *Old Stories*, by B. F. Taylor:

"It gives me some such queer sort of satisfaction, to think these eyes of mine have beheld a log-tavern in the heart of Chicago, as" etc. * * * "Yet in an alley, just off Wells Street, where it had been ignobly thrust, stood the old log-tavern. To be sure, a cow looked out at the door, and chewed her cud of grass and meditation, and a pig was chafing his left shoulder against the angle of a projecting log."

We had supposed the "Sauganash Tavern," the one that was "famous," stood on that south-east corner of Lake and

* We have *heard* of still another "Eagle," (not to refer to Isaac Cook's saloon on Dearborn St.), though it must be classed as rather a select house of entertainment, as will appear by the following, told by an early resident. A large, pompous appearing individual, whose name was Allen, generally called "Col. Allen," was arrested here for counterfeiting; it was while he was on his way to the Court-room, for examination or trial, that an acquaintance addressed him with, "How do you do, Colonel, where are you stopping now?" "Oh," answered the Colonel, "just over here at the *Blue Eagle*." He meant the County Jail, on the N.-W. corner of the Court House Square, presided over by the sheriff, Isaac R. Gavin.

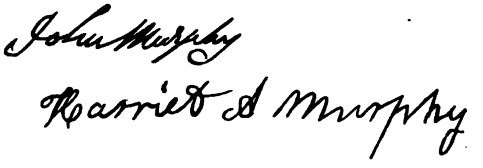
Market Streets, and at no other place. Mr. Robert Fergus is strongly impressed with the idea, that when he came to Chicago, July 1, 1839, the Sauganash Tavern stood on Market Street, on the corner of the alley south of Lake Street, and fronting to the west. Mrs. Harriet A. Murphy, whose late husband, John Murphy, kept that house three several times, says that she does not remember that Mark Beaubien kept a house called Sauganash at any other point than at above-named corner of Lake and Market Streets. Mr. and Mrs. Murphy,* who arrived at Chicago, in June, 1834, were several months in a private house, and in August, of that year opened and kept a new house, just completed, owned by Mark Beaubien, situated on the north-west corner of Wells and Lake Streets. They gave to that house the name of Exchange Coffee House; there were at that time, says Mrs. Murphy, certainly not over a dozen buildings on Lake Street. They kept the Exchange Coffee House about a year and a-half, and then went into the *Sauganash*, in 1836. We may

* John Murphy, the son of Edward Murphy, was born in Clermoy, County of Cork, Ireland, in the year 1803, and emigrated at an early age to this country. With a tolerable English education, and much native intelligence and energy, America for him was the field, as it had been to his countrymen for some generations, where he might find a soil and climate, natural, political and social, favorable to his enterprise. Bred a Roman Catholic, it would have been rather an anomalous circumstance at some earlier day, that one of that religious faith should gain an alliance with a daughter of the strict and protesting Puritans. Such, however, was the fact, and Miss Harriet Austin, the daughter of Capt. Thomas Austin and Mrs. Pamelia (Loomis) Austin, of Suffield, Conn., became the wife of John Murphy. [Thomas Austin, we may say, was a direct descendant of Captain Anthony Austin, of Rowley, Mass., 1669, but who, in 1682, was one of the first settlers of Suffield, Conn., at the organization of that town.] The match, it is conceded, was a happy one, and somewhere we have noticed, it was said by Hon. John Wentworth, in substance as follows: Mr. Murphy being a strong Roman Catholic, had the children baptized by the priest, which made good Roman Catholics of them, and Mrs. Murphy, being a strict Baptist, had all the children immersed, and so made good Baptists of them, and, of course, everything religiously, was harmonious.

Mr. Murphy, as we notice, held the office of Alderman, at least twice; in 1839, he was elected Alderman of the 4th Ward, and in 1844, of the 2d.

Mr. Murphy died of cholera at his residence at the U. S. Hotel, August 14th, 1850.

here say that after Mr. Murphy left the Coffee House, it was called the Illinois Exchange. When he opened the Sauganash, in 1836, he called it the "United States Hotel," as a temporary expedient; he was then building, or intending to build, a house to bear that name, and he wished to secure the designation for his future West-Side inn.



Hon. John Wentworth, on the 25th of October, 1836, took his first meal in Chicago, with the Murphys, at their *United-States-Sauganash* Hotel. It was called the best kept house on the South-Side. Mr. Wentworth says:

"The portion of the building where the bar and office were kept, was of logs; but the dining-room and sleeping-rooms were in a large frame addition. I was told, that log part was once a hotel by itself, and named 'Sauganash,' after Billy Caldwell. I knew Caldwell well. I never heard of any other Sauganash Hotel."

The old log part of the Sauganash tavern, it is understood, was located very near, if not directly on the cor. of Lake and Market Streets; it was torn down after Mr. Murphy took possession.

We may also add that an additional wing for a kitchen was appended on the east side, and, at a later period, the main building was extended north to Lake Street.

Mr. Murphy first left the Sauganash, it is believed, early in the year 1837, when he opened his new United States Hotel, over the River. The Sauganash, after Mr. M. left it, was next used as a theatre, the first in Chicago, but how long so appropriated we are not informed. In the fall of 1839, and, may be, some time previously, it was kept as a hotel by Jesse Seymour. Mr. Seymour, however, soon sold out to Mr. Murphy, who had rented his West-Side hotel to a Mr. Smith, and in the spring of 1840, was again the keeper of the Sauganash. Whether it was a year and a-half, more or less, that

Mr. Murphy continued there, he sold out to a Mr. Davis (not the same Mr. Davis who kept it before) and went back to the U. S. Hotel, Mr. Smith having surrendered his lease. [We present below a copy of a sketch taken in 1839, by the

late George Davis, of Chicago. The view was from the corner of Canal and Washington Streets, looking north-east. The tall building, as seen in the picture, was the United States Hotel, on West Water and Randolph Streets, fronting toward the River; it stood there until 1848 or '49, when its front was changed, being moved to N.-E. cor. of W. Randolph and Canal Streets. There appears some little defect perhaps in the perspective of the sketch: the bridge crossed at Randolph Street.] Mr. Davis (not George) continued in the Sauganash but six months, but managed to fail however within the period. The owner of the premises, Mr. Augustus Garrett, persuaded Mr. Murphy to go into the Sauganash once more, where he continued many months, but precisely how long we can not say.*

* We should, no doubt, here speak of the esthetic tastes and display which were apparent in those early days on Market Street; we allude to that adjunct of the Sauganash, a flower-garden lying just east of the house during the time that Mrs. Murphy presided there. Not only the ladies of the house, including the late Mrs. Augustus Garrett and others, but also various of the gentlemen who were boarders there (Mr. John Wentworth was one of them), each having their flower-bed, where each held control and where they marked and shaped, planted

Mr. Murphy returned to his own house, the U. S. Hotel, on the West-Side, and afterward rented the premises to John Cook for several years; this lease had not expired at the time of Mr. Murphy's death; but Mr. Cook surrendered his lease, and the house was rented to Mr. David L. Roberts, who occupied it till it was burnt.

After Mr. Murphy had finally left the Sauganash, it was opened by a Mr. Brown, from the City Hotel, we have heard (possibly Mr. Jeduthan Brown, of the new City Hotel, corner of State and Lake Streets), who kept it awhile, but after perhaps a year or so, returned to the City Hotel, where he died. The "Sauganash Hotel" in 1844 was kept by L. M. Osterhoudt.

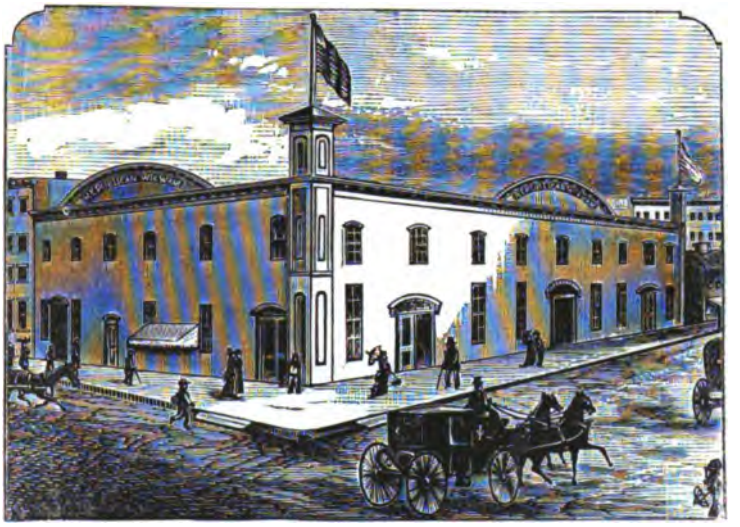
We are informed by Mrs. Murphy, there was a house known as the "Vermont House," on the same block of the Sauganash, just south across the alley; it was kept by a Mr. Joshua Bell. Mr. Bell's name appears on the Directories, as of the Vermont House, from 1849 to 1864.

There is not in existence, that we know, any picture or view of the Sauganash tavern; but in 1865, after the last of the buildings at the S.-E. corner of Lake and Market Streets had

and cared for, the various figures which their little farms assumed. We do not know if there were any clumps of those old-fashioned beauties, the gorgeous and crimson peonys, or if there stood, as sentinels here and there, the stately sunflowers; but there were pinks and dahlias, tulips and violets, etc., and beauty and fragrance were there truly supposed to abound.

There was one circumstance to which we wish particularly to refer, and that is, that upon the section appropriated by Long John, for his own cultivation, he placed with the flowers a tiny cabbage plant. It was a plain, quakerish-looking affair, diffident, and modestly shrinking from the sunlight; but it grew from a pair of limsy leaves to become a huge vegetable, pretentious and obese. We are inclined to believe that Mr. W. slighted his pinks, holly-hocks, and daisies, and petted the growing vegetable. He has never, that we know, explained how or by what system he secured such immensity in that cabbage. Certainly, it "beat the Dutch;" no German in our City or suburbs, whether he came from the Valley of the Weser or the Rhine, has ever been able, it is supposed, to grow so large a one. All persons then at the Sauganash, now living, must remember that cabbage; many citizens from curiosity went to see it. Yet, alas, most of the eyes that gazed upon it are now dim with the mists of years, or else are closed forever in the sleep beneath the flowers.

passed away by fire, whether or not there were others there not named above, it is well remembered that the structure called "the Wigwam," occupied that site, noted not only as the place of the "Sauganash" but also as the somewhat famous spot where President Lincoln was first nominated. Here is a view of the "Wigwam," from a photograph by Mr. Hesler; that structure, we may say, remained until the fire of 1871.



In the year 1833, there was built, by James Kinzie, on the N.-E. corner of N. Canal and W. Lake Streets, a house, constructed for a tavern, and which, from a scrub—though-verdant oak of the prairie, in its immediate neighborhood, the house gained the name of the *Green Tree Tavern.** The

* It has been confidently told of Mr. S. B. Cobb, a gentleman well known in the City, that when he arrived on the 29th day of May, 1833, when his entrance within the portals here, of an active life-journey, became a demonstration at Wolf Point, he had not a dollar left in his pocket after paying his fare to the captain of the schooner *Atlanta*, upon which vessel he came up the Lakes. With the determination, however, of a live Yankee, not to give it up so, which trait confers honor (not only upon the memory of Henry Cobb, the first of the Cobbs in New England, and who was in Plymouth Colony as early as 1629, but upon that of Ebenezer Cobb, who died in 1801, at the age of 107½ years, said to have been the oldest man who was born and lived upon the soil of Massachusetts), he took

house, it is believed, was made tenantable that same year of 1833, and we have heard that a man named Lawton first kept the tavern. It was the Stage-House in 1835; a traveler who arrived here from St. Louis that year says:

"The scanty accommodations of the town were over-filled by a horde of land-speculators, who had come to attend the public sale to take place in June, and the landlord in reply to our application said he had not a space on the floor but which was engaged three deep!" See note on page 525.

A Mr. Cox (David Cox it is believed, who was living in the 4th Ward and one of the judges of election in 1837) was the landlord in 1835, and we think so continued until 1839. The house in 1836 was called the "*Chicago Hotel.*" Mr. John Gray, afterward sheriff of Cook County, we think took the house in 1839. He kept it for about two years. In 1844, the "Chicago Hotel" was kept by George W. Rogers. How long Mr.

a job as *boss carpenter* or *jour.* in the construction of the coming Green-Tree tavern, though he knew nothing particularly of that sort of occupation. Mr. C. could easy enough have built you a saddle or a harness, but building *a house* was a different affair; there was little in common between bridle-bits and beams, blinders and braces, tugs and tenons, reins and rafters, sills and surcingles, hames and hall-stairs. But we are told that Mr. Cobb was then eminently successful, and though he could scarcely afford to avoid Wolf Point in 1833, we have yet heard that the *point* is generally conceded, that he has at length (in 1881) achieved nearly money enough "to keep the *wolf* from the door."

Rogers conducted the house we can not say, nor what others kept it afterward; we have heard though, that at some time later it was called the "Lake-Street House." [E. H. Aiken kept the "Lake-Street House" in 1849, and several succeeding years.] Above is a view of the Green-Tree-Tavern house, taken about 1876, though *not then* a tavern. The lower front was a saloon and the remaining part let as tenements. In 1880, the building was removed to Milwaukee Avenue, where it appears in Nos. 33, 35, 37; its uses, much as last before named, a *saloon* at the front.

The "Eagle House," so called, as we learn by a notice in the *Evening Journal*, of several years ago, stood on the S.-W. corner of Canal and Madison Streets, and was built for a Mr. West, by Mr. John C. Rue, a carpenter, still (1881) living in Chicago. We copy from the *Journal:*

"The house was afterward moved half a block south, to the corner of the alley, another story was added, and it stands there now (1875) and is known as the *Eagle House.* Mr. Rue gives an interesting account of his experience on that job. His employer, Mr. West, went East, leaving him to work alone. There he was, out on the prairie by himself, no house but the "Green Tree" in sight; the view of the settlement being cut off by the thick, heavy timber that lined the east bank of the River, extending all the way from the River to what is now Clark Street. While he was at work, the Indians, in great numbers, braves, squaws, and pappooses, used to come around daily from their encampments on the prairie and watch the progress of his work. His tools interested them greatly. They would look at them curiously, touch them, breathe on them, and jabber among themselves. Mr. Rue wasn't acquainted with aboriginal jargon, and it was a question that made him a little uneasy, whether they were not discussing the propriety of taking his scalp with one of his own tools. But they proved inoffensive."

Whether the "Eagle House" was kept as a tavern and bore that name immediately after it was built, as we were led to suppose, we do not know, nor, if so, *who* was the landlord. We think, however, John C. Hugunin had a store on that corner of Canal and Madison in 1836. [Mr. Hugunin lived in the 4th ward in 1837, and was one of the judges of election, and candidate for alderman; he died in Milwaukee, July 4, 1865.]

Dexter Graves, in July, 1833, kept a log-tavern on Lake

Street; a recently-departed old settler said to us that he put up there, and that S. B. Cobb, E. H. Hadduck, Hiram Pearsons, and J. D. Caton were fellow-boarders. Judge Caton has said:

"The first night I slept in Chicago was in a log-tavern, the name they mostly went by then, west of the junction of the rivers, kept by W. W. Wattles. The next day, I learned that the best entertainment was to be had at the crack boarding-house of the place, kept by Dexter Graves, at $5 per week. It was a log-house, near the middle of the square just north of the present Tremont House. If it was a log-house, I assure you we had good fare and a right merry time to."

We think this log-house was the same or the predecessor of the one which was subsequently called the "Mansion House;" for Mr. Edward H. Hadduck, who became the son-in-law of Mr. Graves, we think, bought out the interest of the latter in the hotel, and was keeping the "Mansion House," we have

heard, in August, 1834. Since writing the above, that worthy gentleman, E. H. Hadduck, has passed away; he died May 30, 1881.

In 1835, Mr. Abram A. Markle was keeping the Mansion House, continuing in it about a year; the house was situated on the north side of Lake Street, about opposite the east end of the present Tremont House. Jason Gurley is said to have kept the "old Mansion House" in 1837. In 1839, the Mansion House, No. 86 Lake Street, was kept by Asher Rossiter. [We have seen a printed statement that the Mansion House was located on the S.-W. corner of Lake and Dearborn Sts.; that from there it was moved, about the year 1841, to Randolph Street, near Michigan Avenue, where it became the "Dearborn House;" and, in 1864, was moved to State Street, near Polk Street, where it stood "an old rookery" until the fire of 1871.] If there is *any* truth in this, there is at least *some* error; the Mansion House *was not* on the S.-W. corner of Lake and Dearborn Streets, and *didn't* go from there to

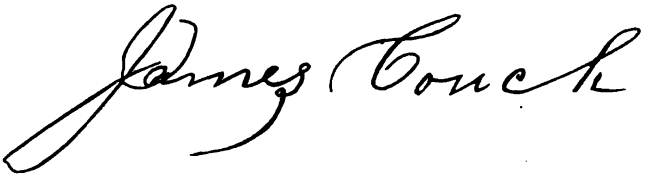
Randolph Street about 1841.] In 1844, Messrs. Chas. Skinner and J. T. Smith kept the Mansion House, at No. 86 Lake Street.*

The old or first Tremont House in Chicago, which was situated on the N.-W. corner of Lake and Dearborn Streets, was a wood building, possibly commenced in the year 1833, and was occupied the year following, it is understood, by Mr. Starr Foot. It has been stated by a writer in the *Chicago Times* that

"The Couches" (by whom we suppose the brothers Ira and James Couch were meant) "occupied a little six-by-nine tailor-shop along side of it" (the Tremont), "and by dint of close application to honorable toil, in a few years, had accumulated sufficient to make their neighbor's hotel their own."

In 1836, James Couch kept the Tremont House, but was soon, it is said, joined by his brother Ira.

A newspaper writer has said of the Tremont House, that



in 1836, it was capable of accommodating 50 or 60 guests, "by putting 4 to 8 in a room." In the "Business Directory" of 1839 (see previous page 13), Ira Couch is called "hotel-

keeper, corner of Lake and Dearborn Streets." In Fergus'

* We are informed by Mr. Robert Fergus, that the facts concerning the *migration* of the Mansion House are as follows: "The building was removed in *two parts*," probably in the year 1850; Jacob R. Bates had previously been the proprietor. The greater half was moved to the N.-W. corner of Michigan Avenue and Lake Street, and was fitted up as the 'Dearborn House;' in 1859, it was occupied by B. E. Tucker. Afterward, it was moved to State Street, south of Harrison. The *small portion* of the Mansion House was moved to the east side of State Street, 60 feet south of Madison Street."

later compilation for that year, James Couch is called "Superintendent, Tremont House." On Sunday morning, October 27, 1839, a fire caught on Lake Street, west of the Tremont House, in the same block, burning both ways, but halting when it reached the brick store owned by Mr. B. W. Raymond, at 122 Lake Street upon one side, and the drug-store of Dr. Sydney Sawyer, on Dearborn Street, on the north.

[We present above a reduced cut, copied from a view, by the late George Davis, taken after the fire. Mr. Davis was County Clerk at the time, and his office was just across the street, opposite the fire.]

The Tremont House was rebuilt of wood in 1840, and ready to occupy, we think, in May of that year, but on the diagonal or south-east corner; the lot had been vacant, probably, since 1836, when the greater part of that block was unoccupied. Not far from the Tremont House in those days, between Dearborn and State Streets, we believe, stood a very tall, large, and fine tree, which every old settler of that day, now living, will doubtless remember; it came to its death, as supposed, from emigrants and wagoners building their campfires near it, killing its roots; its loss was much regretted.

Jason Gurley, in the spring of 1846, bought an interest in this house, but, after a year and a-half, sold out to Ira Couch. The last-named Tremont House was burned July 21, 1849, but

rebuilt, with brick, in 1850; and afterward, by the aid of many hundred jack-screws, it was raised bodily up to accommodate itself to the established grade, but was burned in the great fire of 1871, and since rebuilt in stone, with much elegance.

We have already referred to the "Eagle Hotel," (located probably on Lake Street), kept early in January, 1834, by Ashbel Steele, as by an advertisement in the *Democrat*, of that time; but in April succeeding, the same house is advertised as having been taken by P. I. Carli. Perhaps Mr. Steele had kept the Eagle the year before, and may be he took another tavern when he left the Eagle. Mr. Carli, in December, 1835, was living six miles up the north-branch.

The *New-York House*, it is said, was a two-story wood building, with eaves to the street, "in the style of country taverns of those days." In its rear stood its large barn, an indispensable attachment at that time. This house was open for custom in 1835, or possibly the year before, and stood where was afterward number 180, on north side of Lake Street. It seems to have been kept by Johnson and Stevens, as a dissolution of partnership in keeping that hotel is advertised in the *Democrat*, dated Dec. 20, 1835, with names attached, "S. Johnson," "G. Stevens;" Mr. Johnson was to continue the landlord. We have supposed that possibly there was an error of the printer, and that the name "S. Johnson" should have been L. Johnson. Mr. Lathrop Johnson* informs us that he kept the New-York House five years, but within what dates he did not add. In the fall of 1839, this house was kept by L. M. Osterhoudt.

* In Fergus' late Directory for 1839, the name is erroneously given "Johnston." Lathrop Johnson, son of Ebenezer and Deborah (Lathrop) Johnson, formerly of Connecticut, was born in Cazenovia, N. Y., 26 July, 1802. The family removed to the State of New York and thence to Michigan. Lathrop claims that he was somewhat *patriotic* during the Sac war, for *his horse* carried important military despatches during that excited season between Michigan and Chicago. Mr. Johnson came here in September, 1834; he says, besides keeping a hotel he was proprietor of the first livery-stable in Chicago, and also ran the first stage to Milwaukee. He removed to Lake Superior in 1846, and resided, April, 1880, in Ontonagon, Mich.

A house called the "Steamboat Hotel," situated on North Water, near Kinzie Street, was kept in the year 1835, by Mr. John Davis, The same hotel, as per advertisement, Nov. 9, 1835, had been recently taken by J. Dorsey. In the *Democrat* of June 15, 1836, it is called the "American Hotel," (late the "Steamboat Hotel"), and appears to have been kept by W. McConeston. In Fergus' late Directory for 1839, Wm. McCorrister,* appears as of the "American Hotel."

To speak again of the "Illinois Exchange," at N.-W. corner of Wells and Lake Streets, we may remark, that Mr. A. A. Markle then late of the "Mansion House," had the management of that hotel in 1836. In 1838, Jason Gurley kept it; in 1839, its landlord was Charles W. Cook, (it was then No. 192 Lake Street), and in 1844, it was kept by Mr. F. A. Munson. We notice that this hotel was sometimes called the "New York Exchange."

The "Lake House," on the north side of the River, at corners of Rush, Michigan, and Kinzie Streets, had its origin in the association of a number of gentlemen, whose plan was formed probably in the winter of 1834–5. [We remark that the "Kinzie" Street *there*, we understand, was afterward changed to the name of *North-Water Street*, from some supposed advantage to be gained in the operation of a certain act or law, by the property-owners in that vicinity.]

In an editorial in the *Democrat*, of Jan. 20, 1835, it was remarked that there was "a new house building in Kinzie's Addition, to be named the *Lake House*." An article in the *Chicago Tribune*, several years ago, said:

"The Lake House enterprise was inaugurated in the palmy days of the North-Side. It was a great day for the North-Side, when ground was broken in 1835, for the beginning of the Lake House, at a convenient distance from the river-bank, confronting the neatly-kept

* Elsewhere in this volume, we give the name "McCorreston"; possibly neither of the three modes of orthography are correct.

and brilliantly white-washed buildings and stockade of Fort Dearborn. Gurdon S. Hubbard, John H. Kinzie, Capt. David Hunter, and Maj. James B. Campbell were the Associates in the undertaking, which called for over ninety thousand dollars. It was built of brick, in exceeding good style for the time. When it was erected, there was nothing between it and the shore of Lake Michigan, distant only a few hundred feet, excepting the great cotton-wood trees that had sheltered the pioneer Kinzie house. From three sides, the Lake House looked out on the blue expanse, North, East, and South. * * * * The Lake House was finished early in the fall of 1836. The main entrance was on Michigan Street, and nearly the whole of the first floor on the left was given to the reception-parlor. The great dining-room and bar-room, 60 feet in length, on the west side, was a marvel in its day. The Lake-House opening was a festive event of no small moment. It was in the flush times preceding the crash of 1837. Money was plenty, and fortunes were made in a day. Jacob Russell came on from Middleton, Conn., to take charge of the house, and he performed the duties on no mean scale. Speculators, peddlers of town sites, politicians, adventurers, of all grades, made the Lake House their chosen resort. Officers of the garrison, judges of the wide circuits of that day, the dashing canal contractors, spendthrifts, lake captains, sporting men of that epoch, all know of the Lake House." [Hon. John Wentworth, who walked into town *unshod* in that year of 1836, somewhere tells us that he felt that he couldn't become one of the patrons of the Lake House; he couldn't reach the *figures* there, tall as he was.] "Jacob Russell afterward went over to take charge of the City Hotel, and the Lake House then came into the hands of Mr. Shelley (Geo. E. Shelley), from Baltimore, soon succeeded by Mr. Daniel S. Griswold, of the same city, with his 22 children, who took the house the following year." [We had the impression that *three brothers*, whose names we have forgotten, unless it was *Cox*, kept the Lake House after Mr. Russell left it; perhaps we are mistaken.] "Then Thomas Dyer bought the whole establishment for $10,000, and Wm. Rickcords* in charge, with a prestige fresh from the old 'American,' at Buffalo, N. Y.

"But nothing could save the Lake House; it was out of the way,

* Mr. Rickcords came up the Lakes on board the steamboat "Illinois," Capt. Blake, in August, 1844, and opened the Lake House in the month succeeding; Mr. R. continued in the Lake House several years, but left it and took the Sherman House, which he conducted some time; Capt. Squire, formerly from the Hudson River, was at one time a partner. Mr. R. was afterward engaged in the bank of George Smith, but subsequently removed to McLeanboro, Ill., where he was living a few years since.

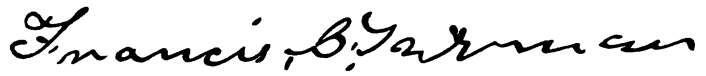
almost inaccessable, and was sure death to a landlord, and grew worse year by year. * * * * The last essay to bring the Lake House into prominence was when George E. Boardman took possession in 1853. Refitted and furnished in capital style, just about the time of the great Rock Island excursion, the Lake House was made happy a few days, at least, by that event, but the thing soon collapsed."

Various improvements, we may say, were at times made to the Lake House, including the addition of one or two stories higher.

In the winter of 1837–8, R. B. Marcy, U. S. A., made a pleasure excursion, with a party of ladies and gentlemen, from Northern Wisconsin to Chicago. He says (*Harpers' Mag.*, September, 1869):

"Entering the City, we drove directly to the Lake House, which had just been completed, and was regarded by our rural party as about the most magnificent hotel in the universe. Sumptuous apartments were assigned to us, and everything was done by the obliging proprietor to make us comfortable; and here we ate of the first fresh oysters that were ever introduced into that City. Canned oysters were then unknown, and these were brought in sleighs all the way from New Haven, Connecticut, and were, of course, sold at fabulous prices. This was probably the first time printed bills of fare and napkins had appeared at a Western hotel table, and the comments they elicited from some of the 'Hoosiers' and 'Suckers' were droll in the extreme. For instance, one verdant individual, from the Wabash, after seating himself at the dinner-table, and not having been furnished with those indispensable adjuncts to a modern table, called to the waiter in a loud voice, saying: 'Look a-yere, Mister, I don't mind if I hev one o' them thar catalogues an' towels.'"

The "City Hotel" was built on the N.-W. corner of Clark and Randolph Streets, in 1836 and 7; it was a brick three-story building, and we believe it was opened and kept a short time by its owner, Mr. Francis C. Sherman.



But Mr. Jacob Russell, then late of the Lake House, soon went into it, perhaps the same year of its completion, 1837, and continued its landlord for some years. Sometime after 1844, Mr. Sherman remodeled the building and carrying it up

to five stories, and gave to it the name of the "Sherman House." Messrs. *Squires & Williamson*, we are told, succeeded *Mr. Russell*, about the year 1846.

The "American Temperance House," on N.-W. corner of Wabash Avenue and Lake Street, we are unable to say when first opened; Jason Gurley had an interest in the house, we think, before 1846; in 1844, it was kept by Charles W. Cook and Duane Surdam.

George N. Powell kept a tavern on Milwaukee Avenue, in 1839, name given it was "Powell's Tavern."

In same year (1839) there was the "Columbian House," on Wells Street, corner of South Water; the "Shakespeare Hotel," kept by Edmund Gill, corner of Kinzie and Rush Streets; the "Southern Hotel," at corner of State and 12th Streets; the "Buffalo Hotel," on South Water Street; Myrick's Tavern, on Cottage Grove Avenue, between 29th and 30th Streets, near the race-course; there was also the "Lake-Street Coffee House," kept by J. W. Bancroft & Co., at 135 Lake Street, (or 141, both numbers given in Fergus' Directory).

There was also, in 1839, the "Chicago Temperance House," on LaSalle Street, north of Lake; in 1844, this house was kept by D. L. Roberts.

The new "City Hotel," S.-E. cor. of State and Lake Streets, was opened at a not very early day, and was kept at one time by Jeduthan Brown. There was also the "Ohio House," on LaSalle Street; the "Garden City House," kept by Ed. H. Aiken, 1852–'3–'4 (where Marshall Field & Co.'s wholesale store is) on the corner of Randolph and Market Sts.; W. H. Stow kept, about 1840, the "Western Hotel," S.-E. cor. of W. Randolph and Canal Streets, and Edward M. Gregory kept the same house, in 1843.

[From information received since the foregoing was in type, we append this note. In a statement by David M. Ford, for the Chicago Historical Society, he says, he arrived at Chicago in September, 1834, with his father, who put up at the *Green Tree Tavern*, kept by Chester Ingersoll. Mr. D. M. F. was then but about a year old (born '33), and, of course, had his

information from another. We have thought it possible, the *Green Tree House* was erroneously spoken of by him instead of *some other*. At any rate, however proper it may be to quote this new information, it serves to *confuse* rather than clear up our ideas concerning the occupants of the early West-Side taverns.]

We will close this chapter by claiming that it is an imperfect sketch, indeed, a history of the early Chicago inns can, at this time, scarcely be written.

EARLY POSTAL MATTERS AT CHICAGO.

In the public address by Postmaster James, of New-York City, (now Postmaster-General), it was said, "The first post-office on this side of the Atlantic, was established by Gov. Lovelace, at New York, in 1672." Elsewhere it is stated, "The post-office existed in America from its earliest settlement;" but this is further described as "Originally, it was merely a receptacle in the coffee-house, where letters arriving from abroad were deposited, and taken by those to whom they were addressed, or carried to them by their neighbors."

Watson's Annals of Philadelphia, says that:

"In the month of July, 1683, William Penn issued an order for the establishment of a post-office at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and granted to Henry Waldy, of Tekonay, authority to hold one."

From a communication in the *American Pioneer*, it is stated:

"Col. John Hamilton, of New Jersey, son of Gov. Andrew Hamilton, first devised the post-office scheme for British America, for which he obtained a patent, and the profit which accrued."

But Col. H. soon sold his patent to the British Government; Elisha Whittlesy, of the Post-office Department, at Washington, in 1842, said:

"From the fact, that the British Government, in 1710, purchased the letters-patent of Col. Hamilton, and from the fact of immediate action by the British Government, by which all former acts were abolished, * * * it is evident to my mind that the British Government and subjects are indebted to a native American for the

scheme of their post-office establishment, which is their pride and boast."

We quote from the *Pioneer:*

"The first stage between New York and Philadelphia, commenced running in 1756, and occupied three days."

"The first stage between Boston and New York, commenced the 24th June, 1772, to run once a fortnight, as a usefull, new, and expensive undertaking."

The editor of the *Pioneer*, in quoting from the *London Chronicle*, giving the names of post-offices, and mail accommodations in England, in the year 1775, said:

"Did we not see it with our own eyes, we could scarcely credit the fact that the post-office facilities in England, at that late day, were, perhaps, behind what they were then in America."

In that early day, when the trading-posts here in the wilderness were at widely intervening distances, communication by written messages of necessity, availed itself of the chance voyageur, or else by despatch per an Indian courier, or other speedy footman. Mr. Burnett, at St. Joseph River, in the winter of 1798, *(see ante, p. 65,)* informs his correspondents at Montreal, that he has

"Hired a trusty hand, and will send off with the letters as far as Milwaukie. I have directed them to the care of Mr. Francis Lafromboise, to whom I have written to send them off as soon as possible. I expect that in eight days the letters will be at Le bay."

At a later period, after the establishment of the military stations of Fort Dearborn at Chicago, Fort Howard at Green Bay, and other western posts, there was possibly some regularity in the transmission of letters, or whatever mail-matter there was, to go or come, whether for the soldiers within the stockade, or the few sojourning citizens outside. Sometimes there was provided a closely-covered canister, or tin box, to hold letters sent over the trail, to exclude the water which might otherwise occasionally dampen the despatches. Previous to the year 1832, no steamboat had visited this end of Lake Michigan, though the annual arrival of a sail-vessel had long been usual, bringing supplies for the garrison at Fort Dearborn; the occasional arrival of small

sail-craft also, several times in a season perhaps, was not uncommon, in the service of the American Fur Company, or yet earlier, in that of the old "North-west," or of other firms of traders engaged in traffic with the Indians. But a few scores of years has somewhat revolutionized, not only the mail carriers and the ways of postal despatch, but the modes of ordinary travel and the routes and common thoroughfares. The moccasin and snow-shoes have been laid aside, and in place of a jaunt on foot, or astride of an Indian pony, or paddling the "bark" or *dug-out*, we have the spacious and luxurious cabin of the steamer, and the palatial accommodations of the railway coach.

The first mail-route crossing the Alleghany mountains, was opened from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh, in 1788; in the year 1789, there were only seventy-five post-offices in the whole country.

In 1794, a route was extended, semi-monthly, to Louisville, and to Vincennes, in 1800. In 1810, a route was established from Vincennes to Cape Girardeau. There was a direct route, in 1824, from Vandalia to Springfield; but Northern Illinois had as yet scarcely begun to be settled, and the late David McKee, in the year 1826, on account of the Government, and mainly for the convenience of that part of the army stationed at Fort Dearborn, engaged to carry despatches and letters, once a month, between Chicago and Fort Wayne; it took two weeks on horseback for the round trip. But Chicago used to send to Fort Wayne for its mail, some years before. Here is a copy of a note called out by an inquiry of our own, some years ago, and sent to us from Fort Wayne post-office. It was rather an indefinite reply to our question, yet tells us something about our neighbors:

"FORT WAYNE, IND., Sept. 23, 1876.

"J. J. KAMM, ESQ., P.M.—*Dear Sir:* You refer to me for answer to the inquiry from Chicago, as to the time of establishing a post-office at Fort Wayne. Probably the exact date can be ascertained only at the Post-office Department.

"When Col. John Johnson, afterward a well-known citizen of Piqua, Ohio, was appointed Indian agent at Fort Wayne, by Jeffer-

son, in the year 1800, his nearest post-office, as he wrote in 1859, was Cincinnati.

"I have heard Judge Hanna in his life-time say, that while he was postmaster at Fort Wayne, the army officers at the Fort, where Chicago now stands, sent to his office for their letters. I presume that was about the year 1820. The post-office must, therefore, have been established between the years 1800 and 1820.

"When I came here, in June, 1832, Henry Rudisill was postmaster. In 1828, Allen Hamilton filled the same office, as I have learned from his correspondence of that period.

"Yours truly,

"J. L. WILLIAMS."

But a few years later, White Pigeon was the objective point instead of Fort Wayne. James M. Bucklin, Chief-Engineer of Illinois and Michigan Canal, said:

"It should be borne in mind, that at this period (1830) the only communication held by a denizen of Chicago, with the outside world, was through the post-office at *White Pigeon*, to which place a courier was despatched, by Major Fowle, once a month."

Of White Pigeon post-office, Mr. T. E. Clapp, the postmaster, says:

"The records of this office furnish *no date* of appointment of 1st P.M., except to say, 1828, an office was opened on the west end of the Prairie, with Jno. Winchell as P.M. In 1830, the name of the office was changed to *White Pigeon* in the village, and Albert Allen was appointed P.M."

The Hon. John Wentworth, in one of his lectures, tells us that Elijah Wentworth, jr., carried the mail from Chicago to Niles, once a month, but whether that was in 1830 or '31 we are not informed.

[We will here remark, that it was an error of the types, in Vol. 7, of Wis. Hist. Coll., where, in a communication from Col. Gurdon S. Hubbard, they give "Robert Kinzie, United States postmaster"; *paymaster* was the word written by Col. H.]

Andrew Jackson, on March 4, 1829, succeeded as Chief Magistrate, John Q. Adams, who, excepting his father, was the only president that had filled the office but a single term.

It was during the first term of President Jackson's administration, that William T. Barry, Postmaster-General, gave to

Chicago its first postmaster, by the appointment of Jonathan N. Bailey,* March 31, 1831.

[The information given in Lieut.-Gov. Bross' *History of Chicago*, was, at least, not altogether accurate, when referring to the winter of 1831–32, it is said:

"The winter was long and intensely cold, and the population of the surrounding country so sparse, that no traveler could be found sufficiently reckless to traverse it. *There were then no mail-routes, post-roads, nor post-offices at Chicago*, and the only means its inhabi-

* We have been able to learn very little of our first Postmaster, Mr. Jonathan N. Bailey. Who were his parents, or when or where he was born, we have not gained the knowledge. We have heard it suggested that, possibly, he was a Canadian; yet that seems not likely, for it is well known that the Government or State appointees in office here were mostly from a southern direction. Mr. Bailey was never disposed to say much about his early history, nor of his relatives. Whatever rumors we have heard that Mr. Bailey was at one time sutler or connected with trade inside the Fort, we have no information sufficient for a positive statement. The earliest fact that we can, with confidence, assert concerning Mr. Bailey at Chicago is, that he seems to have occupied the old cabin of the Kinzies at the time of the survey, namely, February 24th, 1830; [see map opposite page 283 of this volume.] So we conclude that he was here before the winter of 1829 '30. Mrs. J. A. Kinzie, in *Wau-bun*, says he occupied the Kinzie House when she first came to Chicago, in March, 1831. He lived there at the time of his appointment as Postmaster. We think, however, if the honors pertaining to the office of postmaster of Chicago, in those days, were of no huge dimensions, the pecuniary emoluments were still less. It is not, therefore, surprising that Mr. Bailey, though he retained his position as postmaster something over a year and a half, yet left the duties mostly to be performed and the profits to be gathered by another, while some (now unknown) occasion or impulse called him to sojourn at Gros Point, a few miles north, upon the lake shore. We have been told by a gentleman who arrived here in 1831, that Mr. Bailey, in that year, had something of a garden down yonder, whether for pastime or profit; and he used occasionally to bring up to the settlement a few vegetables, either for sale or gratuitous distribution, it is not known which. Mr. Bailey left here for St. Louis in May or June, 1832; it is understood that the Indian disturbance in that year occasioned so great nervousness with his family, that he removed from this locality. A daughter of Mr. Bailey subsequently married Mr. J. S. C. Hogan, and returned to Chicago. Mr. Bailey, we believe, died in Missouri, but where or when, we are not advised. An only son, it is understood, died during the past year (1880), in Saline Co., Mo. Two daughters, one in St. Louis and another in San Francisco, it is believed, still survive.

tants had of knowing anything of the world, was by sending a half-breed Indian once in two weeks to Niles, in Michigan, to procure all the papers, both old and new, that could be had. 'Great caution,' says Col. Hamilton, 'was exercised in reading the old *first*, that we might be properly advised of events in the *world* as they occurred.' The trip was made on foot, and usually occupied a week."]

It is true the business of a post-office in the absence of established mail-routes and regular mails, would, of necessity, be light, but the existence here and presence of such a personage as a *postmaster* can not be doubted. Perhaps business may have required the attendance of Mr. Bailey, mostly elsewhere, yet Mr. Bailey's residence, at the time of his appointment, was at the Kinzie cabin, and we have suggested the possibility that "the first regular mail may have been opened there."

But the soldiers in Fort Dearborn, the principal patrons of the mail-pouch, irregular and capricious as its movements were, left Chicago in the month of May, 1831, and quiet, most profound, reigned upon the banks of the Chicago. It was the lull, however, which preceded the convulsions, the storm of terror, commotion and disease, which followed in the year 1832. We allude to the Indian excitement, when Black Hawk was on his raid of blood; to the arrival of the U. S. soldiers, and their attack by the cholera. Alarm and death were breathed in, with the atmosphere.

Yet we must, no doubt, date the *new departure* for Chicago, in that year of 1832; it was the year when Scott's Army of *observation* traversed the prairies, and scattered broadcast through the East, its bulletins, its reports of the country; so it was really the year, when the town began its march of life and progress. It is true, but little was yet said of the "baby," which a few years afterward, was displayed upon the City Seal, that *baby* which Mr. Wentworth speaks of so eloquently sometimes; its birth and destiny had scarcely yet been discussed, its wonderful horoscope had not yet been cast.

It was the year 1831, that Mr. John S. C. Hogan, who was a partner of Messrs. Brewster, fur-traders, of Detroit, under the firm of "Brewster, Hogan & Co.," at Chicago, built the

log-cabin at N.-E. corner of Lake and South Water Streets. There too, in that year, Mr. H. took upon himself the care of the post-office, though the business, as yet, was not irksome, and the advantages were but slightly apparent. It was a mistake, however, of Col. Adolphus S. Hubbard, where, in Mr. Rufus Blanchard's History, he says Thomas Watkins was "first Post-Office clerk." Mr. Hogan* was no doubt entitled to that designation, and continued to act as such

* John Stephen Coats Hogan was born in the City of New York, February 6, 1805 or '6. His father was from Ireland, which country he left in 1798, and was a Professor of Languages in New York. The wife of the elder Hogan was a French Canadian lady, and at his death, she was left with five children, all of them young, and all now deceased. The names of the children were, Joseph, John S. C., Charles, Alice, and Caroline. John S. C. was adopted by a friend of his mother, a Mrs. Coats, of Detroit, Mich., when he was about seven years old, being named after her only child, a son who had died. He remained with Mrs. Coats until he was old enough to go into business for himself. It is believed that Mr. Hogan lived some time in Mackinaw before coming here; but he came to Chicago certainly as early as 1830, for he was elected Justice of the Peace here in July of that year. We have heard that he superintended the sutler store at one time at Fort Dearborn; some one also has said that he was employed by Oliver Newberry; we can not tell precisely how that was, but Mr. H. was a partner of

clerk and deputy, until his own appointment as Postmaster, Nov. 2, 1832. Andrew Jackson was President, and Wm. T. Barry Postmaster General.

We have previously (on p. 143) referred to some of the "equipments" of the Post-Office of that year, and that paragraph may be considered a part of this sketch.

In 1832, there was a mail-route established from Tecumseh, Mich., by way of Niles to Chicago; from Chicago to Danville, also from Chicago to Green Bay; these last named, we understand, were weekly mails on horseback.

It was, we believe, in the forepart of the year 1833, that Mr. John Bates, jr., who came to Chicago in the month of May, of the year preceding, arranged to take charge of the Post-Office, for the P. M., Mr. Hogan. We will add, that

Messrs. Brewster, of Detroit, in 1831. Mr. Wentworth, in one of his lectures, says that Mr. Hogan "built the first frame house on the south side," "near the northwest corner of Lake and Franklin Streets." During the Black-Hawk excitement, Mr. H. was chosen a lieutenant of a volunteer company, organized in Chicago. Almost unavoidably, though not strictly in the line of his business, he became a dealer in land-claims and titles, such as they then were; here is a copy of an advertisement which we notice:

"THE EARTH FOR SALE."

"There is not in this wide world a valley so sweet,
As that neat little vale on the banks of Salt Creek."

"A Pre-Emption Right, for sale by the subscriber very cheap,—it is only 13 miles from Chicago.

"J. S. C. HOGAN.

"March 24, 1834."

Mr. Hogan married (we think in St. Louis, but the year not ascertained) Anna Maria, the eldest daughter of Jonathan N. Bailey, the former postmaster of Chicago. This lady, we have been told, died in Chicago in 1837, leaving one son, John C. Hogan, now (1880) living near Compton, Los Angelos Co., Cal.

At the first election under the City Charter, in May, 1837, Mr. Hogan was chosen Alderman of 2d Ward. He was popular and successful as a trader; yet with an over-burthen of attractive and valuable, though still encumbered, real estate, and the stringency which followed the flush times of 1836, Mr. Hogan, one of a numerous crowd of enterprising and adventurous men, rather succumbed to the storm, and when he left Chicago, we have been told, was not nearly as rich a man as at one time supposed. We believe Mr. H. was rather easy or indulgent with many of his customers. [We have in our possession some of the remnants of Mr. Hogan's personal estate. These consist of various notes of hand, given for goods, by Indians and half-breeds, formerly the customers of the Chicago trader,

the office continued to be kept in the building before spoken of, and which we will more particularly describe as a log-structure, at or near the rather sharp angle of the streets Lake and South Water, and in size about 45 or 50 feet in length, by some 18 or 20 feet in breadth, and might be called a story and a-half in height. Its length was east and west, or parallel with Lake Street, the eaves pitching north and south. Mr. Bates took the care of the P.-O. under an agreement, and a partition divided the aforesaid building into two parts, Brewster, Hogan & Co. occupying the west end, and Mr. Bates and the Post-Office the east part; there was a south door to each of the two apartments. There is one mistake of a writer in the *Inter Ocean* newspaper, when he said,

"The first edifice in Chicago, ever used for a post-office, was a

and which have never been paid. If any autograph-hunter of the present era wishes to invest anything in such sort of stock, applications will be in order to to purchase at a discount some of the veritable and rare signatures and obligations of a departed race.]

If Mr. Hogan left Chicage soon after the revulsions of 1837, as we had supposed, he yet returned, and was living here afterward (perhaps temporarily), for his name appears in the Directory as late as 1844. Mr. Bates had the impression that Mr. Hogan never returned to Chicago after his marriage, yet that was not so. Mr. Hogan subsequently went to Boonville, Mo., where, March 20,'1848, he married (2d) Mary S., the widow of John Ainslie, Advocate, late of Edinburgh, Scotland. Soon after the discovery of gold in California, Mr. Hogan crossed the plains with the purpose of bettering his fortunes, where he remained something over a year, near Sacramento; but life there did not prove congenial to him, and he returned in 1850. He subsequently lived in St. Louis, and also in Memphis, Tenn.; at the last-named place, we believe, he was editor of a newspaper; but he returned in the summer of 1868 to Boonville, Mo.

Mr. Bates assures us that Mr. Hogan was a man of superior attainments, indeed, as he used the phrase, "the best educated man in Chicago;" by this we presume he meant to indicate his accomplishments in the line of general information. He bore the name of an upright citizen, and it is said, "was universally beloved for his kind, cheerful, and gentlemanly disposition." He was a favorite with the Indians; when on his way to California, in '49, he passed through the encampment or village of the Pottawatomies, who received him with many demonstrations of love and esteem. The portrait from which the likeness of Mr. H. was copied, was taken about 1860.

Mr. Hogan died rather suddenly at Boonville, Mo., Dec. 2, 1868. By his second marriage, Mr. H. left a widow and one child, Mary Caroline, now the wife of Prof. T. S. Noble, of the School of Design, in Cincinnati, O.

small one-and-a-half story house, occupied as a grocery and dry goods store, in front of which an ungainly, home-made, swinging sign-board, informed the passers-by, that John Hogan was the sole monarch of the little place, and postmaster of the City."

If part of the above extract may be true, Mr. Bates assures us that the statement about the "swinging sign-board," is not to be so classed.

It is perhaps worthy of remark, that while Mr. B. conducted the Post-Office, he instituted one practice, which we are quite well persuaded, did not survive his own deputyship. At Fort Dearborn, when it was occupied by troops, it was the custom to fire *a gun* every evening at sunset, when the stars and stripes were lowered from the flag-staff. Mr. Bates and his immediate neighbors who were gathered around that then remote locality known as "*the Forks*," had no fault to find with *that;* indeed, there appeared much that was social and human in it, for it seemed to say, "Good night, and you'll hear from us again on the morrow." But Mr. B., on his own part, and in behalf of all the sojourners at the Forks, thought it would be no more than politeness if he should respond to that sunset salutation of their "Uncle," by firing *a gun* at 9 o'clock every evening. It was the hour of the old *curfew bell*, instituted by that enterprising yet conscienceless *filibuster*, William of Normandy, the meaning of which was, that the people who were overridden beneath his iron heel, must cover their fires and retire to their beds instanter. This here, however, was no curfew bell, nor *curfew gun* of a tyrant, but was merely to suggest *the time o'night*, and to say that all was peaceable, hopeful, and lovely at the Forks of the Chicago. There was a north door to the log-store or that part occupied by Mr. Bates,* and just out-

* Mr. John Bates, Jr., whose parents were John and Catharine (McBride) Bates, was born in Fishkill, Dutchess Co., N. Y., 28 Dec., 1803. From 1817 to 1832, he lived in New-York City, and from there, in the last-named year, he came to Chicago

side of *it* was where that evening gun was fired; the mode, Mr. B. informs us, was continued more than a year.

The weekly horseback mail of 1832, had grown in 1833 to be carried in a "one-horse wagon," and the same year, a two-horse wagon was established.

We have remarked before, that an important part of the business of the Chicago Post-Office was from Fort Dearborn; but in the 4th number of Mr. Calhoun's paper, the *Chicago Democrat* of Dec. 17, 1833, the editor notices the discontinuance of the mail-route from Chicago to Green Bay, and says: "that part of the 5th Regiment, stationed at Chicago, is as it were, completely cut off from its head-quarters." The editor thought, however, upon a proper representation of the matter, the P. M. General would speedily restore their weekly Green Bay mail. There were also, no doubt, other matters of complaint, for in the forepart of the ensuing month (January,

arriving here in the month of May, 1832. Mr. J. S. C. Hogan had the keeping of the Post-Office at that time, though Mr. Bailey was the Postmaster. Mr. Hogan, it is understood, was a partner of Messrs. Brewster, of Detroit, and was selling goods. Subsequently, in 1833, Mr. Bates arranged to occupy half the building, and for rent of the same, he was to take charge and conduct the business of the Post-Office. Mr. Bates informs us that he kept a few goods, yet the greater part of his business was buying hides. Both Mr. Hogan and Mr. Bates were then bachelors, and they slept together in the loft of the store; but that sleeping partnership, it seems, was brought to a sudden termination, in the month of November, 1833, for we notice in the first number of the first Chicago newspaper, the following announcement of marriage, as having occurred on the 13th of that month, R. J. Hamilton, Esq., officiating: "Mr. John Bates, Jr., of New York, to Miss Harriet E. Brown, of Springfield, Mass."

Mr. Bates, in those years we notice, used to supply the occasional demand for the services of an Auctioneer, a position in which to-day, after near a half-century, he still officiates.

The following advertisement we copy from the *Chicago Democrat:*

"AUCTION STORE.

"The Auction Store, on the street leading from the draw-bridge to the oak-woods and Blue Island, is in readiness to receive goods to be disposed of at private sale or public auction. "J. BATES, JR.,

"CHICAGO, July 15, 1834. "Auctioneer."

Mr. B. informs us that the "Auction Store" was near South Water Street, on Dearborn; but though the last-mentioned street had been named, it was little known by its name, and so would be easier recognized by using "draw-bridge," "oak woods," and "Blue Island."

1834), Edward W. Casey was chosen by the citizens, to draw up a petition to the Government, *for better mail facilities.*

Here we will take the occasion to say, that the first printed list of "Advertised Letters," from the Chicago Post-Office, appeared in the *Chicago Democrat* of January 7, 1834; the list comprised in all *one letter*, which was addressed "Erastus Bowen."

In the *Chicago Democrat* of Dec. 3, 1833, (the 2d number of that pnper), the recent return of Dr. John T. Temple from Washington, is spoken of, in connection with a regular mail route to be established from Chicago to St. Louis.

From Dr. J. N. Hyde's "Early Medical Chicago," we copy:

"Dr. Temple soon after (1833) secured a contract from the Postmaster General, Amos Kendall,* for carrying the mail between Chicago and Ottawa. He obtained an elegant, thorough-brace post-carriage from Detroit, which was shipped to this port *via* the Lakes, and on the first of January, 1834, drove the first mail-coach with his own hand, from this City to the end of the route, for which he had received a contract. On this first trip, he was accompanied by the Hon. John D. Caton, to whom I am greatly indebted for many of these details. The demand for this accommodation could not then have been very great, as there was *no mail matter for transportation in the bag carried on this first trip.*"

In Mr. Woodruff's lecture, at Joliet, it is said:

"A stage-route was established as early as January, 1834, between Chicago and Ottawa, running by Plainfield or Walker's Grove. Judge Caton said he piloted the company which first went through and established the station, and that the party suffered greatly from cold."

But we have seen it somewhere stated, that Francis C. Sherman, who came to Chicago in 1834, in the absence of stage-coach facilities, started on the road a double wagon, and carried passengers from Chicago to Joliet, Ottawa," etc. It was also said, that "in 1834 a four-horse stage-line *semi-weekly* was established, and *tri-weekly* in 1835;" this, we think, referred to the receipt and despatch of the Eastern mail.

Mr. John L. Wilson, who came to Chicago in month of May, 1834, in a newspaper communication, says:

* We think Dr. Hyde was mistaken in the name of the P.-M. General. Mr. Kendall did not reach that position until May 1, 1835.

"Arriving at the Post-Office, on the triangular block at the foot of Market Street, we found that the Postmaster, John S. C. Hogan, to whom we were accredited, was up stairs at breakfast; but his urbane First-Assistant, John Bates, yet with us at the age of 77, was in, and to him we gave our letter of introduction, being the first person with whom I became acquainted. I afterward became, during the summer, while building a store, Second-Assistant, and was sworn not to steal, etc.

John L. Wilson

There was nothing to embezzle, as only a dozen letters came triweekly on horseback from Detroit, certainly nothing but news—and not as many newspapers for the entire Northwest at that time. A stove-pipe hat would have contained the contents of each mail. The leisure time of the First-Assistant and myself was occupied in answering letters from the East, about the country, asking questions from one to two dozen in number, and generally asking 'if the Indians and wolves were dangerous.' We fear we retarded the settling of the country in several instances, by our answers."

We believe it was a mistake of the writer of that one of the series entitled "By-Gone-Days" to be found in the *Chicago Times* of Nov. 14, 1875, when he said:

"The first decision of any note comes down to date from 1835. The Post-Office was then located upon the corner that runs to a sharp snout, into the junction of South Water and Lake Streets. * * * Over the old Post Office was one of those primitive justice shops, etc."

We are not informed *when* it was precisely, that Mr. Hogan removed the Post-Office from the corner of Lake and South Water Streets, to the corner or near the corner of Franklin and South Water Streets; possibly we are mistaken, but we are inclined to believe that it was in the month of July, 1834,* Mr. Bates, as we have seen, in that month, had lately established himself on Dearborn Street, and we notice also, that Mr. Hogan advertised in the *Democrat*, July 30, 1834, merchandise at his store "in South Water Street, one door below the Post-Office." We were informed by one individual, that the P.-O., in 1836, was a little west of Franklin Street, and a

* In August, 1841, J. D. Merritt occupied, with groceries, the old store, on Lake Street, of J. S. C. Hogan, "nearly opposite the Sauganash Hotel."

convenient way of reaching it from the south on Franklin St., was to cross the rear of the vacant corner lot, and go in at the back door. Hon. John Wentworth in his lecture of May, 1876, said of (1836) the year of his arrival at Chicago:

"One of our most reliable places of entertainment was the Post-Office, while the mail was being opened. The Post-Office was on the west side of Franklin Street, cornering on South Water Street. The mail-coach was irregular in the time of its arrival, but the horn of the driver announced its approach. Then the people would largely assemble at the Post-Office, and wait for the opening of the mails, which at times were very heavy. The Postmaster would throw out a New-York paper, and some gentleman with a good pair of lungs and a jocose temperament, would mount a dry-goods box and commence reading. Occasionally, I occupied that position myself."

We ought, perhaps, to have mentioned before, that Mr Thomas Watkins* was Mr. Hogan's clerk in the Post-Office, near Franklin Street.

We here give a copy of the post-mark or stamp, which appears on a latter dated Chicago, March 20th, 1836, addressed to the Compiler of this book, then living in the State of New York. It was a single letter-sheet, and the postage twenty-five cents.

* Thomas Watkins' place of nativity we are unable to give, but we have heard him spoken of as an agreeable gentleman, who seems to have given satisfaction as a Post-Office clerk, for he continued in the Office not only till Mr. Hogan retired, but several years after Mr. Abell received the appointment. Mr. W. was somewhat noted as an amateur musician, for he was an accomplished player on the guitar. Mr. Watkins was familiar with the French language, and quite likely also with the Indian dialect, common hereabout in those days, for he won the hand of the daughter of the Pottawatomie Chief, Joseph Laframboise, and she became Mrs. Watkins. It is understood, though, that the match was not a happy one, for it came to be dissolved. Whither and when went Thomas Watkins, we can not tell; yet the late wife of that gentleman, and daughter of Chief Joseph, went to Kansas, it is understood, where she is living as *third* wife of the Chief Medore B. Beaubien.

It is to be presumed that by the month of May, 1836, that the increased business of the Chicago Post-Office, attracted the attention of various persons, whose patriotism was exercised to the extent of an unfaltering confidence and belief, that if the Government could only see its best interests, the office of P. M. here would be placed in their individual keeping immediately. We are led to say this, from noticing an editorial in the *Chicago Democrat* of 4th of May, 1836, in which considerable dissatisfaction is expressed at the behavior of the *American* newspaper, which is charged with giving an "incorrect account of a meeting lately held by the Democratic party at this place;" it also refers to the "slang" of the *American*, which termed a certain class of Democrats as of the "patent" stamp; indeed, the writer in the *Democrat* seemed disgusted at the result of the meeting referred to, for, though the call, as alleged, was "confined to Democratic citizens," the meeting, it is stated, was overrun by outsiders of some other stripe. We extract the following from the *Democrat's* article:

"It is well known, that much dissatisfaction has prevailed in the community, arising out of the manner in which the Post-Office has been managed, as well as out of its present location in the town; and it is as well known that there has been several applications for the appointment, in anticipation of the removal of the present Postmaster."

In the same number of the *Democrat*, the proceedings of a public meeting are given, of the citizens of the Town of Chicago, held pursuant to public notice, at the Presbyterian Church, on Saturday at 6 o'clock P.M., April 30; Col. G. S. Hubbard was called to the Chair, and John Bates, Jr. appointed secretary. The object of the meeting having been stated by Col. R. J. Hamilton and Grant Goodrich, Esq., a committee of nine, namely, Grant Goodrich, Col. R. J. Hamilton, F. A. Harding, B. S. Morris, Thomas Wright, F. Peyton, James Kinzie, Wm. Stuart, and E. Bowen were chosen to draft resolutions; the following among others, were offered and adopted.

"*Resolved*, That this meeting view all attempts of a few men to

dictate to the people, or impose upon them officers of the General Government without their knowledge or consent, as anti-republican, and as unauthorized by right or justice.

Resolved, That it is inexpedient, inasmuch as the present Postmaster is absent from Town, and no specific charges have been preferred against him, to recommend any person for that office."

In an article in the *Inter Ocean* some years since, it stated, "that in the year 1836, the editor of the *Democrat* became furiously enraged at the mail-carrier, who, after a week's absence, returned to Chicago with the very mail he had taken away!"

Mr. Hogan retained the office of Postmaster till March of the following year.

Direct mail-routes from Chicago to Galena and Springfield were opened in 1836.

It was the last day of the second term of Andrew Jackson, President (namely, Mar. 3, 1837) when Amos Kendall, Postmaster General, appointed Sidney Abell Postmaster at Chicago, in place of Mr. Hogan.

In the *Chicago American*, of June 3, 1837, it is stated:

"The Post-Office has been removed to Clark Street, direcrly opposite this office. This change will be satisfactory to a large number of our citizens."

This location was in Bigelow's Building, on the east side of Clark Street, between Lake and South-Water Streets, north of the alley, at where is now number 9.

In 1837, we are told, there was a daily Eastern mail.

We should mention here the name of John Frink, who bought out and succeeded Dr. Temple's interest in the transportation of the mails.

The name of John Frink, as well as that of Frink & Bingham, Frink, Bingham & Co., and Frink & Walker, have been

famous throughout the West, as mail-carriers and stage-coach men. We understand that Mr. Samuel G. Trowbridge, mail-contractor, was an early associate here with Mr. Frink. Mr. Charles K. Bingham's name, as well as that of Martin O. Walker, appear in connection with that of John Frink, in

Fergus' *new* Directory for 1839. In our reprint, on *page 13*, of the first "Business Directory," appears, "Frink & Bringham, Stage-Office, 123 Lake Street," a typographical excess of *one letter* in the name of Bingham, no doubt. It is believed that Mr. Walker joined Mr. Frink in that year, 1839. The old Stage-office, for a long time, was at 123 Lake Street, and afterward at S.-W. corner of Dearborn and Lake Streets.

After a sojourn at the Building above named, for a period, the length of which we are not advised, the Post-Office was taken to what was known as the "Saloon Building," (S.-E. corner of Lake Street) at 37 Clark Street, when that street, a few years afterward, came to be numbered.

A writer in the *Chicago Tribune*, some years ago, said:

Capt. J. B. F. Russell had just (1836) finished the 'Saloon Building' on the South-east corner of Lake and Clark Streets, the first large enterprise on the South Side. Many will remember that Block which accommodated the U. S. Courts as late as 1859. The whole was subsequently remodelled* into a very handsome office building by J. Y. Scammon."

Mr. Wentworth, in his lecture of April, '75, said:

"The word *saloon*, in those days, had a different meaning from what it does now. It would seem strange now to announce that a court or meeting would be held, or a lecture delivered, in a saloon building. When first opened, it was the largest and most beautiful hall this side of Buffalo. It was there that Stephen A. Douglas made his first speech in Chicago. It was there that the first joint political discussion was ever had in Northern Illinois, that between him, in 1838, and his competitor for Congress, John T. Stuart, now living at Springfield in this State."

We give here a view of the old Saloon Building, from a photo taken just before it was demolished.

* It was entirely rebuilt, as we understand, by Mr. S.

Mr. Ralph M. P. Abell, brother of the Postmaster, it is understood, was clerk in the P.-O. during his brother's term, but Charles R. Starkweather was the principal Assistant-Postmaster at that time, and continued also with the Office until the year 1860. Thomas Watkins also, it seems, maintained his position in the Office, and was there in 1839, as we see by Fergus' New Directory, for that year.

The death of President Harrison, on April 4, 1841, placed the Vice-President, John Tyler, at the head of the Government.

Wm. Stuart succeeded Mr. Abell in the Chicago Post-Office, having been appointed by Francis Granger the P. M. General, July 10, 1841. Mr. Stuart removed the Post-Office

from the Saloon Building on the east side of Clark Street, to the west side of the same Street, at No. 50, corner of the

Alley on its south side, north of the Sherman House. The building was of brick, said to have been owned by Silas W. Sherman. Here, in not exceedingly commodious quarters, the institution remained some ten years, more or less, under the guardianship, it would seem, of four successive P. M's. Many who called at that office something less than forty years ago, will remember the well-patronized delivery window, guarded by an iron railing, turning the file of eager pilgrims in at the right, and which urged compliance with the rule "first come, first served." There were then no letter-carriers for free delivery, no postal orders, no registered letters, no postal cards, no postage stamps, no envelopes; wafers were the ordinary clasps which fastened the missives, but wax was required by those who wished to affect the genteel.

We will not be very positive, yet we believe the first material relief in letter postage, which was a reduction to five cents on single letters carried not over 300 miles, was during Mr. Tyler's Administration, which closed March 3, 1845. Previous for many years, or rather indeed always since the establishment of the Government, the rates of postage had been oppressively high. Those rates, if we remember correctly (the compiler was a Post-Office clerk in the City of Troy, N.Y., as early as 1826), were, for letters of a single sheet, 6¼ cts. for not exceeding 30 miles, 10 cts. for over 30 miles and under 80, 12½ cts. for between 80 and 150 miles, 18¾ cts. between 150 and 400 miles, and 25 cts. for over 400 miles. Pre-payment of letter postage, was not then as now, a feature of the laws regulating the department; therefore a large percentage of mailed letters found their way to the dead letter office. It would seem, that the rates of postage, had apparently been made particularly to accommodate the foreign coin then in circulation; in those days, a great part of the small change or fractional silver was from the Spanish realm; the *sixteenths*, the *eighths*, and the *pistareens* (18¾ cts. called) besides *quarters* and *halves*.

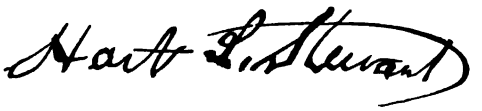
The rates of postage, established in 1792, were not perhaps materially different *at an average* from those of a later date,

excepting that they were vexatious from their variety, to correspondents as well as post-office employés.*

In 1842, during the term of Mr. Stuart as Postmaster, the late Mr. Wm. Henry Adams took a position in the Post-Office, and where he continued, not only to the end of Mr. Stuart's term, but through that of his successor, Gen. H. L. Stewart, until 1849. We will add that Thomas Page was also a clerk in the office in 1844.

In 1844, it was claimed, with an air bordering somewhat upon the boastful, that, "there are now received, and made up at this office, 48 mails weekly."

The term of President Tyler was followed by that of President Polk, who, on 25th of April, 1845, nominated Hart L. Stewart to be Postmaster at Chicago; the Senate confirmed the nomination, Feb. 3, 1846. Gen. Stewart was the first Presiden-



tial appointee to the Chicago Post-Office. Gen. S., upon his appointment, found the office located on the west side of Clark Street; it was then the distributing office for the Northwest.

Gen. Stewart was succeeded by Richard L. Wilson, whose appointment by President Taylor (not confirmed by the Senate), bore date April 23, 1849. By the death of President

* In the year 1792, the rates of postage, we understand, were established as given below; how long these rates continued without alteration, we are not advised:

30	miles	and	under,	6	cents	250	miles	and	under,	17	cents.
60	"	"	"	8	"	350	"	"	"	20	"
100	"	"	"	10	"	400	"	"	"	22	"
150	"	"	"	12	"	450	"	"	"	25	"
200	"	"	"	15	"						

Taylor, July 9, 1850, the Vice-President, Mr. Fillmore became President, and the appointment of Geo. W. Dole, to the Post-Office here, was made 25 Sept., 1850. Mr. Dole, it is understood, removed the Office to the opposite or east side of Clark Street, at Nos. 49 and 51, date not learned. Isaac Cook was the next incumbent, and who received the office from President Pierce, Mar. 22, 1853.

In Dec., 1854, we notice in one of the public journals, some remarks concerning the Office, from which we extract:

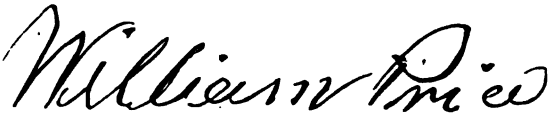
"We are told that the Office affords only a-third of the space sufficient for the work to be done, and that there are only half clerks enough to do it. Of course, men so overworked can not exercise the care demanded in a post-office, and the public must suffer. To whom the fault belongs of this insufficient supply of labor, we do not know."

Mr. H. A. Wynkoop was Assistant-Postmaster in 1854, continuing until 1859.

Mr. Cook informs us that he removed the Office from Clark Street to Dearborn Street, near Washington Street; this was to the brick building, Nos. 84 and 86 Dearborn Street; where it occupied the ground floor; subsequently, more space was required, including No. 88 adjoining.

The date of the removal from Clark Street we have not exactly learned; it was after January 1, 1855. One gentleman is confident it was during that winter, while another is equally sure it was in the spring succeeding, or still later.

William Price received the office of Postmaster early in



President Buchanan's administration, having been nominated

March 18, 1857, but not, we believe, confirmed by the Senate. The Office continued in the same place until Mr. Cook's re-appointment, also by Mr. Buchanan, March 9, 1858.

We will take the occasion here to speak of several individuals who have earned the laurels of faithful service in the Department for many years. We name the following, yet there may be others also not known to us:

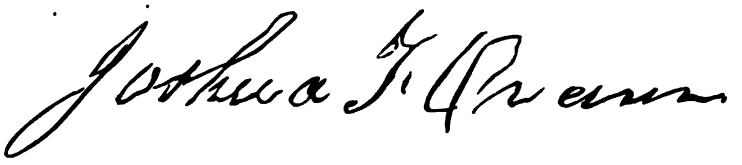
Mr. Mac Slosser took a place in the Office in 1854, but left

in 1856; went in again in 1864, continuing to the present time.

Mr. Patrick M. Clowry went in to the Post-Office early in

1858, and has continued with the Department ever since.

Mr. Joshua F. Oram engaged with the Post-Office in May,



1859, and still (October, 1881) continues in the active duties of his position.

Mr. Isaac Cook was P. M. at the time of the removal of the Office from Dearborn Street, north of Washington, to the new Government Building on N.-W. corner of Dearborn and Monroe Streets.

There were two mistakes of the writer of the *Inter Ocean's* Post-Office article, in the paper of August 7, 1873, when he said:

"In Dec., 1860, the Post-Office was removed to the new and commodious edifice. The Hon. John L. Scripps had succeeded Isaac Cook, and was the head of the Chicago Post-Office at the time of his removal."

The removal was in *November*, 1860, and Mr. Scripps was not appointed until March 28, 1861, receiving the office from Mr. Lincoln. We will add also, that the article noticed above in the *Inter Ocean*, further states, that "Mr. Scripps retained the office until his death in 1865." That is an error; Mr. S. died in Minneapolis, Sept. 21, 1866, a year and a-half after he left the Post-Office.

Mr. Cook informs us that he assisted in getting the appropriation to buy the lots for that location, aiding also in getting plans, and the increased appropriation for the structure; yet he was accused by some, for mercenary ends, of taking the Government Offices to an inconvenient and distant point "out on the prairie." He says that he retains still much pride for his own part had in the matter.

The following is from an editorial in the *Chicago Tribune* of Thursday, Nov. 22, 1860.

"Throughout Saturday, the splendid new Government Building on Monroe Street was open and visited by thousands of our citizens, who were allowed to visit every portion of the same, previous to the occupancy of the several departments, which dates from today. The Post-Office will be opened there tomorrow morning. Our citizens are loud in its praise, and justly, since probably it has no superior in the United States, and must ever remain a prominent object of pride and interest, both to residents and strangers."

This building was begun in the spring of 1855. Its walls were firmly constructed, and for thoroughness and durability, it is believed to have excelled any other building in the City, certainly any other public building. While we are compiling this chapter (August, 1881), the remains of the old walls are being taken away, to make place for the new building of the First National Bank; we may say that every block or parcel of material removed, proclaim *honest material* and *honest labor* which were used in building the structure. As stated recently in the *Chicago Times:*

"It was erected before the era of public robbery set in, and consequently it was substantial to a degree unknown in this age and generation of public works. * * * Had it not been for the fact that the iron shutters on the west side of the building had been taken off to give more light in the lower stories, it would have withstood

the fury of the flames on that fearful October day. As it was, the fire got into the building from the basement, and burned its way through to the roof, gutting it completely."

Mr. Scripps continued Postmaster until the spring of 1865, when Mr. Samuel Hoard was nominated to succeed him by Mr. Lincoln, on the 9th March, 1865.

Andrew Johnson, the Vice-President, became President on the death of Mr. Lincoln, in April, 1865. Mr. Johnson nominated Thomas O. Osborn to succeed Mr. Hoard, July 23, 1866.

Robert A Gillmore followed Mr. Osborn as Postmaster; he was appointed also by Pres. Johnson, his commission bearing date, 16 Nov., 1866.

Mr. Gillmore's death, Augt. 9, 1867, by drowning, was followed by the appointment, by Pres. Johnson, of Francis T. Sherman, as Postmaster, 27 August, 1867.

Gen. Grant succeeded Mr. Johnson in the Presidency, and he nominated Francis A. Eastman, to be Postmaster here, April 5, 1869.

It was during Mr. Eastman's term of Office, that occurred the great fire of October 9, 1871. "Burlington Hall," at the N.-W. corner of State and Sixteenth Streets, then received the fugitive Institution, Oct. 9, 1871.

The *Chicago Tribune* of 21st Nov., 1871, discourses as follows:

"The use of churches for postal purposes, is not new in the history of our Government. The most notable instance of this character, is in New York, where the old Dutch Church on Nassau Street, has served as a Post-Office for nearly twenty-five years. * * *

The postal business of Chicago is second only to that of New York. Even in the old structure on Dearborn Street, it was considerably hampered by limited quarters. In 'Burlington Hall' whither the Post-Office was moved after the fire, to the disagreeables of contracted space and inconvenient appointments, was added the disadvantage of remoteness from the centres of trade and population. Another removal, and a change which will be decidedly for the

better, is not far in the future. Our readers have already been informed that the new Post-Office is to be the Methodist Church, at the corner of Harrison Street and Wabash Avenue. The building will not be open to the public for two weeks. A further change is not likely to occur before the year 1876, as the new Government building can not possibly be completed until that year."

There were, however, besides the one referred to in the above extract, several changes, previous to, as well as after, '76, before the Post-Office reached the new Government Building filling the Block between Clark and Dearborn and Adams and Jackson Streets; two further fires, after the great one, were the suggestive occasions of as many retreats, beside some others.

December 24, 1871, the Post-Office went into the Methodist Ep. Church Building, N.-W. corner of Harrison Street and Wabash Avenue.

Gen. John McArthur received the office of Postmaster Dec. 20, 1872. The fire of July 14th, 1874, burned the premises occupied by the Office, which now took flight and sought the hospitality of the West Division, where, at the quarters of the branch office, on the N.-W. corner of Washington and Halsted Streets, it temporarily sojourned.

Aug. 23, 1874, the Office was taken to the "Honore Building," west side of Dearborn Street, between Monroe and Adams Streets.

Frank W. Palmer, our present P. M., was appointed to the Office, Feb. 2, 1877. There too, at the "Honore Building," fire seriously disturbed the order and comfort of the postal arrangements, and an obvious necessity counselled a hasty departure, on the 4th of January, 1879.

At the "Singer Building," N.E. corner of State and Washington Streets, the Post-Office found a temporary abode, until April 12, 1879, when, at length, after many vicissitudes, it found, it is supposed, a permanent resting-place in the new building of the Government.

We have made this chapter much longer than intended, as we purposed at the outset, to notice only a few facts of the early Office; we will, however, venture to extend it still

farther, by giving a list of our Post Masters, and where they presided:

NAME.	BY WHOM APPOINTED.	DATE.	LOCATION OF POST OFFICE.
Jonathan N. Bailey,	P.-M. G.,	Mar. 31, 1831,	Log Bldg, n.-e. cor. Lake & S. Water Sts.
John S. C. Hogan,	"	Nov. 2, 1832,	Do. & s.-w. cor. Franklin & S. Water Sts.
Sidney Abell,	"	Mar. 3, 1837,	"Bigelow's Bldg." e. side Clark, bet. Lake & S. Water Sts. "Saloon Bldg," e. side Clark, bet. Lake & Randolph Sts.
William Stuart,	"	July 10, 1841,	W. side Clark, cor. of alley, n. of Sherman House.
Hart L. Stewart,	P., & S.,	April 25, 1845,	Do.
Richard L. Wilson,	P.,	April 23, 1849,	Do.
George W. Dole,	P., & S.,	Sept. 25, 1850,	Do. and e. side Clark, at Nos. 49 & 51.
Isaac Cook,	"	Mar. 22, 1853,	Do. & w. side Dearborn St., at Nos. 84, 86, 88.
William Price,	P.,	Mar. 18, 1857,	Do.
Isaac Cook,	P., & S.,	Mar. 9, 1858,	Do., & Gov't Bldg, n.-w. cor. Monroe & Dearb'n.
John L. Scripps,	"	Mar. 28, 1861,	Do.
Samuel Hoard,		Mar. 9, 1865,	Do.
Thomas O. Osborn,		July 23, 1866,	Do.
Robert A. Gillmore,		Nov. 16, 1866,	Do.
Francis T. Sherman,	P., & S.,	Aug. 27, 1867,	Do.
Francis A. Eastman,	"	April 5, 1869,	Do., and "Burlington Hall," n.-w. cor. State and 16th Streets, and Methodist Church, n.-w. cor. Wabash Ave. and Harrison Street.
John McArthur,	"	Dec 20, 1872,	Do., and n.-w. cor. Halsted and W. Washington Sts., and "Honore Building," w. side Dearborn, bet. Monroe and Adams Streets.
Frank W. Palmer,	"	Feb. 2, 1877,	Do., and "Singer Bldg," n.-e. cor. Washington and State Sts., and Gov't Bldg, bet. Clark, Dearborn, Adams, and Jackson Streets.

ON THE WAY TO CHICAGO.

A subject of interest, sometimes, is the recital, by our early settlers, of their experiences in the pilgrimage hither. The paths or modes of approach to this goal or field of promise were numerous; some came by land, others by water; some were bare-footed, perhaps, or, if shodden, yet sore-footed, maybe; some came on horseback, some by prairie-schooners, some by schooners of the lake. The names of three of our present millionaires occur to us while writing, for we remember that one of them first rode into the village upon an ox cart; one pushed his way into the settlement by the mere aid of the propellers which nature gave him, with no leathers nor "clogs" intervening between his pedal extremities and the loose sands of the lake-shore; the other, being "short," had a serious time, as one story has it, settling for his passage with

the lake captain, for which he was to pay, it is told, in work after he should arrive.

We give below a few extracts from the private journal of an early resident, the late George Davis* of this City, who came in the year 1833. Mr. D. was from London, Eng., and accompanied the late Samuel Brookes and family from there to Chicago. The quotation which we give commences at Michigan City, Oct. 14, 1833:

* George Davis was born in London, Eng., January 1, 1809, (or possibly, as we are informed, a few minutes *earlier*, which would change the day, month, and year, to Dec. 31, 1808; the fogs of London, which continually envelope all within that City, it must be supposed, has obscured the record). His father, whose name was William Gregory Davis, was a clerk in the Admiralty Office. His mother's maiden name was Gwynne. There were, in all, ten children, two of whom were daughters; two sons were physicians, and one (Oliver) succeeded to his father's position, when the old gentleman was retired and pensioned. At the age of fourteen, George was placed under the care of a teacher in Essex, a little way from London, for a period of three years; the written agreement, which we have seen, bore date March 19, 1823, and was "between Wm. Gregory Davis, of Belgrave Place, in the Parish of St. George, Hanover Square, County of Middlesex (meaning London), and William Haselwood, of Stratford, County of Essex." The consideration or compensation was to be forty-two pounds for the full term; Mr. H. was to take George into his family, and provide for him (excepting clothing), and instruct him "in the knowledge or the science of the classics, mathematics," and "other useful and ornamental parts of education." We are inclined to a good opinion of Mr. Haselwood and his assistants, in the school at "Rokeby House," Stratford. We think George continued there to the end of the term, as named, and among the "ornamental parts of education," as stipulated in the agreement, we must believe that *music* and *sketching* comprised prominent branches. We have seen numerous specimens of Mr. Davis' early exercises in the line of pencil drawing; he seems to have been imbued with the taste and something of the talent of a *Bewick;* we may suppose that he placed many of the antiquities and picturesque views of Essex, Kent, and Surrey, under contribution for his portfolio. Beneath a sketch of West Drayton Church, Mr. Davis wrote, (which tells of England and his boyhood) "I have caught sparrows in the ivy, aud hawks in the belfry."

Mr. Davis, it is understood, engaged to come to America as an assistant on the journey to the gentleman and family before named, expecting to return directly after their arrival here. This last-named purpose, that of going back, met, however, with pleasing hindrances, indeed, so it was, the longer he tarried, the closer he seemed bound to America, her institutions, and her people. Mr. Davis seems, with one exception, to have embodied all the republicanism of his father's family; *one* brother of George, it is understood, come over and joined the army, and died during the Rebellion.

"Thro' the woods, and thro' the woods, to Michigan City, a puny place, with half-a-dozen houses on the edge of the Lake, with a creek running through the town. We met a man on horseback, before arriving at the town, of whom we asked some questions relative to Chicago, and he favored us with the following luminous reply; he said 'it was a rising place, but the land about it pretty much poor, wet, and unhealthy, and *powerful frosty;* they were going ahead with the buildings.' About three miles from the city we encountered heavy rain, steep sand-hills, and deep mud holes, so bad, that had it not been for the casual and gratuitous assistance of eight oxen, we might have slept in some of them. Put up at Hughes' and dried our miserable wet bodies, and filled our miserable empty stomachs. Hughes settled in this part on the 20th of June, and is doing well as a tavern-keeper. The price of lots of land in this city, in its present infant state, is as high as $3000, owing to the superior shipping advantage it *will* possess, when the harbor is formed. 15th. Rested all day at Hughes'; it rained heavily; washed our clothes, and laid in a little 'grub' to last us over the beach, 40 miles to the next tavern. 16th. Our operations commenced before daylight, such as eating, dressing, grooming, loading; then started over the beach, which was not quite so hard as anticipated, and by sunset we had not traveled more than six miles; then camped for the night under the lee of a sand-hill. We had scarcely completed our preparations for the nightly slumbers, which were to be in the wagons, when darkness enveloped us, and a heavy storm broke over us; rain, wind, thunder and lightning, which lasted nearly all night. I expected, from the violence of the storm and wind, to have both the vehicles blown over, but morning came, and no mischief done, except two hats blown away. 17th. A roughish, queerish, wettish kind of a day, with a cold wind blowing in our faces; the surge rolled so high up the beach, that we were compelled to travel on the soft sand, in some places six or eight inches deep, and our cattle so jaded, that we left the heaviest wagon on the beach, and put the three horses on to the other. Traveled till 5 o'clock, then stopped under shelter of our friends, the sand-hills; managed to *stow* the tender part of our company (women and children) in the wagon, packed side by side, like a dozen of bottles; *we* hardy sons of the soil, slept under the canopy of heaven, which was at times cloudy and weeping, and at other times shining with diamonds; but we slept. * * * Our journey was protracted so long beyond our ideas of what it would be, that we had not provided; again, we had left our flour and honey, coffee and tea, in the wagon behind, to lighten the load, or we might had plenty. 18th. This morning a second edition of yesterday, but moderated about 12 o'clock, and about same time 'poor Bob' (the dying horse) came to the determination of locating himself on the beach; we could afford to lose no time, so turned him loose and gave him his liberty, which I doubt much if he enjoyed many hours.

At 2 o'clock a yoke of oxen met us, and conveyed us to *Mann's Tavern*, on the mouth of the Calamick, at 8 o'clock, in a queerish kind of a condition; here we ate, drank, and slept with Frenchmen and squaws. Mann was a French trader, who married a squaw, consequently he has plenty of Indian relations. 19th, 20th, 21st, 22d occupied in fetching the other wagon from the lake shore. The Calamick proved a calamitous stream, and finished the career of another of the animals, which was unfortunately drowned in attempting to swim over, to follow the wagon of another party, mistaking them for us. 23d. Completed to-day the remaining 13 miles of our journey, and entered the long-looked-for town of Chicago at night-fall, and, after much trouble in seeking for an asylum, *put up*, by the recommendation of Mr. W——, at Brown's boarding-house. Thus terminated our wanderings, and here we found a resting-place, here we lit upon the spot we could call '*home.*' * * * Firewood sells in the town at two and a-half dollars per cord, beef is 4 cts. per pound, honey $1.00, gallon (from the Wabash), lumber $50 per M."

George Davis married, in Detroit, Mich., 1836, Miss Myra D. Wilcox, daughter of Charles and Almira (Rood) Wilcox, of that City.

Mr. Davis long held here the office of County Clerk, and his popularity was emphasized in various other ways. Of his attractive qualities and worthy traits, they have been frequently referred to by others, elsewhere. Chicagoans of but a short generation ago remember the prominence of Mr. Davis in the circles of melody.

"Mr. Davis was, in the strongest meaning of the term, a friend; and as far as my recollection serves, never had an enemy—save such as might have grown up from his fervant espousal of the case of the Rev. Wm. F. Walker, in the then celebrated church trial, and of which it may be said, *en passant*, was bitter in the extreme—long continued—argued with great eloquence, but which left a baleful shadow over the congregation for a long time."

We have copied the above extract from the brief sketch of Mr. Davis, to be found in No. 5 of "Fergus' Historical Series," and have merely to add, that not any one who may have known of the peculiar and ever-remembered obligations, felt by Mr. Davis toward Mr. Walker, could be surprised at his course upon that occasion. It was during a severe and dangerous illness of Mr. Davis, which required the careful and

unremitting attention of a friend, that the Rev. Mr. W. paid and extended to him, such offices, through many critical days and nights; this, with Mr. Davis, was not forgotten.

Mr. Davis, in 1851, removed with his family to Detroit, Mich., but after a residence there of some five years, returned to Chicago.

George Davis died at his home in Chicago, at corner of Van Buren and Peoria Streets, on 4th of January, 1858. His widow, two sons, and three daughters still survive him.

EARLY BRIDGES OVER THE CHICAGO.

A gentleman who came here on business in 1830, and who put up at the log-tavern at Wolf Point, says: "On the morning after our arrival, we stepped into a canoe, which was very convenient to the frontdoor, and crossed the Chicago River to the east side, by means of *a grape vine* stretched across it." It was the year afterward, in 1831, when Mark Beaubien was licensed *to keep a ferry*, and for some occasion of neglect on his part, he was ordered to run his ferry "from daylight in the morning until dark, *without stopping*." But ferries were not bridges.

Like some other matters of Chicago history, precise and well-authenticated dates, etc., regarding our early bridges, seem, at this time, difficult to arrive at. We have been assured, however, by Mrs. Charles Taylor, who lived at the forks of the river in 1832, that there was some sort of a log-structure, in that summer, over the North Branch, which enabled persons on foot at least to cross over; this was built, it is understood, by Samuel Miller, and as the one over the South Branch had not yet been erected, it would seem to lay claim to being *the first.* A writer has said of this bridge as "at Kinzie Street, built by Samuel Miller." The location was *near* Kinzie Street, as appears in the note on *p. 502.*

The bridge over the South Branch, however, built in 1832, has been usually called the *first one;* it was built of wood,

and was without doubt a more pretentious and available structure. Its location was between Lake and Randolph Streets, rather nearer Randolph than Lake, and soldiers from the Fort helped to place the timbers.

[Some years before the great Chicago fire, Gen. James G. Wilson presented to the Chicago Historical Society, a paper relating to this bridge; it was in part the substance of information procured, we think, of Mr. Charles Taylor, while Gen. W. was in Texas. The original subscription paper for the building of that bridge, it was stated, amounted to $486.20, some $200 of which was contributed by the Pottawatomie Indians, then living at and near Chicago. The paper of Gen. Wilson, above named, gave interesting sketches of various subscribers to the fund for building the bridge.] We have been told that this bridge, just now spoken of, was built by Anson H. Taylor, assisted by his brother Charles.

The bridge on the South Branch stood until the year 1840.

We learn from Mr. Blanchard's History that Mr. E. B. Williams, who with Mrs. W. arrived in Chicago in April, 1833, that—

"Leaving the Fort at their right, they bent their course across the open prairie towards the fork of the river. * * * At the suggestion of his wife drove across the river on a floating log-bridge," etc.

A writer in the *Chicago Tribune*, says of the year 1835:

"We crossed the river, then a clear, bright stream, by a rope-ferry," etc.

In one of the "By-Gone-Days" articles of the *Chicago Times*, it was said:

"A number of the settlers doing business on the South Side, about 1835, boarded at the *Green-Tree House* on the West Side, the *Sauganash's* most pretentious rival. The only method in crossing the stream in those days, was by way of a float, composed of logs held together by short chains. Now and then, when a high wind

swept down from the north, or up from the south, one or the other end would break loose from one shore, and swing along side of the other shore, and then the people had to bide their time, until the raft was swung back, as they do nowadays, when the draw is open."

The three last extracts above, about the "floating log-bridge" in April, 1833, the "rope-ferry" in 1835, and "a *float* composed of logs" about 1835, all on the South Branch, would seem a little unaccountable, inasmuch as our stationary South-Branch bridge, built in 1832, somewhere between Lake and Randolph Streets, stood until 1840. Yet possibly the following may afford some explanation.

An ordinance of the trustees of the Town of Chicago, of date Dec. 4, 1833, appointed G. W. Dole, Medore B. Beaubien, Edmund S. Kimberly, and John Miller, a Committee to contract for repairing the bridges on North and South Branches.

Also the following from Gov. Bross's History:

"On the 13 Feb., 1836, notice was given, that the 'Trustees of the Town of Chicago, will not hold themselves accountable for any damages which may arise to any person by reason of crossing the bridges over the Chicago River, or over the North and South Branches thereof, the said bridges being considered dangerous, and the said Trustees not having funds out of which to repair the said bridges.'"

Mr. Balestier, in his lecture of January, 1840, says:

"In 1834, a bridge was built across the river, at Dearborn Street, which proved a great public convenience. It was repaired in 1837, at an enormous expense, and in 1839 was demolished, and a miserable ferry at Clark Street substituted."

From an article not long since in the *Chicago Times*, this bridge is spoken of as follows:

"It was of the 'gallows-frame' pattern, and for five years, the two 'gallows frames,' one at either side of the river, frightened timid people at night. The structure was about 300 feet long, and the opening for the passage of craft, was about sixty feet. The draw worked by chain cables, and opened with cranks."

The following letter from Mr. Norton, the builder of the Dearborn-Street bridge, we copy from the supplement to Hon. John Wentworth's lecture of April 11, 1875, in "Fergus'

Historical Series;" though a statement in "By-Gone-Days," of *Chicago Times*, says, "The contractor was D. Harper."

"I came to Chicago Nov. 16, 1833. Soon after I arrived, I commenced cutting the lumber for a drawbridge, on the land adjoining Michigan Avenue, afterward owned by Hiram Pearsons. In March, 1834, I commenced building it, and I think it was completed by the first of June. The first Steam-Boat that passed through it was the old Michigan, with a double engine, commanded by Capt. C. Blake, and owned by Oliver Newberry, of Detroit.

"Credit me with building the first vessel at Chicago. I built the sloop "Clarissa," in the spring of 1835. This was the first sail vessel launched on the west side of Lake Michigan, if not the first on the Lake. [The "Clarissa" was launched May 12, 1836.]

"The first freight taken down the Lakes was in 1834, being a lot of hides, from cattle that had been slaughtered for the U.S. troops.

"I was born at Hampton, Washington Co., N.Y., on Nov. 8, 1808.

"The bridge had an opening of 60 feet, with a double draw. I think the length was 300 feet. This is the best of my recollection. The width was 16 feet. It was located at Dearborn Street. I can not state the cost of the bridge.

"I removed from Chicago in the spring of 1839. The militia of Cook County was organized in 1834, by the election of John B. Beaubien as Colonel, at the tavern owned by Barney H. Lawton, near Lyons, on the DesPlaines River [now Riverside; then kept by Stephen J. Scott]. Respectfully yours, NELSON R. NORTON."

John Sweeney (who killed that bear), still living in Chicago, and a somewhat noted bridge-builder, worked on that bridge.

The weekly village newspaper then of Chicago, recorded the arrival inside the harbor, on Saturday, July 12, 1834, the Schooner "Illinois," Capt. Pickering; she came "through the drawbridge" and passed to the "upper end of the town," at the Forks or Wolf Point.

We copy from the *Tribune* of Oct. 25, 1852:

"The water in the Lake has been gradually receding from the high water-mark of June; * * * we also noticed that Wells-Street bridge could only be partially closed on account of the low water."

From some source which has escaped our recollection we give the following:

"The first bridge across the main river was at Dearborn Street, but so bitter was the feeling between the North and South Divisions, that during the five years that it remained there, it was the cause of much wrangling between the people of the two Sections. The City Council at length ordered it removed; and as an incident of the time worthy of record, it is said that, afraid that the City Fathers would change their minds, a number of men were on the river before daylight next morning, working as for dear life, and in a few hours it was chopped to pieces."*

We notice it is stated that "Eber Hubbard cut down the north wing of Dearborn Street bridge."

* From an article in the *Chicago Times*, we extract the following:

"The story of how, only forty years ago, each division of the City fought to prevent the other two from getting bridges, shows, however, how rapidly the bridge difficulties have grown. From fighting against the building of bridges, to fighting against the bridges being opened, is an important change of base. In 1840, the North Side wanted a bridge at Clark Street; the West Side opposed it, for fear that it would lose some of its trade. The South Side also opposed the building of any bridge. It was in favor of leaving the North Side without any. Every night there came up out of the south a great fleet of 'prairie schooners' that anchored on the Reservation. It often numbered five hundred, and came laden with wheat and corn and all sorts of produce. All the warehouses were, in that day, built on the north bank of the river. The South Side opposed the Clark Street bridge, in order that their 'prairie schooners' might not reach those warehouses, and thus be compelled to trade on the south bank. * * * The old Dearborn Street bridge, the first drawbridge ever built in the City, had been demolished in 1839, and a scow-ferry substituted. At Clark, there was another ferry; these were not of the most approved pattern. They were simply scows hauled to and fro by ropes. The North-Side warehouses were in sore distress. They needed a connection with the other two towns. The Council was evenly divided. At the time when the question was at its height, Messrs. Newberry and Ogden presented to the Catholic Ecclesiastical authorities, the two blocks now occupied by their cathedral. It was said at the time, that the present was to influence votes on the *bridge question*. It undoubtedly was. The North Side won her bridge. Mayor Raymond cast the deciding vote."

[Possibly other votes may have been gained by that gift, but the "deciding vote" of Mayor Raymond, as referred to, it can not be supposed, was won by that named gratuity.]

The article continued, "A float-bridge was thereupon built at Clark Street, and the North-Side siege was raised. That was the end of the bridge question of 1840."

We will quote as follows from an article in the old *Chicago Magazine:*

"So strong was this utterance of the *vox populi*, that the matter was decided in that *common* council (we quote the words as printed in the Mag.), by the casting vote of the Mayor, and a bridge obtained on Clark Street, on condition that the North-siders should subscribe $3000 of City Bonds to put it over."

Mr. Balestier, in the "Annals of Chicago," Jan., 1840, said:

"The stock for the new bridge at Clark Street, has lately been subscribed, and it is to be hoped that the community will not be compelled to cross the river in mud-scows."

In the *Daily American*, it was told that the bridge at Clark Street had that day, April 18, 1840, been commenced by driving piles.

The "float-bridge" referred to in the *note* is spoken of in a sketch of Wm. B. Ogden, to be found in the old *Chicago Magazine*, as follows:

"The first floating swing-bridge over the Chicago River, was built by him for the City (before he saw one elsewhere), on Clark Street, and answered well its designed purpose.

[We are not informed what sort of one, nor *where* the bridge was in Chicago, which we have heard of, that was "removed to Clark Street, where it was washed away in 1836 or '7, and the stupendous sum of $150, was appropriated by the Common Council to replace."

Wells-Street bridge, it was said, was built soon after, by private subscription, Walter S. Newberry contributing the greater portion.]

The *float-bridges* "became" says the *Times* author previously quoted from, "afterward very popular in Chicago.* In 1848, there were float-bridges at Clark, Wells, Randolph, and Kinzie Streets. In 1849, all these were swept away by the flood."

On next page, we give a view of that flood and ice-jam, April 28, 1849. It is reduced from a wood-cut, copied from a Daguerrotype by P. von Schneideau, taken at the time.

* Says Ex-Gov. Bross: "The bridges over the Chicago River in 1848, when I came here, were a curiosity. One end was fixed on a pivot in the wooden abutment, and the other was placed upon a large square box or boat. . When it was necessary to open the bridge for the passage of vessels, a chain, fastened on or near the shore on the side of the pier at some distance from it, was wound up by a capstan, on the float-end of the bridge, thus opening it. It was closed in the same manner, by a chain on the opposite side of it.

Our present (1876) excellent pivot-bridges were, if I mistake not, introduced, and I think invented, by our City Superintendant Harper, about 1850, or soon after that year."

37 VIEW OF THE DISASTER OCCASIONED BY THE FLOOD IN THE CHICAGO RIVER, MARCH 12TH, 1849.

MISCELLANEOUS ITEMS.

Father Marquette's Remains.—At page 399, and several succeeding pages, appears something about the grave of Father Marquette. We have since noticed the following, at *p. 205*, in Mr. Schoolraft's "Summary Narrative," published 1855. Mr. S. resided some years in Mackinaw.

"It is known that the mission of Michilimackinac fell on the downfall of the Jesuits. When the post of Michilimackinac was removed from the peninsula to the island, about 1780, the bones of the missionary were transferred to the old Catholic burial-ground, in the village on the island. There they remained till a land or property question arose to agitate the Church, and, when the crisis happened, the whole graveyard was disturbed, and his bones, with others, were transferred to the Indian village of LaCrosse, which is in the vicinity of L'Arbre Croche, Michigan."

Tecumseh, Little Turtle, and Me-te-a.—We have lately come in possession of a few wood-cuts, representing the heads of three Indians, all prominent chiefs, and two of them certainly may be considered famous; these are *Tecumseh, Me-che-cun-na-qua* or Little Turtle, and *Me-te-a.* The pict-

TECUMSEH.

ures of the two first named, appear to be copied from those given in Mr. Brice's "History of Fort Wayne"; from whence

LITTLE TURTLE.

ME-TE-A.

Mr. B. received them, we do not know, but it is presumed from a reliable source. The portrait of *Metea* seems very much like that in Volume I, of "Major Long's Expedition," drawn by Mr. Seymour, of the Expedition, from *Metea* himself, and is no doubt an authentic likeness.

Tecumseh, as we have seen, was the associate of Little Turtle, Shabonee, and Billy Caldwell; but he was killed at the battle of the Thames in October, 1813. The question "Who *killed* Tecumseh?" has been discussed not a little; the preponderance of testimony, however, seems to suggest that it was a bullet from Col. Johnson's pistol which brought down the chief.

Little Turtle we have spoken of on page 97, and of Metea at page 200.

"*Confute Indians.*"—In the letter of Walter Jordan, which appears on pp. 178, 179, of this volume, we believe that some of the statements, or the form in which they are rendered as by *Niles' Register*, can not fully be relied on. The name "Confute" in that letter, we think must have been a mistake for some other; nowhere else does this name appear, that we are aware of. Mr. Jordan's letter says: "there were a hundred friendly Indians left Fort Wayne" with Capt. Wells and himself, and that the head of those friendly Indians, whom he calls the "Confute Chief," was the leader in the brutal indignities done to the body of Captain Wells. This account does not agree with that of Captain Heald or any other that we know of.

But one Death in Four Years.—From Mrs. Callis, a daughter of Judge Jouett, to whom there is reference on previous pages of this volume, we learn that her mother said, that during her four years residence at Chicago (previous to 1820), there was but one death here.

Schoolcraft's View of Chicago in 1820.—Facing page 189 of this volume, appears a copy made from that in the work referred to below; here is what Mr. Schoolcraft says of it:

"I took the sketch which is reproduced in the fourth volume of my *Ethnological Researches*, Plate xxvii, from a stand-point on the flat of sand which stretched in front of the place. The view embraces every house in the village, with the fort; and if the reproduction of the artist in volume IV. may be subjected to any criticism, it is perhaps that the stockade bears too great a proportion to the scene, while the precipice, observed in the shore line of sand, is wholly wanting in the original."

Benjamin K. Pierce of U. S. Army, was the one who married the daughter of Mrs. Laframboise, instead of Lt. John S. Pierce, as named on *page 33*. This information was communicated to Hon. John Wentworth, by Mrs. Baird of Green Bay. Perhaps Mr. Wentworth's suggestion that Francis Laframboise, Sen., was no very near relative of the husband of *Madaline* of Mackinaw, may be a mistake. Mr. Burnett (see *ante p. 65*, also referred to by us before) speaks of Francis Laframboise at Milwaukee, in 1798, who was, it is supposed, *our* Francis, Sen., and *one* of those spoken of by Mr. Augustine Grignon in his "Recollections" in volume 3, of the Wis. Hist. Soc. Coll. He said:

"The first I knew anything of, was Alexander Laframboise, from Mackinaw; he was located at Milwaukee—say 1785. At first he went there himself, and after a while he returned to Mackinaw, and sent a brother to manage the business for him, who remained there several years and raised a family. By mismanagement of this brother, Alexander Laframboise failed, and his trading-post was closed, I should think about the year 1800, or not very long thereafter."

Reminiscences by Chief-Engineer Bucklin.—On pages 282, 3, of this volume, appears a copy of a letter from the General Land-Office, also the sketch or Diagram referred to in the letter, showing the proposed manner of improving the mouth of Chicago River. The extracts given below, which appeared in *Pomeroy's Democrat*, June 10, 1876, are from James M. Bucklin, who was appointed in 1830, Chief Engineer of the Illinois and Michigan Canal; and as the two great projects, the Harbor and the Canal, bore intimate relation to each other, we have referred to the papers first above named, and what appears below in this connection.

Possibly the following quotation from the Chief Engineer may be an unfamiliar leaf in the history of the Canal:

"Sometime in the summer of 1830, while in the service of the Louisville and Portland Canal Company, I was called upon in Louisville, Ky., by Col. Charles Dunn, of Golconda, Pope County, Ill., who was then acting Canal Commissioner of the Illinois and Michigan Canal, on the part of the State of Illinois, who offered me the appointment of Chief Engineer. All the objections on the ground of my youth and inexperience were overruled by Col. Dunn, who informed me that one of the understood conditions of the grant of land by Congress to the State of Illinois, to aid in the construction of the proposed Illinois and Michigan Canal, was that the Secretary of War should locate the canal; that by his order, Dr. Howard, of the Topographical Corps, had been for several years engaged in the performance of this duty, and that not only the location had been made, but all the plans and specifications were prepared and ready to lay out the work, and put it under contract, in accordance with a resolution passed by the Legislature of Illinois.

"Accordingly, I accepted the appointment, and accompanied Col. Dunn to Golconda. There we found Capt. Pope, surveyor of the 'Board of Canal Commissioners,' who, by order of the Board, had previously laid out the 'Town of Chicago,' on the Canal lands, and all the lots therein, were to be offered at public sale on the first day of the ensuing September.

"Packing up all our books, papers, and instruments, we took our departure without delay for Chicago. On the route, we were joined at Carlisle by the Hon. Sidney Breese, who, I think, accompanied us all the way to our destination. With us, also, were Dr. Jayne and Mr. Pugh, Canal Commissioners, and Mr. Porter, the Secretary, whom we met at Springfield, their place of residence.

"From that place to Chicago, the settlements were few and far between, and were invariably at the points of timber, some 30 or 40 miles apart. Intervening prairies were so much infested by greenhead flies, that we generally traveled by night. Sickness among the settlers was very prevalent, which was attributed to the general breaking up of so much new ground, and the consequent decomposition of vegetable matter. At Ottawa, 85 miles from Chicago, on the route of the proposed canal, we were joined by Major Campbell, the Treasurer, and Mr. George Walker, now a resident of Chicago. Both of these gentlemen accompanied the party to Chicago, where we put up at the only house of entertainment in the place. It was a log-building, owned by Mr. James Kinzie,* a half-brother of Mr. John H. Kinzie, and situated at 'Wolf Point,' on the West Side, at the junction of the north and south forks of the Chicago River.

* * * * *

* Kept by Mr. Archibald Caldwell.

"The water was deep, clear, and apparently pure. The banks were fringed with wild rice, and it looked like a canal, meandering through a level, green meadow. There were no trees, but we noticed a few scattering log-houses on the banks, some Indian lodges, and Fort Dearborn on the bank of the lake in the distance, which was somewhat elevated above the surface in the rear. The fort was a stockade, 300 feet square, with block-houses protecting it. Inside were quarters for the officers and barracks for the garrison. * * * Being informed by Mr. James Kinzie that there was a corps of U.S. Engineers at the Fort, the Canal Commissioners at once proceeded to the quarters of Major Fowle, the Commandant. We were politely received by him, and introduced to all the officers of the Fort, including Capt. Scott, the famous hunter and marksman, Lieut. Engle, Lieut. Foster, and Dr. Finley, the surgeon of the post, by all of whom we were entertained in the most hospitable manner. All the means within their power, required to accomplish our objects, were placed by them at our disposal. They then introduced us to Mr. Harrison and Mr. Guion, officers of the Topographical Corps, who were preparing to make instrumental explorations on the *supposed* route of the canal. But on account of the continued illness of Mr. Harrison, nothing had been done, and nothing could be done. Dr. Howard was absent, and had only made a short reconnoissance, when he was at the post the previous year. Consequently, no instrumental examinations whatever had been made. No location and no data or information was furnished, by which the Land (Canal?) Commissioners could be governed, or upon which a definite location or plan of construction could be predicated. Here was a dilemma, but the Canal Commissioners were fully equal to it. As they could not carry out the exact views of the Legislature, they resolved to be governed by the spirit of their instructions, and attempt to do what the Secretary of War, through unforeseen and unexpected difficulties, had failed to accomplish. Accordingly, I organized a corps of engineers, procured supplies from Major Fowle (my only resource), and they were promptly furnished, from time to time, during the whole of my explorations, which were not completed until Dec., 1831. At that time, the definite location of the canal, and the preliminary surveys were reported upon, but they gave rise to endless disputes, which were only settled by an appeal of the Canal Commissioners to the Chief Canal Engineer of the State of New York, Mr. White, who, by personal examination, tested and substantiated my gauges of the Desplaines and Calamic Rivers, and the depth of the rock excavation, which had been disputed.

"Our excellent surveyor, Capt. Pope, by order of the Board, enlarged the boundaries of the town, extending them to the mouth of the Chicago River (Madison Street), previous to the sale of lots; and, after the sale, he assisted me in determining the exact point for the departure of the canal from the south fork, and continued to assist

me in all my subsequent explorations of the route of the Illinois and Michigan Canal. At the sale of lots, which took place on Sept. 1, 1830, all the resident citizens of the town, Mr. James Kinzie, Robert Kinzie, John Kinzie, and Major Hartzell, all Indian traders, bought in the property they lived on and claimed, at their own valuation, no one bidding against them. Col. Beaubien, Dr. Wolcott, Indian agent, and the Bailey family, made purchases in like manner. The same may be said of Billy Caldwell and Robinson, both Pottawatomie chiefs, and also of Les Frombois and Le Bourbone. The preceding names, with one or two others, perhaps, comprise the total resident population of Chicago in 1830. It is possible that Gurdon Hubbard lived in Chicago in 1830, but my recollection is that I first saw him there in 1831, at one of the Indian payments which had been annually held at Fort Dearborn for many years. * * *

"Either previous to, or about the time Capt. Pope first laid out the 'Town of Chicago,' for the Canal Commissioners, two civil engineers of St. Louis, Mr. Reno Paul and Mr. Justus Post, were employed to make a survey of the Illinois and Michigan Canal. They reported that the highest cost of the canal, drawing its supply of water from Lake Michigan, could not exceed $1,000,000 or 1,500,000. It was this report that induced legislative action, and produced an impression upon the public mind, that it was one of the most economical and feasible of all public works that had ever been projected."

Portraits of Col. and Mrs. J. H. Kinzie.—We had hoped to get copies of the portraits of the late Col. and Mrs. John H. Kinzie, in time for the printer to place upon the pages

485 to 490 of this volume, but we failed. Yet, as they have since come to hand, we take the opportunity to give copies here. The pictures were sent us by the kindness of Mr. Arthur M. Kinzie, son of Col. K.; the one of his father, he calls an excellent likeness and our memory confirms the statement; that of his mother, which is a photograph from an oil

painting, he can not speak so well of; indeed, he says it is "a miserable failure as a likeness." Furthermore, we desire to say, we do not think the engraver has succeeded very well, in copying either of these pictures.

We will take the occasion here to remark, what escaped us to say before, that we had a lithographed copy made of the view of "Chicago in 1812," as drawn by Mrs. Kinzie, which appears in her pamphlet "Narrative of the Massacre at Chicago, August 15, 1812," published 1844. Our copy faces *page 177* of this volume.

Recollections by Mr. Charles Cleaver.—Mr. Cleaver, who

came to Chicago in the fall of 1833, has communicated to the

daily press several articles of interest, regarding that early day in Chicago. We extract a few paragraphs as follows:

"Shooting, in those early times, was done not only for sport, but to supply the table. Common fowl were not to be had for love or money; but prairie chickens, in the fall, were very numerous on the West Side, and when living on the corner of Washington and Jefferson Streets, I could, in a few minutes walk to the ridge beyond Carpenter's Addition, shoot all I wanted before breakfast. * * * Deer were not numerous enough around Chicago, to induce many to follow them; it required too much labor. I remember one grand hunt that was organized in the fall of 1834, when a party of a hundred or more went eight or ten miles out, and, scattering from the North Branch to the lake, made a line and drove all before them to the village. Some five or six deer and a few wolves, scared by the noise behind them, swam the river about LaSalle Street, ran through the village, and escaped to the timber on the South Branch. A few were shot in trying to break through the lines, but the hunt was not considered a success, and was never tried again. * * *

"Some of the young folks would like to know what other amusements there were and how we spent our evenings. The storekeepers played checkers while waiting for customers, and, after closing, played cards. Those religiously inclined went to prayer-meeting at least once a week. Then when boarders and travelers were satisfied as to the inner man in the old Sauganash Hotel, Mark Beaubien would bring out his fiddle and play for those who wished to trip the light fantastic toe. To be sure, there were no theatres, no concert-halls, or reading-rooms. New York papers were twenty to thirty days old when we got them, and there were but few books in the place. A man came into our house one day, and, seeing some shelves full of old books, asked if we kept a bookstore. The fact is, that in the winter of 1833–'34 amusements of any kind were few and far between, although we made the most of what there were. One fine moonlight night, when the ice was good, the *whole* of Chicago turned out for a skate and a frolic, and we had it. There must have been at least a hundred persons on the river between Wells Street and the forks. Then we had good sleighing for a short time, and you would have laughed to have seen the splendid turnouts improvised from crockery crates and sugar hogsheads. There were only two cutters in town, but it did not take many tools or much time to make something that would glide over the frozen snow. A good handy fellow with an ax, drawing-knife, and augur would go into the woods, cut down two straight young saplings, shave off a little where they bent up for the thills, bore six or eight holes, in which they drove the standards a foot high, put cross-pieces on which they laid the crate, filled that with hay, and the sleigh was ready for use in less than half a day. The same plan was pursued with the sugar

hogshead, only that was cut half way down in front and a seat put across it in the back, and you had a sleigh which, covered with robes, was as warm and as comfortable as the best of cutters. I once got caught in a snow-storm myself between here and Milwaukee, and, not being able to make much progress with a wagon, stopped half way up and made a sleigh which I used all that winter. Then the young bloods of the town—we used to have such even in those days —got up a splendid sleighing party, I think it was on the 1st of January, when they came out with the Government yawl boat on runners, drawn by four good horses, and covered with robes, with as many bells jingling on the harness as they could find in the village, and thus equipped they made the streets ring again with their merriment and laughter. Unfortunately for them, they got treated so well wherever they called, that by evening they began to feel the effects of it, and determined to have a grand spree, which ended in smashing up the best saloon in town, for which they paid next morning, it was said, without a murmur, the sum of $800. * * *

"There was very little visiting done among the ladies, as they had all they could attend to at home, servant girls being very scarce; in fact, the houses of those days were not well calculated for company, most of them being about 16x20, a story and a half, with a lean-to. The house we lived in that winter, on the corner of Kinzie and Rush Streets, was about as large as any in town; but unfortunately it was not completed, being neither lathed nor plastered, not even sheathed, and we had nothing to protect us from the weather, when the thermometer marked 20 degrees below zero, but rough siding nailed on the studs. Fortunately we had warm clothing, and would almost roast in front of a huge wood-fire in the large chimney, common in those days, while our backs were covered with thick cloaks to keep from freezing. I actually had my cup freeze to the saucer while sitting at the table at breakfast. Stoves were not to be had, and cooking was done under great disadvantages. Pots were boiled hanging from a hook over the fire, and bread baked in a baking pot, with hot wood ashes above and below it. I wonder what ladies would think of such conveniences now, when girls turn up their noses unless they have hot and cold water at hand and stationary tubs to wash in. Then the water was brought from the river in pails. The most fashionable boarding-house was kept in a log-building about 16 by 24 feet; there forty persons daily took their meals,—how many slept there I could not say. I know they took in our whole party of sixteen the first night in Chicago, and set the table for breakfast until about dinner-time, and dinner till supper-time.

"Chicago in those early days was but a small village on the very outskirts of civilized life, with very few of the conveniences, and, I may say now, of the comforts of life. The furniture in the houses was of the most primitive kind,—common wooden chairs and a deal table; some even had to put up with forms to sit on. Before spring,

flour became so scarce that $28 a barrel was given for it, and it was a favor to get it at that. It was the same with other commodities that we now think absolutely necessary for our tables. Potatoes were not to be had; butter the same; and we were at last reduced to beef, pork, and corn-meal. I think the molasses did hold out, but corn-meal cakes were generally eaten with pork fat. I don't know what we should have done had not navigation opened early that year and permitted the good ship Westward Ho, a small craft about eighteen or twenty feet long, the only vessel that wintered in the river, to make regular trips to St. Jo and bring back a cargo of ten or twelve barrels of flour each time. During the winter, if a stray Hoosier wagon or prairie-schooner, as we used to call them, happened to find its way so far north, as they sometimes did, with a few crocks of butter, dried apples, smoked bacon, hams, etc., the whole village would be after the wagon to get hold of the precious commodities. This scarcity lasted till spring, when, on the 7th of May, we were gladdened by the sight of a schooner in the offing, laden with flour and provisions from Detroit. She had to lay half a mile from shore, while the three or four Mackinaw boats used for that purpose made trips to unload her." * * * *

One of the old Log-Cabins.—Of the date of the newspaper in which the following appeared, we are not informed; but it was probably sometime early in the *fifties:*

"In making room for the fine block of stores now going up on the east side of LaSalle Street, between Lake and Water, it became necessary to remove one of the old landmarks of Chicago in its infancy, a log-house. A gentleman tells us that he well remembers when that house was on the outside of town, and used for a fashionable boarding-place, by the gentlemen of the then village.* Being removed from *business* and the Lake, it was thought more healthy than a site by the water side. At that time, not twenty years ago, a store stood on the alley running through the block, bounded by Clark, Dearborn, Lake, and Randolph Streets, and because it was far from the Garrison, then at Fort Dearborn, the centre of trade and the principal point of attraction, it was called the *Prairie Store.* The proprietor found himself, after a short experience, obliged to move his stock into a cabin at the foot of State Street, his old location being too far from his neighbors to secure even a small share of the limited business. * * * The log-house of which we spoke in the paragraph above, held its own manfully against the airs and pretensions of its yearly increasing neighbors, with their new-fangled architectural and city notions. Like a genuine squatter,

* It was probably where Rufus Brown lived in the early day; he kept a boarding-house.

gradually surrounded by well-to-do and cultivated new-comers, the old cabin clung to its youthful rusticity with a pertinacity that admitted the possibility of no change. To the day of its destruction, it stood as it was built, unsightly and unpromising as a tenement, but valuable as a memento of olden time, and the unparalled growth of the Garden City."

Chicago Lyceum.—This association was established in 1834. The late Judge Henry Brown addressed the Lyceum in 1837; this was at the old Presbyterian Church, on Clark Street, before its removal to south of Washington Street. He also lectured before the same, we think, in 1842, as well also as on the 20th of January, 1846. The subject of these various addresses was, we believe, "The Present and Future Prospects of Chicago"; the last named (in 1846) was delivered in the old Court House; we extract from it a few lines here, as follows:

"On the 16th of June, 1831, twenty-four lots in the City of Chicago, given by the United States, among other lands, to the State of Illinois, for the use of the *Illinois and Michigan Canal*, were granted by letters patent, bearing date on that day, and executed by the Governor to the County of Cook, to aid said County in the erection of public buildings, and to the use and for the purposes before mentioned. Six of those lots were on Lake Street and five on S. Water Street; these and five others were sold, and the eight remaining comprise the Court House Square. * * * In 1842, Chicago was exceedingly depressed; never more so. Our public credit was exhausted, and labor in our public works had nearly or wholly ceased." * * *

The Debt of the City of Chicago:

In 1838 was	$7,996.54	In 1842 was	$16,337.01
" 1839 "	7,182.25	" 1843 "	12,655.40
" 1840 "	6,559.63	1846 " n't over	15,000.00
" 1841 "	12,387.67		

Map of 1834, and Lots then Built on.—The early settler and old resident, John L. Wilson, as we have been pleased to see, has not unfrequently favored the public, through the newspapers, with interesting reminiscences of early Chicago, and it is understood that he intends, some time in the near future, to have printed a volume of his recollections, for the information and gratification of our citizens. In a communication

by Mr. W., in the Chicago *Evening Journal*, bearing date May 30, 1874, he said:

"In a former article, I mentioned that I had a map of Chicago, drawn by John S. Wright, in 1834, on which myself and brother Richard marked all of the lots then built on in Chicago at that time. Mr. Chesbrough has taken a copy from the old one, so it can be stretched and photo-lithographed, as the original is too tender for the process."

Again, in a *Chicago Tribune* communication, dated July 26, 1880, he said, referring to his arrival here:

"We pulled for the Post-Office along Water Street. There was none other on the South Side then built upon, and only nineteen lots occupied on the entire West Side. I have a map upon which I marked, in 1834, every lot that was then built on in Chicago. It is the only one in existence. There was no building then south of Lake Street."

Once more, in an article sent the *Tribune* (though *misdated*, for the anniversary week of his arrival at Chicago, "*April*" instead of May), he says:

"I have a map, made by the late John S. Wright, of the City in 1834, and on it, in that year, I marked every lot that was built upon, and sent it to my father, in Albany, New York. On his death, I found it among his papers, and had it framed. It now hangs in the office of Gurdon S. Hubbard, 74 Washington Street, and is quite a curiosity. There were but nineteen lots built upon on the West Side, and not a building south of Lake Street, on the South Side. A better idea can be formed by looking at the map."

So we *looked* at the map, agreeable to these frequent advertisements and invitations; it occurred to us, indeed, that nothing would be more appropriate for our volume of Antiquities than a beautiful lithographed copy of it for this book. Asking leave of Mr. Wilson, to follow that suggestion of ours, he flatly refused, which accounts for the absence of the map in this place. The map, we believe, has no value over many other maps of Chicago, excepting in certain marks or features of antiquity, now passed out of sight. Those peculiarities, Mr. W. may claim as his own, and should, of course, have all right to their value and disposition. We think, however, that Mr. Wilson *miscounted* when he gave the number of lots built upon on the West Side as "*nineteen;*" the number, apparently,

was more than that. Moreover, there seems an error in the statement that "There was no building then south of Lake Street;" indeed, if we read Mr. Wilson's marks correctly, there were seemingly two lots on Randolph Street built upon, and quite a number *fronting north* on Lake Street. Still further, we would hint, that both bridges, as marked on North and South branches, are *misplaced.*

W*as it the First?*—In a book provided by the Chicago Historical Society, containing memoranda and reminiscences of various residents of early Chicago, it is written of Captain Peter F. Flood, who was born in Kildare County, Ireland, Sept. 16, 1816, among other things, that he left Ireland when quite young, landing at Quebec, located at Utica, N.Y., but sailed from Oswego on the small schooner "Llewellyn," in April, 1835, arriving in Chicago in month of June ensuing. He was master of a vessel at the age of 21 years, and has sailed on the Lakes 38 years. He says the first vessel built here was constructed that year (1835), and was named the "Mary." The next one, he says, was a North Champlain canal boat, called the "Phillips," rebuilt at Fox Point, and named the "Sea Serpent," owned by Esquire Howe.

[If the "*Mary*" was built as stated above, then the sloop "Clarissa," referred to on *page 359* and elsewhere in this volume might as well *lower her colors.* Where is or *was* "Fox Point" spoken of by Capt. Flood, we are not advised.]

Early County-House.—The building erected by Cook Co., occupied as a *Poor-House,* and referred to by Judge Caton in Dr. Hyde's "Early Medical Chicago," in a case of a canal laborer, whose limb was amputated, in 1838, at the hip-joint, by Dr. Brainard, stood at the S.-W. corner of the Court-House Square. A gentleman, who lived across LaSalle St., at the time, has told us that he remembers of the operation and the man's death; he had taken some interest in the poor fellow, visiting and taking to him various things which might serve as some slight comfort in his great misfortune.

The building referred to, it is understood, was sold at auction, June 8, 1840; and was removed to the N.-E. corner of Madison and Wells Street; it was fitted up and occupied as a dwelling, for several years.

The Wisconsin Marine and Fire Insurance Company.— Upon *page 8*, we incidentally spoke of the chartering of this Institution, and we have since made effort to procure one of its circulating notes (or certificates of deposit, for such was the form they were given), on purpose to make a *fac-simile* copy, but did not succeed. They had been redeemed and destroyed. The signatures of the President and Secretary of that Institution, will be here recognized by many who were

familiar with the appearance of the certificates. The field or breadth of country occupied by the currency of that *bank* was immense; no other private institution, before nor since, has so covered the ground, nor kept afloat so great an amount of its circulating medium. The times were favorable for the enterprise; and however presumptious the scheme may have been, the putting out as money, unsecured paper promises, in

exchange for something of undoubted worth and value, the Institution yet earned a credit, which for years increased as time advanced. The people needed the currency, and if no one could really be holden for its redemption, it was no purpose of the managers to repudiate; nothing could have more of profit in it, than to redeem promptly all issues when presented. This was done; and so it followed, that this medium here in the West, was considered the best in circulation. How great the amount of the currency of that *Insurance Co. bank* in the pockets of the people might average, whether fif-

teen hundred thousand, or as more likely twice that sum, we can not say; yet after twelve or fifteen years or so, of that sort of traffic, the owners, it is supposed, were quite prepared to retire from the field, with a snug little fortune of several millions.* With a stupendous loan, virtually from the people, without a pledge of security and without payment of interest, such a result could not be surprising. We may add, it was not to be wondered at, that in 1849, ten years after the Charter was obtained from the Wisconsin Territorial Legislature, the people were rather less dependent upon Mr. Smith's sort of money, and were getting inquisitive, and inclined to make their inquiries emphatic, wishing to know how long the laws were to be overridden, for the Charter incorporating the Insurance Company, positively prohibited banking privileges. No coaxing however, no threatful mutterings, induced Mr. Smith or the proprietors of the Institution to *pass in* any securities for the illegal issues of the Scottish Badger Company, nor of that of its illegitimate descendant the Bank of America, at Washington or Atlanta (the notes of which were made payable at Milwaukee), also owned by Mr. Smith and his associates. We should, however, here make note of an exception not to be omitted; Messrs. Smith and Company *did* organize *a* "Bank of America" under the general Banking Law of Illinois, with, however, a capital of small amount; yet *its* circulating notes, mostly *ones*, *twos*, and *threes*, were countersigned and registered in the Auditor's Office, being secured by Public Stocks deposited with the Treasurer of the State. The notes of the unsecured "Bank of America," before referred to, it will be pertinent to remark, were very similar in appearance to those legally issued under the same name, and both sorts were signed by George Smith, President. We may, no doubt, with great propriety assert, that the scheme was intended as "a delusion and a snare;" the circulation of the

* Soon after Mr. Smith arrived in 1833, it was currently reported, that he came with a cash capital in hand to the amount of twenty-five thousand dollars; this here at the time was considered something magnificent; it is understood that he operated successfully in real estate, etc., for a while, but it was a half-dozen years after his arrival that he struck the Insurance Co. *bonanza.*

secured notes of the Bank of America, in 1853, was $50,000, while that of the *unsecured*, it was confidently and reasonably believed, reached the amount of $500,000. This was in addition to the Insurance Company certificates.

It is within the memory of the compiler when, more than half a century since, the public were often victimized by irresponsible banks of issue—Jacob Barker's banks "Washington and Warren" and "Niagara," and numerous others since. Mr. George Smith has received no little commendation for not following in the track of that too common a swindle. Yet we believe Mr. S. deserves no encomiums on that score; the reward he labored for, was the money, and he got it. It is reasonably supposed that no man deserves panegyric for not being a rascal.

Varied.—On *p. 522*, we named, as in the *Democrat*, "W. McConeston," referred to before as "Mr. McCorreston," but spelled by Mr. Fergus "Wm. McCorrister." We have since noticed in the *American*, 1840, "Wm. McCorristen," attached to an affidavit.

Was it really true?—Mr. Blanchard, in his History, *p. 397*, says, that Ezekiel Morrison told that a steamboat came into the river in spring of 1834.

Furthermore, was it so, as we have somewhere seen stated, that in 1836, the schooner "Hudson," of Buffalo, Capt. John Caldwell, took from Chicago a cargo of wheat? P. J. Parshall (late of Sauk Co., Wis.), it was said, assisted in loading the wheat, in September, 1836.

The Corner-Stone of 1851.—We made inquiry, on *page 21* of this volume, about the box and contents placed under the corner-stone of the Court-House, Sept. 11, 1851. We referred to it as containing a list of Chicago residents in "1833"; we were misinformed; according to the printed statement, at the time, it was a "List of inhabitants of Chicago, in 1832, when the old log-jail was built"; (*see note*).

The box, nor whatever was in it, has never, that we have

heard, come to the light; evidently, there was a good deal of bulk to the collection, indeed, altogether a library of some extent.* The capture of that deposit, and its secretion from the public, must be characterized as an outrage,—partaking of that system which "rings" millions from the treasury and would steal coppers from the eyes of the dead.

* The following is a list of articles deposited in a sealed box under the corner-stone:

List of Inhabitants of Chicago in 1832, when the old log-Jail was built; furnished by J. S. Wright, Esq.

Revised Statutes of Illinois—1845.

Charter and Ordinances of the City of Chicago.

Seals of all the Courts of Cook County.

Copy of each Newspaper published in Chicago.

Copy of each Journal published in Chicago.

Names of Grand Jurors of Cook County.

Names of County Supervisors, Officers, and Building Committee.

Constitution of first Medical Society of Cook County.

Danenhower's City Directory, 1850–51.

Holy Bible.

Fugutive Slave Law.

Ball-and-Chain Ordinance.

Coins of the United States.

Communications from Union Lodge, St. Charles; George Davis, of Detroit; Paul R. King, of Galena; and Communication and Medal from Mr. and Mrs. William H. Davis.

Constitution and By-Laws of Engine Co.'s Nos. 1, 3, and 6, and of Philadelphia Hose Company, and Hook-and-Ladder Company, No. 1.

Names of Chief Engineer and Assistant, Chicago Fire Department.

Constitution of the Robert Blum Lodge.

List of Officers and Members of Vinerius Lodge, Wheeling.

Records of the Lodges and Names of Officers of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows in the City of Chicago.

Constitution of Radiant Temple of Honor.

Constitution and By-Laws of Chicago Building Association.

Constitution of Chicago Orphan Asylum.

Constitution and Directory of Chicago Relief Society.

Circular of Young Ladies' High School.

Documents from Rev. M. Richardson.

Constitution and Articles of Faith and Practice of the First Baptist Church in Chicago.

Articles of Faith and Covenant of First Presbyterian Church in Chicago.

Minutes of the Christian Anti-Slavery Convention.

Catalogue of Knox College, Galesburg, Ill.

Map of Cuba.

Jocularity and the Legal Profession.—From a speech before the Chicago "Bar Association," some seven years ago, we extract a few sentences from a humorous stand-point, as sketched by Hon. Thomas Hoyne. Mr. H. said:

"I presume I owe the call made upon me to what may seem my patriarchal relations to the old Chicago Bar. Though not the oldest, yet I am, perhaps, now the oldest resident lawyer of Chicago, who still remains in the active duties of professional life.

"When I came here, in 1837, the City had a population of 3000, one drawbridge, an old ferry, two old dock-landings, a blacksmith-shop, and two large or principal taverns—the Lake House on the North Side and City Hotel on the South. There were then about twenty-one lawyers and four students, among whom Judge Williams, Wm. S. Brown, the late Judge Manierre, and myself were to be included. There were two or three originals of that day in our profession, whose names have not been mentioned to-night. And first there was our tall Kentucky friend, the somewhat historical Col. Strode, of Black Hawk-War memory. It was often said of him that he never crossed the prairie without fearing those gentlemen 'without hats,' whom he regarded as no friends of his, after Stillman's Run. It is said that upon one occasion, the celebrated Indian chief, Black Hawk, made a capture of his saddle-bags, containing his ruffled shirts and two volumes of Chitty's Pleadings.' Mr. Butterfield used to say, when Strode met with any mishap in pleading properly, on account of the loss of his 'Chitty,' that he had seen Black Hawk wearing his ruffles upon his buskins, and going around to find Strode, with a volume of his 'Chitty' under each arm, but Strode kept out of his way.

"It is not sufficiently understood that we then had a historian in the profession. The late Judge Brown wrote and published a History of this State. He was a man of simple habits, pure life, and of great learning. As a lawyer and justice-of-the-peace, he was such as you might conceive Scott's Dominie Sampson would have been, had he studied law in black-letter times.

"But, Sir, this history, of seven hundred pages, was a remarkable work. It, perhaps, contained more general information upon all other subjects than the subject of the work, than any history ever written. Butterfield's caustic wit once characterized it as being like a work once commenced by a Roman author. But that author never got on further than a title-page to his book. This contained a Latin inscription of the most comprehensive promise,—*De omnibus rebus et quibusdam aliis*—concerning all things and some others. Butterfield said that Brown did much better than this author, because Brown finished his work. It begins with the discovery of the American Continent by Columbus. It contains a complete narrative of the conquest of South America by Cortez and Pizarro: the French

settlements, and French and English wars upon this continent; the English revolution of 1688; the American revolution; the war of 1812; the life of the Mormon prophet, Joe Smith, and the history of the Illinois and Michigan Canal.

"Another original, named Phelps, tried his justice's cases and others always in the newspapers, and kept no office. On rainy, wet mornings, Butterfield always sought Phelps to know why he did not keep his office clean? If he had a case in court, Butterfield wished to know which of the two journals, then published, was next to try his case, and where he should file brief."

Joseph Bailly and the Bailly Homestead.—One of our neighbors received a note from a granddaughter of the late Joseph Bailly, mailed Jan. 30, '81, from which we quote:

"My Grandfather's name was Joseph Bailly de Messein. *Bailly* is the proper and only way to spell it; pronounced according to French rules, Baa-ye. To say Bye is a bad mispronounciation. Years ago, we were obliged to go to Chesterton for our mail; now there are two P.-O's within a mile, Porter and Hageman. * * Neither Chesterton, Porter, or Hageman are located on my Grandfather's property. *Baillytown* is a name applied to a settlement of Swedes, around the homestead. Farms vary from fifty to a hundred acres, so there is nothing of the *town* save the name. J. H. Whistler was married at Mr. Beaubien's. Aunt Esther died nearly forty years ago; her children are in Kansas."

To Whom it may Concern.—Whomsoever may be charged with the carelessness, there is certainly rather more of error, than seems to be needed, for any one page of the valuable papers, known as "Fergus' Historical Series"; we refer to items in the brief sketch in *No. 14* of the pamphlets referred to, occasioned by the death of the late David McKee, as we will quote:

P. 156. "His son Stephen was the first white child born to a citizen of Chicago."

Is that so? Where then must we place Ellen M. and Maria, and Robert A., children of John Kinzie, and all born in Chicago? The first named, was born as early, lacking four or five years, as Stephen McKee's father. But there were other names that take precedence to that of David McKee's son Stephen.

"The first bridge built across the river was at the foot of Dearborn Street."

Scarcely; as bridges spanned both the north and south branches, before the one at Dearborn Street was built.

"The first frame house, in contradistinction to a log-cabin, was built on the South Side."

So far from this being so, there was a frame building erected, on both the *North* and *West* Sides, before there was any on the South.

"Mr. McKee called to mind his recollections of seeing the bones of the victims of the massacre of Fort Dearborn, of 1812. The massacre occurred near the pine clump, in the neighborhood of the University Building, and there the bones lay for twenty years. In 1832, Capt. Bradley, then commanding at Fort Dearborn, ordered the bones to be gathered up and interred, as they were, in the wood close by."

It would perhaps be difficult, to get more *untruth* into one short paragraph, than appears in this last. We will add, that the massacre didn't happen "near the pine clump in the neighborhood of the University Building," nor did the bones lay there for "twenty years." Neither did Capt. Bradley "in 1832" have command at Fort Dearborn, for he had died a half-dozen years before, in 1826. Furthermore, as Captain Bradley really had those bones buried in 1816, a-half-dozen years at least before Mr. McKee came to Chicago, the probabilities are, that he did not see them.

"*The Pioneer and First of all Steamboats.*"—This remark, on *p. 81* of this volume, was no doubt a mistake, when applied to the "Perseverance of Fitch, on the Delaware." Without reference to far earlier claims still, to actual success in experiments of steam navigation in the old world, it seems to be asserted, without contradiction, that "About 1763, William Henry, of Pennsylvania, built a small model steamboat, which he tried with flattering success, on the Conestoga River; this experiment is specially notable, as having furnished the hint to the successful efforts, made forty years later, by Robert Fulton."

Several Indian Names.—"Five Medals," or *Onoxa*, an Indian whose name appears somewhere in these pages, was a *Pottawatomie*. He is somewhere called *Wannangsea*, the same name differently rendered in English, no doubt; he had a son, who signed for him at the Treaty of Fort Wayne, in 1809; he also had a brother named *Osmeet* at same Treaty. At the Treaty of Spring Wells, in 1815, the name of "Five Medals" is given "*Noungeesai*."

"*Miere*" or "Walk-in-the-Water" was a *Wyandot*.

"*Chekaqua*" or *he that stands by the tree*, appears a signer at the Treaty of the *Sacs* of Missouri, at Portage des Sioux, in September, 1815.

"*Choukeka*" or *DeKare*, the spoon, was a *Winnebago*, and a signer at the Treaty of St. Louis, 1816.

"*Chi-cag* was a *Pottawatomie*, and a signer at the Treaty of Camp Tippecanoe, in 1833.

The Earliest Thanksgiving Proclamation, of the State of Illinois, as might be expected, originated in Chicago, where countless other enterprising, enlightened, and humane projects (not to speak of some of a different class), have first taken form. That paper, as we learn from Mr. Blanchard's History, and from Mr. Thomas Hoyne himself, was first suggested

by Alderman Julius Wadsworth, who proposed to Mr. Hoyne, then City Clerk, that if he "would draft a *resolution*, and then draw a *proclamation* in due form, so that it should go out signed by the Mayor and Clerk as authoritative, fixing a special day at the usual time in this City as a day for thanksgiving, requesting the churches to observe, and the people of the city to close their places of business,—the people of this

City could have a holiday, the turkey would be eaten, and our 4000 people would be happy. All was carried out as proposed. It is not for the author of the proclamation to praise that instrument. But it was a document of tremendous sound and unusual length."

The movement was a popular one, and extensively observed.

In the *Chicago Daily American*, of Tuesday, Nov. 23, 1841, we find the following-named proceedings of the City Council, of which we make a transcript, and also present the Proclamation referred to.*

"MONDAY EVENING, *Nov. 22, 1841.*

"Present: His Honor, the Mayor, and Aldermen Page, Miltimore, Foster, Howe, McCord, Snell, and Follansbee.

"The petition of sundry citizens, praying the Mayor to appoint a day of Thanksgiving was read; Whereupon, on motion of Alderman Miltimore, *Resolved*, That the Mayor issue his Proclamation, appointing the 25th day of the present month as a day of Public Thanksgiving for the City of Chicago."

[From *Chicago Daily American*, Tuesday Eve'g, Nov. 23, 1841.]

"PROCLAMATION BY THE MAYOR OF THE CITY OF CHICAGO.

"Whereas, in accordance with the Petition of several good citizens, it hath been unanimously *Resolved*, by the Common Council of the City of Chicago, That the Mayor appoint Thursday, the 25th day of November inst., as a day of Public Thanksgiving and Prayer.

"And whereas it hath pleased Almighty God to crown the outgoing year with the abundance of His Providence, and to have continued

* Since the last of the *Miscellanies* above, was sent to the printer, we have received a communication from a prominent source, but the writer's name we do not feel authorized to give. He writes:

"The first proclamation for a thanksgiving was written by *me*, and signed by Joe Duncan, Gov., and A. P. Field, Secretary of State.

"The first Gov. D. heard of it, was in his church, by Beecher, whose church the Governor attended. It was noticed by all the clergymen here, except the Methodist; ——— B. was a Methodist and he cautioned his preacher. I think it was in 1838. * * * I sent it all over the State, and made a success of it."

If we understand our correspondent correctly, the paper was issued without the knowledge of those officials whose names were placed at the bottom of it; we conclude it was purposely *a hoax*. If the author irreverently made the time-honored custom the occasion of a joke and a burlesque; we yet think, if the paper was written with the ability which we suppose, it may still have called out, unwittingly, much of gratitude and thanks. We believe that "God rules in the affairs of men."

to the people of our City, as well as of our State and Nation, those dispensations of His Goodness, whereby the anticipations of seed-time and the golden promises of an unusually prosperous harvest have been realized and gathered in; and as the Pilgrim Fathers, in the wilderness, set apart days of fasting and prayer, in honor of the Divine Goodness in supplying them with the means of subsistence, but more particularly for the freedom they enjoyed in the exercise of every social and religious privilege, so the hearts of their descendants must feel a deeper gratitude that the blessings secured by the toil of their ancestors have descended to them, and that every returning year brings with it additional assurances that the fabric, founded in their wisdom and example, is now adequate to perpetuate similar blessings to their children.

"Now, therefore, in view of our many blessings, and in pursuance of the Resolution aforesaid, I do hereby appoint and set apart Thursday, the 25th inst., as a day of Public Thanksgiving and Praise to Almighty God.

++++++++ "Given under my Hand and the Seal of the City, this
+ L. S. + 23d day of November, Anno Domini, One Thousand
++++++++ Eight Hundred and Forty-one.

"FRANCIS C. SHERMAN,
(Attest) *Mayor.*
"THOMAS HOYNE, *Clerk.*"

The Harbor Convention of 1847.—James K. Polk was President, and Augustus C. French, Governor of Illinois, while John Wentworth was Member of Congress from this District, and James Curtiss, Mayor of the City of Chicago. It was thirty-four years ago, the 5th day of last July, at noon, when that gathering, in the interests of improvement of our great Lakes and Rivers, assembled here beneath a spacious awning upon our Court-House Square, which in those days was usually an almost vacant field.

"This" (wrote Thurlow Weed, who was here) "is undoubtedly the largest deliberative body that ever assembled." Possibly, that assertion was quite true; yet it was not for numbers alone that made this Convention remarkable; no small share of the prominent and able men of the Nation were here, and nineteen States, at least, were represented.

Looking over a partial list of names of those who were present as delegates, we are made conscious of the fact that death has mown a broad swath among the active men of that

assembly. Some, who could not attend, sent messages of approval and encouragement, such as Benton, Wright, Webster, Clay, Van Buren; Gov. Cass, wrote an unfortunately brief letter; those men have long since passed from earthly scenes.

That Convention was not merely memorable for Chicago, but the whole country was honored in its deliberations, and benefited in their results. In the small space which we can only here appropriate, we could scarcely give a hint of the details; we would, however, suggest to Messrs. Fergus the propriety of issuing a nicely printed pamphlet edition, embracing all the proceedings of that notable gathering.

We do not know that Hon. John Wentworth was the pioneer in that movement for the Chicago Convention, but if it was another's first suggestion, he was certainly at once ready to "put his shoulder to the wheel." The Committee, appointed at a meeting of the citizens of Chicago, to draw up an address to the people of various States, giving reasons for the calling of a Convention, as well as what was intended to be accomplished, were George Manierre, J. Young Scammon, I. N. Arnold, Grant Goodrich, and John Wentworth. Mr. Wentworth was chosen to write the Address, which we give below:

"ADDRESS OF THE CHICAGO COMMITTEE.

"The high prices of freight, taken in connection with the loss of life and property upon the Western waters last season, caused several public meetings to be held in various sections of the country, for the purpose of devising the best means of remedying those and other evils of which the great mass of the people interested in commerce were complaining. At all these meetings, the propriety of holding a convention at some convenient point was discussed and universally concurred in.

"In consequence of Chicago having been generally named as the proper point, its citizens called a meeting, named the fifth of July as the appropriate time, and chose the undersigned a committee to draft an address, setting forth the objects of the Convention.

"The movers in this matter have been, from the first, like the undersigned, of entirely different politics, and, so far from there being, even in the remotest degree, any political design in the contemplated Convention, one of the chief objects of it is to call together for a common object the men of all parties, and to convince the

people every where that the improvements desired are not now, never have been, and never should be, connected with *'party politics,'* in the ordinary use of that term. Such a connection would, in the minds of all interested, have a very deleterious tendency. It can not be denied that there is a predisposition among all politicians to support the measures of a chief magistrate of their own party, and hence we have seen Western representatives, originally supporting harbor and river improvements, and elected upon express pledges to do so, finally vote to support a *veto* of bills providing for that purpose, and assigning as a reason therefor that it was their duty to sustain an executive of their own selection, even though it be in express opposition to the wishes and interests of their constituents. Repeated instances of this kind must eventually give this question somewhat of a political cast, which the undersigned and all who coöperate with them would seriously regret.

"The construction of *harbors* upon our Northern Lakes, as well as upon the Atlantic, with the improvement of our great rivers, where commerce is of a national character, necessarily involves no questions of party difference. They are matters that must interest all parties, as they do all classes, alike, and harbor and river bills have been supported by the ablest men of both the great political parties which divide this country. This subject has never entered into any presidential canvass, since each party has always taken it for granted that the candidate of the other was above suspicion upon a matter of such preëminent importance. The first Congress that ever assembled under the present Constitution, many of whose members helped to frame it, passed a law defraying all expenses which should accrue after the 15th of August, 1789, in the necessary support, maintenance, and repairs of all light-houses, beacons, buoys, and public piers, erected, placed, or sunk, before the passage of this act, at the entrance of, or within any bay, inlet, *harbor*, or ports of the United States, *for rendering the navigation thereof easy and safe.* General Washington signed this bill; and bills for the continuance of such works were also successively signed by Presidents the elder Adams, Jefferson, and Madison. The first *Lake Harbor* Bill was signed by Mr. Monroe. He never raised the constitutional question, nor do the Congressional debates of those days show that any members of either branch of Congress made any distinction between *salt* and *fresh* water improvements, or between foreign and domestic commerce. All at that time were acknowledged alike deserving the fostering care of the General Government, as they also were during the administrations of the younger Adams, General Jackson, and Mr. Van Buren. Though remarkably scrupulous as to the extent to which the power to construct works of internal improvement should be exercised, General Jackson and Mr. Van Buren signed bills for the improvement of rivers and construction of harbors to the amount of $7,800,000, and the two bills signed by General Jackson in 1836, contained no less than eighty-nine items, and the bill of 1837, no less

than fifty-nine. After the General Government has expended upward of seventeen millions of dollars for works of internal improvement, and mostly in the old States, by the consent and support of the very framers of the Constitution and their cotemporaries, and by men, too, of all political parties, there can now be but little consideration due the cry that 'it is unconstitutional,' or the plan of a single political party to extend the advantages of such works to the new States, and to such portions of the old States as have thus far been neglected.

"Thus disposing of the constitutional and the political question, the friends of harbor and river improvements arrive at the only one which can rightfully be raised, and that is merely the question of necessity. Is IT NECESSARY to protect our domestic as well as our foreign commerce? Shall we protect the *lesser* and neglect the greater? For the past three years, petitions have been presented to Congress in vain: senators and representatives in Congress have spoken in vain. The present Secretary of War, in his official reports, has recommended in vain; and the whole topographical corps has estimated in vain. Our bills have invariably been vetoed, and we have been unable to secure two-thirds of the popular branch. Confident that there is wanting a knowledge of the necessity of these improvements among the people or their representatives, since all efforts at success have failed, it has been thought that a *general convention* and consultation, with personal observation, might do much for us. There is not a State in the Confederacy but that touches the lakes, the ocean, or the great rivers of the West. The lakes line almost our entire northern frontier, and separate us from a foreign country; and the rivers, like arteries, run through the whole country, constituting an extent of navigation sufficient to reach round the globe.

"These great waters, for whose safe navigation this Convention is called, are soon to be united by the completion of the Illinois and Michigan Canal. The commerce of Boston, of Philadelphia, of Baltimore, of New York, of New Orleans, Cincinnati, St. Louis, and, indeed, of the whole country, thence becomes in a great measure connected. It has a common interest, and no injury *could*, and the greatest advantages *might* rise from a common consultation. It is a notorious fact that statements, during the pendency of harbor and river bills before Congress, are made on the highest personal authority, which never would be made if the authors had any personal observation of the great inland waters of this country, or could realize the necessity of the millions whose lives and property are jeoparded by them. Delegates in attendance will not only have the advantages of their own observation to take back with them, but they can profit others meeting them here by a consultation as to the best means of redressing existing wrongs. Having done this, they can impart the proper feelings to their neighbors, and thus aid in arousing the people to take this matter into their own hands, and see that their chief interests are no longer neglected. It is confidently

hoped that a more intimate acquaintance with the claims of these great waters, formed by men congregated for this special purpose from all parts of the Union, will result in sufficiently convicting and awakening the public mind to secure the constitutional majority, should a harbor bill ever again be vetoed. This Convention is designed to be one of free discussion, and it is hoped that the *opponents* as well as the *friends* of lake and river improvements will attend, and more especially since it is generally believed that they have only to see for themselves in order to be convinced that these demands, coming from all our great waters, are founded in justice.

"Although the construction of harbors and the improvement of rivers will be the prominent subject before the Convention, yet, whatever matters appertain to the prosperity of the West, and to the development of its resources, will come properly before it, and all plans and suggestions will be freely entertained. The committee invite a general attendance from all sections of the Union, and tender, in behalf of their fellow-citizens, the hospitalities of the City of Chicago to such as, impelled by a common interest, see fit to honor them by their presence on the occasion.

"JOHN WENTWORTH,
GEORGE MANIERRE,
J. YOUNG SCAMMON,
I. N. ARNOLD,
GRANT GOODRICH, } *Committee.*"

The following extract, from the letter of Mr. Benton, we give, more particularly on account of the reference to his early communications, in behalf of a Canal between the Illinois River and Lake Michigan:

"The Lake and River navigation of the great West, to promote which the Convention is called, very early had a share of my attention, and I never had a doubt of the constitutionality or expediency of bringing that navigation within the circle of internal improvement, by the Federal Government, when the object to be improved should be one of general and national importance.

"The junction of the two great systems of waters which occupy so much of our Country, the Northern Lakes on one hand, and the Mississippi and tributaries on the other, appeared to me to be an object of that character, and Chicago the proper point for effecting the union; and near 29 years ago, I wrote and published articles in a St. Louis paper in favor of that object, indicated, and almost accomplished by Nature herself, and wanting but a helping hand from man to complete it. Articles in the St. Louis *Enquirer*, of 1819, express the opinions which I then entertained, and the "*report*" of that period, published in the same paper, to the Secretary of War, by Messrs. Graham and Phillips, in favor of that canal (and which "*report*" I wrote), was probably the first formal communication upon

authentic data, in favor of the Chicago canal. These gentlemen, with Mr. John C. Sullivan, of Mo., had been appointed by the Secretary of War to run a line from the south end of Lake Michigan to the Mississippi. I proposed to them to examine the ground between Chicago and the Illinois River, with a view to the construction of a canal by the Federal Government. They did so, and, on their return to St. Louis, submitted all their observations to me; and hence the publications in the newspapers, and the *report* to the Secretary of War. I mention this to show that my opinions on this subject are of long standing; and that the nationality of the Chicago Canal and, of course, of the harbor at its mouth, are by no means new conceptions with me. But I confess that I did not foresee then what I have since seen, the Falls of Niagara surmounted by a ship canal, and a schooner clearing from Chicago for Liverpool!"

Here is an extract from the letter of Mr. Webster:

"Of the power of the Government to make appropriations for creating harbors and clearing rivers, I never entertained a particle of doubt. This power, in my judgment, is not partial, limited, obscure, applicable to some uses, and not applicable to others, to some States, and not to others, to some rivers, and not to others, as seems to have been the opinion of gentlemen connected with the Memphis Convention. For one, I reject all such far-fetched and unnatural distinctions. In my opinion, the authority of the Government in this respect rests directly on the grant of the commercial power to Congress, and this has been so understood from the beginning by the wisest and best men, who have been concerned in the administration of the Government; and is, consequently, general, and limited only by the importance of each particular subject, and the discretion of Congress.

"I hope the Convention may do much good, by enforcing the necessity of exercising these just powers of the Government. There are no new inventions, nor new constructions, or qualifications of constitutional power to be resorted to; there is no new political path to be struck out. It is simply for the people to say whether prejudices, party prepossessions, and party opposition shall at length give way to fair reasoning, to precedent and experience, to the judgment of the great men who have gone before us, and to those momentous considerations of public interest which now so imperatively call on Congress to do its duty."

Adding a few lines more:

"Mr. Gardiner" (a delegate from Troy, N.Y.) "dwelt very ably and eloquently upon the true definition of the term *nationality*. He stated that the aggregate amount of the commerce of the Lakes was now between $600,000,000 and $700,000,000, while our foreign trade, both exports and imports, amounts to only $230,000,000. He asked if an interest so vast as this was not a national interest. * * * He spoke of the time when future generations, the sons of those before him, should dwell on the shores of the far *Pacific*. Would they not then wish for some line of intercommunication, stretching from one shore to another?"

EARLY MISSIONARIES & EARLY CHURCHES.

The missionaries of the Roman Catholic Church bore the earliest message of the cross to the Indians of the Northwest. Some of them were distinguished as explorers and discoverers, and there were those who were men of great bravery, zeal, and self-sacrifice. Some, we know from their labors and exposure, died of sickness in the wilderness, others were killed by savages.

On previous pages of this volume, we have referred to some of the French missionaries who were here, however briefly they may have tarried. To quote our own words, on another occasion: "It was the lofty aim of Marquette to be of enduring service to his fellow men; it was his integrity, his unselfishness, his untiring zeal, his gentle and uncomplaining disposition, and his early self-sacrifice near akin to martyrdom, that command our sympathies, and these are what made him truly great." We know that the earnest, gentle, but courageous Marquette spent a rigoruos winter here, in sickness and desolation; yet a faith which lightened up the winter hours within that comfortless wigwam, was also a gleam of brightness, leading to a glorious hereafter.

After the death of Father Marquette, Claude Allouez succeeded to the Illinois Mission; some notice of him appears on pp. 152 and 153. He came again in 1684, when Durantaye arrived.

Father Claudius Dablon, a missionary of considerable note, named on *page 146*, was early upon Lake Superior, Green Bay, etc., but we are not aware that he came to Chicago. He became Superior General of the Jesuits of Canada, and to whom Marquette, and other missionaries of that order, made

their reports. He was, we think, a man of a good deal of management, tact, and intellectual ability, whatever his moral *status* may have been.

If Father Hennepin made a stop at the Chicago, on his way to the St. Joseph, in 1679, we are not advised of it; but there were various others of the missionaries, of whom we have heard, who did, whatever may have been their religious and pastoral exercises here, or how long they were continued at this point; we may name Fathers de la Ribourde, Membre, Gravier, La Source, de Montigny, Davion, St. Cosme, etc. In 1685, it is understood, de la Durantaye, an officer of the government of New France, erected a fort here. How large a structure that fort was, or how great a force was stationed within it, we can not say; yet it served, no doubt, not only as a safe depot or store-house for furs, awaiting transportation northward, but probably with some show of military power, may have helped to keep the natives somewhat in awe. There may have, therefore, gathered around this early fortress, somewhat of a village or settlement of French, and which possibly invited or claimed the constant presence of the village priest; but this is the suggestion of a surmise. It is known, however, that when de Montigny and St. Cosme came here, in the year 1699, they put up at the "house of the Jesuit Fathers." St. Cosme says:

"We found there Rev. Father Pinet and Rev. Father Buinateau, who had recently come in from the Illinois, and were slightly sick. I can not explain to you, Monseigneur, with what cordiality and marks of esteem these reverend Jesuit Fathers received and caressed us, during the time that we had the consolation of staying with them. Their house is built on the banks of the small lake, having the lake on one side and a fine large prairie on the other.* The Indian vil-

* On *page 167*, we have said that "the house of the missionaries referred to by St. Cosme, we suppose, may have been at the junction of the north and south branches of Chicago River, where the meeting of the three channels formed the natural basin or small *lake* spoken of; or, possibly, it was at Mud Lake, unless, indeed, Mr. Adams may send us to the Calumet to look for it." See note, *p. 168.*

lage is of over 150 cabins, and, one league on the river, there is another village almost as large. They are both of the Miamis. Rev. Father Pinet makes it his ordinary residence, except in winter, when the Indians all go hunting, and which he goes and spends at the Illinois. We saw no Indians there; they had already started for their hunt."

After those occupants of that "house of the Jesuit Fathers," at Chicago, on the eve of the 18th century, we are unable to tell anything definitely, for a long succeeding period, about the Roman Catholic clergy who may have sojourned here.

We may here say, that the recital or an outline sketch of the Roman Catholic Missions, of the various Orders, of Canada, which missions included those of the Illinois, can not be given in a dozen lines. But we may quote from a prefatory note of Dr. Shea as follows:

"The English carried off both the Recollects and Jesuits,* whom they had invited to aid them; but as the restoration of Canada was expected, both prepared for a speedy return. For some reason, however, the French Government determined to send out another missionary body, and offered Canada to the Capuchins, like the Recollects, a branch of the great Franciscan Order. The Capuchins, however, declined, and recommended the Jesuits, who were accordingly sent, and the Recollects excluded. * * * The Recollects were soon relieved from their false position by the settlement of the disputes, and, without attempting new Indian missions, labored for the good of the colony with a zeal beyond all praise. Chosen almost always as chaplains to the troops and forts, they were to be found at every French post, and thus became the earliest pastors of some of our western towns. Like the Jesuits, they were a second time excluded from Canada, by the English, on their conquest in the last century, and the last survivor has long since descended to the grave."

James Logan, of Pennsylvania, in 1718, referred to the French fort here, which he calls "Fort Miami, situated at the mouth of the River Chicagou. This fort is not regularly garrisoned." De Siette, who succeeded De Boisbriante as military commander in the Illinois, whether stationed here or not, yet in 1726, referred to some proposed "interview" at Chicagoux.

However broad and magnificent the plan of French coloni-

* Referring to the surrender of Quebec, by Champlain, in 1629.

zation, embracing the entire Mississippi Valley and basin of the great lakes, yet something more than all of the eighteenth century, was too early for such settlement, excepting to a small extent. The French people, however, were not to accomplish a tithe of the great design; indeed, neither the French nor any Latin nation were fitted to accomplish so important an achievement.

Rev. Stephen T. Badin, a priest of the Roman Catholic Church, told a lady, still living here, that he visited Chicago in his clerical capacity in the year 1796; he was also here some years afterward, when he administered baptism to some of the children of Col. Beaubien.

The first Protestant sermon at Chicago seems to have been preached by Rev. Isaac McCoy, a Baptist minister, who established and conducted the mission school at Carey, near Niles, Mich. In his history he says:

"In the forepart of October, I attended, at Chicago, the payment of an annuity by Dr. Wolcott, United States Indian Agent, and, through his politeness, addressed the Indians on the subject of our Mission. On the 9th of October, 1825, I preached in English, which, as I was informed, was the first sermon ever delivered at or near that place."

Methodist Episcopal Church.—At page 231 of Rev. Stephen R. Beggs' Book, entitled "*Pages from the Early History of the West and North-west*," he refers to a letter of Rev. Isaac Scarritt, of the Methodist Church, extracts from which he gives, and from which we quote as follows:

"In 1828, I succeeded Rev. Jesse Walker as superintendent of the Fox River Mission. At that time, James Walker was living where Ottawa now stands; Pierce Hawley, Edmund Weed, and J. Beresford, lived at what was afterward called Holderman's Grove. These, with my own family at the mission, constituted the whole of the American population on the north-west side of the Illinois River, and between that and Chicago. The whole region, except a strip along the river, was Indian country. While here, I planned a trip to Chicago, distant some seventy or eighty miles, and about midsummer, with George Furkee, a half-breed Indian who resided at the mission, for my guide, I set out on my adventure.

"The first night, we lodged at an Indian village, near where Plainfield now stands. The next evening we entered Chicago, which, in

addition to the buildings constituting Fort Dearborn, contained the the old Kinzie House, a new house of Col. Hamilton's (?), with, perhaps, one or two others in that quarter, and those of J. Kinzie and J. Miller up at the point. The latter two gentlemen seemed to be upon a strife with each other, which should excel in honor or popularity, whereby to promote their individual interests. I took up my residence at Miller's, who, with laudable generosity, undertook to administer to my comfort and further my views. The next day was the Sabbath, and I sent word to Lieut. —— that, if it were his wish, the superintendent of the Indian mission would preach to the soldiers and others, at such place and hour as he might appoint. Answer was returned, that he should not *forbid* the preaching, but that he should neither authorize nor make any arrangements for it. Not to be outdone by the honorable lieutenant on the point of independence, I declined going to the garrison under such circumstances, and made an appointment for preaching at Miller's at night. Most of the citizens and some of the soldiers were present, and gave respectful attention; but in the matter of congregation, we received rather more than we bargained for. During religious service, a gang of boatmen, with their vociferous "*yo-hes*," commenced landing and rolling up barrels, etc., near to the door. This was a trick of Kinzie's, so Miller said, out of spite to him for having the honor of entertaining the missionary, and for the agency he took in promoting the religion of the place." * * * "I can not say that this was the first sermon, or even the first *Methodist sermon*, that was ever preached in Chicago, but I may say that there were neither intimations or indications of its ever having been preceded; the whole movement, from first to last, bore the appearance of a new measure in that place."

Rev. Mr. Beggs remarks, after the above, by Mr. Scarritt:

"Rev. Jesse Walker, and also Mrs. John Hamline, of Peoria, told me that in the spring of 1826, Father Walker went up on his boat from Peoria to Chicago. He had all the hands on board cease work till they could attend prayers, and all joined in singing, and then a fervent prayer was offered up in their behalf, asking the merciful protection of a Divine Providence throughout the day. I have no recollection that either of them told me that he preached during his stay in Chicago; but if he did not, I presume it was the first time he ever went to a strange place, remaining as long as he did at Chicago, without preaching; and as that was his errand up there, I have little doubt that he improved the opportunity he sought."

The first prayer-meetings, it is believed, were instituted by Mark Noble, Sen., who, with his family, arrived here in August, 1831, and occupied the old cabin of the Kinzie's, on the north side of the River.

Rev. S. R. Beggs, in his book, writes so rather incoherently, that it is with difficulty, sometimes, that one gets at his exact meaning; we quote as follows:

(Page 86.) "This year" (meaning probably 1831) "I received my appointment to Chicago mission station. In July, of the previous summer" (meaning, we suppose, July, 1831), "I had attended two camp-meetings, one at Cedar Point and the other at Plainfield. They were both successful, the one at Plainfield especially so. From this latter place, Father Walker and myself started for Chicago,* about forty miles distant. When we arrived, brother Walker gave out an appointment for me to preach in the garrison, in old Dr. Harmon's room.† After the sermon was over, he gave it out that I was to preach again next morning at nine o'clock; and this was the beginning of a happy time here. I opened the door for the reception of members, and I think ten joined the church.‡

Among the number were brother Lee (See) and wife, and Elijah Wentworth,§ with his mother and two sisters. We formed a class of those few members, and it was this class, the first ever formed in Chicago, that now awaited me at my new appointment."

Mr. Beggs just here, evidently, refers to his second arrival at Chicago, late in the fall of 1831, probably, though he omits reference to the date. Mr. Beggs continues:

"I commenced my work here alone, and the prospect seemed gloomy enough. The garrison consisted of two or three frame houses and some huts, occupied by the French and Indians. * * * Some changes had taken place since the preceding summer, and, on

*Mr. Beggs had apparently forgotten the month, for in a letter to the compiler of this, dated August 20, 1873, he says:

"As near as I can remember (when I first visited Chicago), say, the 15th of June, 1831. After riding 40 miles on horseback, I preached to some 25 persons in old Dr. Harmond's room, in the old garrison in the evening, and at 9 o'clock next morning preached in a log-school-house, and formed the first class of the M. E. Church in Chicago, and rode back 40 miles, the same day, to Plainfield."

† The soldiers occupying Fort Dearborn had been ordered away the spring before.

‡ Could this be called the organization of a church? If so, was it not *the first?*

§ *Junior*, no doubt.

my arrival, I felt somewhat encouraged. Several families had moved in; father Noble, with a wife and two daughters, Col. Richard Hamilton and wife, and Dr. Harmon; Irwin, a son of the above-mentioned, with his wife. There were six more members added to my class. I remained here preaching nearly seven weeks before I could obtain any accommodations for my family, and then went back to my father-in-law's after Mrs. Beggs. It was the middle of January, 1832." * *

At *page 94*, Mr. Beggs goes back and speaks of the preliminary incidents attending his last above-named journey to Chicago:

"Jesse Walker was superintendent of the mission work from Peoria to Chicago, and also had a nominal appointment at Chicago. His labors, however, were so extensive that he preached here but a few times during the year. Brother Walker was not able to attend Conference, held in Indianapolis, in 1831. After consulting me to know if I was willing to take charge of the mission at Chicago, to which I consented, if Conference should so decide, he wrote to Bishop Roberts to appoint me to that work. So this was my home for the coming year, and I hastened to take charge of the little class I had formed a few months previous. I found them all standing fast in the liberty of the Gospel.

"Our meetings were generally held in the Fort, and they increased in interest till our first quarterly-meeting, which was held in January, 1832. I had been helping brother Walker hold some meetings at Plainfield, and we left there on one of the coldest days of that winter for my quarterly-meeting at Chicago. It was thirty miles to the first house. Brother T. B. Clark started with us with an ox-team, for the purpose of carrying provisions to help sustain the people in Chicago during the meeting. Provisions were very scarce here at that time. Late in the evening, we became alarmed lest he had perished in the cold, and went out on a fruitless hunt after him. He arrived at eleven o'clock that night at our stopping-place. The next day saw us all safely in Chicago, where we met with a warm reception from brother Lee (See) and family.

"Here, to-day, amid the presence of this great and prosperous city, let us reconsider our humble beginning. Thirty-six years ago, a load of provisions was brought by an ox-team from the village of Plainfield to sustain the friends that met here for a quarterly-meeting! The meeting commenced with power, and increased in interest till Sunday morning. My first sermon was preached on Sabbath morning, at ten o'clock, after which brother Walker invited the people around the sacramental board. It was a season long to be remembered. Every one seemed to be baptized and consecrated anew to the great work to be accomplished in the village that was destined to become a mighty city.

"Jesse Walker was my successor in 1832.* He moved his family up to Chicago as soon as possible, and set to work. I attended his first quarterly-meeting, it was held in an old log-school-house, which served for a parsonage, parlor, kitchen, and audience-room. The furniture consisted of an old box-stove, with one griddle, upon which we cooked. We boiled our tea-kettle, cooked what few vegetables we could get, and fried our meat, each in its turn. Our table was an old wooden chest; and when dinner was served up, we surrounded the board and ate with good appetites, asking no questions for conscience sake. Dyspepsia, that more modern refinement, had not found its way to our settlements. We were too earnest and active to indulge in such a luxury. Indeed, our long rides and arduous labors were no friends to such a visitant. This palatial residence, which served us as the Chicago parsonage, was then situated between Randolph and Washington Streets, the first block west of the River.†

We should here say, that Rev. Henry Whitehead, of the

Methodist Church, who came in September, 1833, occupied the pulpit soon after his arrival, occasionally, as we are informed, at the building erected by Dr. Temple, of the Baptist Church, corner of Franklin and South-Water Streets, but which edifice was used jointly by the Baptists, Methodists, and Presbyterians.

The *Chicago Tribune* of Dec. 19, 1877, in speaking of the late Methodist Council, said, "The Hon. Grant Goodrich fol-

lowed with a paper of Reminiscences of Early Methodism in Chicago. Judge Goodrich said when Cook County was organized in 1831, there were but twelve families in the City. He had heard Peter Cartright say he had preached on the lake shore in Chicago in 1831. Rev. Jesse Walker built the

* It was a mistake in Rev. Arthur Mitchell's pamphlet where it says, "In April, 1833, Father Walker, an aged Methodist minister, came to Chicago to reside."

† This named locality, for Father Walker's cabin, is wrongly placed, as we understand; *see note, p. 502.*

first church in Chicago.* It was located on the north-east corner of North-Water and Clark Streets; Judge Goodrich heard him preach before the structure was completed, the carpenter's bench being used as a pulpit. In 1834, John T. Mitchell was sent to Chicago by the Illinois Conference as a missionary. In the winter of 1834 and '5, evening services were held, and there were a number of conversions and accessions to the church. In 1835, it became evident that the South Side was to be the centre of business and population, and the desirability of procuring a lot in that part of the City was considered. That now occupied by the First Church was secured for $3800; subsequently David Carver donated one on Wabash Avenue near Adams Street, for a parsonage. In 1836, the church was struck from the list of Missions, by the Illinois Conference, and the Rev. O. T. Curtis became the preacher. He was succeeded by Peter R. Borein, who proved an angel of blessing and deliverance. Under his ministration, one in ten of the population professed Christianity. In the summer of 1838, the building was moved (from the north side of the river) on scows, and placed on the new lot, the one now occupied by the First Church, and enlarged to double its length. In 1845, a brick building 66 by 90 feet was erected at a cost of $12,000." [In some other statements, the *Tribune* reporter or type-setter, mangled the Judge's remarks considerably. Judge G. referred to Wm. See, the "Government blacksmith," but the types gave the name as "Wm. C. Cartright," also this sentence "the Rev. Jesse Walker was undoubtedly the first Protestant minister, who held religious services in Chicago," is undoubtedly a mistake, nor was he here "as early as 1802."]

"Philo Carpenter and Grant Goodrich," said Hon. John Wentworth in one of his lectures, "were upon the Executive Committee of our first Bible Society, formed in 1835."

[We do not know that we shall place the notices of the various churches in their deserved order, nor is it perhaps of

* Dates are not given, and there is some doubt about the matter. Judge Goodrich arrived in Chicago in May, 1834.

much account; we endeavor to give facts, and that is really all that is needed. If we give the Roman Catholics precedence here to the Presbyterians, it is because Rev. St. Cyr arrived before Mr. Porter, and services with each, we suppose, commenced directly, and the R. C. pastor occupied his church building in the fall of '33.]

Roman Catholic Church.—Several years ago, the Rev. Mr. St. Cyr, in a letter to the compiler, said:

CARONDELET, SOUTH ST. LOUIS, MO., *Feb. 8, 1875.*

DEAR SIR:—I have not read the statement alluded to in your kind letter, but this I can certify:

1st. That I was the first Catholic Priest resident in Chicago, then a mere village, is perfectly correct and true.

2d. That I arrived at Chicago the first of May, 1833, is equally correct and true.

3d. That I built the first Catholic church, and the Priest's residence joining the said Church St. Mary, is no less correct and true.

4th. That I organized the first Catholic congregation, with its regular religious services for every Sunday, that is Mass in the morning, Service and Vespers for the evening service, is correct and true.

5th. That I had alone the charge of the said organized Catholic congregation from 1833—37, toward the latter part of March, when I was called back to St. Louis, Mo., by Bishop Rosati, the first Bishop of St. Louis, who had ordained me on the sixth of April, 1833, is also correct and true. * * * I had for Assistant Priest, from the latter part of October, 1836 to 1837, toward the latter part of March, Rev. B. Shaffer; he attended the German Catholics, then very numerous; he was a most worthy priest, born in Strasbourg, France. I was succeeded for the English-speaking congregation, by an Irish clergyman from Mobile, Rev. Father O'Meara, and proved to be a notorious scoundrel. May God preserve Chicago from such a Priest.

I was born Nov., 1803, and educated in France.

I am, dear Sir,

Very respectfully Yours
J. M. I. Saint Cyr Priest

A subsequent letter received from Rev. St. Cyr, of date Feb. 20, 1875, informs us:

"I commenced to build the church in the beginning of September, 1833, and the last week of October of the same year, I said the first Mass in it for the Catholic Indians, 300 in number, who had come to Chicago for their annuities, from South Bend. They cleared and swept the church, for the carpenter, Deodat Taylor, had just finished his work the day before. But the church was not plastered, it was only in March, 1834, that the plastering was done and the pews made, and from first of April of the same year, we had regular religious service, morning and evening."

In this last letter Mr. St. Cyr signs his name "John Mary Ireneus Saint Cyr." We will add that a third letter from this gentleman, of date "December 3d, 1876," containing but a few lines was received, written however by another hand, and signed by himself in pencil; we were sorry to learn by this, that Mr. St. Cyr had become "entirely blind."

We have noticed in the *Chicago Evening Journal*, a later communication from Mr. St. Cyr to Hon. John Wentworth, bearing date "Carondelet, Mo., Jan. 30, 1880." We append in the note a few extracts.*

* Rev. Mr. St. Cyr, after reference to a previous letter, makes an apology on account of his loss of sight, saying, "therefore I can neither write nor read for myself." He says:

"Now in your kind letter, which came to hand on the 27th instant, you ask me where was the first church of Chicago located, what was its dimensions, and why and how was it removed to Madison Street.

"At first the church was to be located on a lot promised to me for the nominal sum of $200, by Colonel [Jean Baptiste] Beaubien, which was on the second street, that is south of Water Street, with which it runs parallel toward the lake. I cannot recollect the name [Lake.] To explain it more clearly, it was on the street starting from Colonel [Mark] B.'s hotel towards the lake until it reached the Military Reservation. But, being unable to obtain this nominal sum of $200 from my friends abroad, I had to look for another location.

"Colonel [Jean Baptiste] B. sold that lot a year after to Dr. [William B.] Egan, for the sum of $300, who again sold the same lot, in 1836, to speculators from the East, for the fabulous sum of $60,000.

"According to the advice of Colonel [Jean Baptiste] B. and Colonel [Thomas J. V.] Owen, I then concluded to build the church on a canal lot, which was next to the Military Reservation on the same street, with the privilege that no one should bid on the lot on which the church was, above the valuation of the lot made by the Canal Commissioners. But the valuation was too high for the Catholics to buy it. Mr. [Dexter] Graves therefore, who had put up his house on the same lot with the same privilege, resolved to take it at the Commissioners' valuation for $10,000, and in consequence thereof the Catholics had to remove

Rev. Mr. O'Meara was succeeded by Reverend (afterward Bishop) de Palais. This gentleman, whom Bishop Dwenger, in his funeral sermon, called "*James Mary Maurice D'Hassac de St. Palais*," was born in France in November, 1811. We have heard that he remained at Chicago some six years; his death occurred at St. Mary's, near Terre Haute, June 28, 1877.

their church from that lot. Meanwhile, Rev. Father O'Meara had bought a lot for his own use on Madison Street, to which place he removed the church. As to more particulars, apply to Augustine Deodat Taylor, who built the church himself, being a carpenter, and Anson, his brother, who hauled the timber with his team.

"The dimension of the church was 35x25 feet. But Very Rev. Maurice de St. Palais, late Bishop of Vincennes, enlarged it considerably, and thus the church remained until Bishop Duggan had it demolished to build on the same spot the Convent of the Sisters of Mercy." [Rev. St. Cyr was misinformed; the church was not demolished, but stood until the fire of 1871. St. Xavier Academy, at 131 Wabash Avenue, under the charge of the Sisters of Mercy, stood on the lot adjoining, *south* of the Church.]

In the *Evening Journal*, Mr. Wentworth said:

"This letter was read to Augustine Deodat Taylor, referred to by Father St. Cyr. He was found serving upon a jury, aged 84 years, as well preserved as ordinary men at 60, and having a splendid memory. He was one of the trustees of the old town of Chicago, and also Alderman under the administration of Mayor

Levi D. Boone. He has been one of the leading house-carpenters of the city, having done the wood-work of six Catholic churches, commencing with Father St. Cyr's. The site originally designed for the church was the site of the present Tremont House, corner of Lake and Dearborn Streets, and which was sold by Dr. Wm. B. Egan, in 1836, to Tertius Wadsworth, of Hartford, Conn. The first Catholic Church was erected upon canal land at the foot of Lake Street, on the south side of it, being what is now the south-west corner of Lake and State Streets. But State Street was not then laid out. There was a fence there then inclosing all the land to the lake, which was then cultivated. The church was upon the lot next to the Military Reservation. But the price was so high, and the Canal Commissioners having no power to reduce it, the church was removed to the corner of Madison Street and Wabash Avenue, and the old lot was bought by Dexter Graves, father-in-law of E. H. Hadduck. After an extension of this church by Father St. Palais, he built St. Mary's brick church, Mr. Taylor doing the wood-work and Peter Page the brick-work. After the great fire, the remains of two dead bodies were found under the ruins, supposed to be those of Father B. Shaffer and Bishop Quarter (the first Bishop of the diocese created in 1844), who died April 10, 1848.

First Presbyterian Church.—[In 1858, Rev. Jeremiah Porter, founder (and pastor, *actually*, if not technically) of this Church, delivered at Metropolitan Hall, in this City, a lecture, giving his reminiscences of the early Town, including a sketch of the Church, etc. The manuscript, by request, was given to the Chicago Historical Society, but was no doubt destroyed in the great fire.* In the preparation and presentation of the following sketch, the material facts conveyed in the lecture above referred to, concerning the Church, are believed to be embraced, the said facts having been communicated in a number of letters by Rev. Mr. Porter, U. S. Chaplain, then at Fort Sill, Indian Territory, to the compiler of this volume. A few additional items have been found in Rev. Arthur Mitchell's sermon at Chicago, Nov. 3, 1878, as well also, some from other sources.]

"Mr. Taylor saw Bishop Rosetti in St. Louis, in 1832. His brother, Anson H. who died the 9th of May, 1878, at Lakeside, in this county, went to St. Louis, and brought Father St. Cyr here. He boarded at Mark Beaubien's old Sauganash Hotel, corner of Lake and Market Streets, and the first mass that Mr. Taylor attended in Chicago was in a log-building, about twelve feet square, on the west side of Market Street, opposite the Sauganash, occupied by one of Mark Beaubien's laborers. Mr. Taylor remembers hearing the Indians sing devotional songs which Father St. Cyr had taught them. He did not think the first church cost over $400. He built it as cheap as he could, only expecting to make his expenses. When he went for his pay, Mark Beaubien pulled a half bushel out from under his bed and paid him in new silver half-dollars, such as the Government had used in paying the Indian annuities. At this time, Rev. Jeremiah Porter, Presbyterian and Congregationalist, was preaching in the garrison. The wife of his late brother, Charles H. Taylor, now living in this City, attended his meeting. Mr. Porter wrote to the *Connecticut Observer*, at Hartford, Conn., that he had arrived in Chicago just in time to counteract the influence of the Roman priests. But, notwithstanding, one of his strongest supporters, Deacon John Wright, helped handle the timbers when the first Catholic Church was raised. It was finished in the Autumn of 1833." [As we understand, it was not "Wabash," but *Michigan* Avenue to which "the church was removed." The "Charles H. Taylor" was *Charles* without the middle initial "H."]

* A copy however of the same or a similar address, it seems, was read before the Historical Society the year afterward (1859), and has been printed in the "Fergus' Historical Series," while we are preparing this article for the types. We take, however, the liberty here to express our objection to *the title* given that address in "Fergus' Series;" "The Earliest Religious History of Chicago" is scarcely a proper term for that paper, inasmuch as there was "religious history," *made* and written, a century before the present generation came upon the stage of being.

The first Sunday-School in Chicago, referred to on *page 112*, we may reasonably mention, as one of the primary incidents leading to the formation of this church; yet that was some three-fourths of a year before the coming first pastor landed from the storm-tossed vessel, to commence here upon his new field of labor.

Citing information received from Rev. Mr. Porter regarding the occasion when his attention was first called to the fact of the existence of such a place as Chicago,—we will say that it was while on his way to Sault St. Mary, to commence his ministry in 1831, that he met upon a schooner, bound for Chicago, a man who told him that the Government was about making improvements at this place, such as building a light-house, etc., and his informant even venturously risked the prophecy that Chicago "*would become a place of business.*" Mr. Porter says:

"In the spring of 1833, the troops at Fort Brady were removed; with them I had labored a year and a half, and had organized a church. Mr. Henry R. Schoolcraft, Indian Agent (one of our church members and chief supporters), was transferred to Mackinaw, and the troops ordered to Fort Dearborn, invited me to accompany them. As there was a Baptist mission, meeting the wants of the people of Saut Ste Marie, and my church were most of them going away, I was glad to go with Major Fowle and his family and troops to Chicago." [Mr. Mitchell says Mr. Porter also, "had been requested by the Home Missionary Society, to explore the shores of Lake Michigan, * * * and see if there were any settlements to be found there, which needed and would receive the preaching of the Gospel."] Mr. Porter continues: "It was on Sunday, May 12, 1833, that we arrived off the light-house, and lay there, the Lake being so rough, until Monday, 13th." Mr. Mitchell in his sermon, says: "We happen to know from one who was here at the time, that there were four christian men, whose impatience was mingled with a measure of anxiety. We shall understand this better, when we know what it was feared the vessel might bring, and what it was known she would carry away. It was known that an officer* then in the Fort, was to leave by this schooner; and as this officer was a warm-hearted, devout man, the little circle of Christians here were much cast down by his departure.

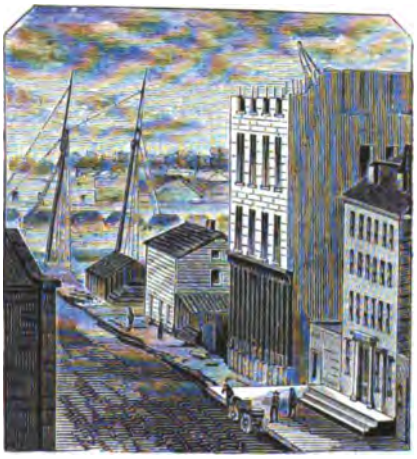
"In those days, every praying man on the frontier was counted. It took some courage to bear such a name. They felt that they

* Capt. Seth Johnson.

could not spare their comrade. The four had prayed together somewhat despondingly on that Sabbath, while the schooner lay out in the lake, regretting sadly their loss, and fearing that the vessel would bring only irreligious men. On Monday, however, when the sea calmed down, and the vessel came into the River,* they were made glad by finding that she had brought them another christian officer, Major Wilcox, with a number of christian soldiers in his company; a most excellent christian lady, Mrs. Fowle, wife of Major Fowle, who was coming to take command at the Fort, and, in addition to these, a christian minister, Rev. Jeremiah Porter. * * * As for the minister, a warmer greeting no pastor ever met. John Wright, one of those four praying men who had been watching the schooner the day before, took his hand and exclaimed, 'I have written and written in vain for a minister; this is like the bursting out of the sun from the darkest clouds.'"

Mr. Porter says:

I found the beginning of a town,† but no place of worship, except a log-school-house, which was on the west side of the River. * *



* An error. No vessel entered the River that year, we think, excepting a small craft, called the "*Westward Ho*," and she passed the bar only with aid of oxen.

† Mr. Porter said his first dinner in Chicago was at Mr. Wattle's log-tavern, on the West Side. Subsequently, he boarded at Mrs. Rufus Brown's, while his sleeping-room and study was over Mr. P. F. W. Peck's store, on S. Water St.

We will remark here that Mr. Peck's store long stood one of the *landmarks* of the early day. In 1855, Mr. Hesler took a photograph of the old building, with its surroundings, and which is reproduced in part here. The Peck store will be recognized as the small wood-building at the right, having two windows seen in the hither end.

On the following Sabbath (May 19, 1833), I first preached in Chicago; in the morning, in Fort Dearborn, in the carpenter's shop, extemporized for a place of worship by Major Fowle; in the afternoon, in the school-house at the Point."

Rev. Mr. Mitchell tells us that morning sermon, the first one by Mr. Porter in Chicago, was from the text *John, 15 ch., 8 v.*

In the month following that of his arrival, namely, on the

Ex.-Lieut. Gov. Bross said, in his History, in 1854:

"During the fall of 1832, and while occupying the building before mentioned," (referring to the Miller building, on North Side, at the forks), "Mr. P. caused to be raised the frame of the building now owned by him, and situated on the south-east corner of South-Water and LaSalle Streets, which was finished and occupied by him as early as May, A. D. 1833, as appears by vouchers for its payment, which he has exhibited to us. It is built of black-walnut and oak lumber. The lumber was hauled from Walker's Mills, now Plainfield, forty miles south-west from Chicago."

The lumber was hauled by Reuben Flagg, says Mr. Geo. H. Woodruff.

Mr. John S. Wright, in his "Chicago," said:

"In February or March, 1833, I aided to raise the frame of his (Mr. Peck's) store. The first frame building was Mr. Robert A. Kinzie's store, on the West Side; Mr. George W. Dole's store, south-east corner of Dearborn and South-Water Streets, was second; and Mr. Peck's third. * * * Rev. Jeremiah Porter had organized the first Presbyterian Church, * * * on the 26th of June, 1833, with 25 members, 16 of them belonging to the Fort, where services were held until Mr. Peck's loft was habitable; when, without plastering, the front part was used as our church, and the rear, separated by a curtain, was the sleeping-apartment of Messrs. Peck and Porter, and the latter's study, until he erected his study on Lake Street, about 150. There, too, we gathered the little urchins, mostly French and half-breeds, in the Sunday School. Newcomers ought to look with reverence on that oldest building of the City, still standing on the south-east corner of South-Water and LaSalle Streets, a humble monument to the early endeavors to plant religious institutions, where they now so abound in this City of a quarter of a million."

We will take the occasion here to quote again from Gov. Bross' History, some part of which, at least, will be relevant:

"On the south side of the River, there were two sloughs between the garrison and 'the point.' The first emptied into the River at the foot of State Street. It ran a little north of the 'Sherman House, crossing Clark Street near the Post-Office, thence crossing Lake Street, nearly in front of the Tremont House. The 'old Tremont House' was on the north-west corner of Lake and Dearborn Sts., and as late as 1834, sportsmen would sit in the door of the 'Tremont' and shoot ducks in the slough. The other slough entered the River at the foot of LaSalle Street. The store built in 1831, '2 (1832, '3), by P. F. W. Peck, Esq., at the south-east corner of LaSalle and Water Streets, was situated on a 'high point of land,' formed by a bend in this slough."

26th of June, 1833, Mr. Porter organized the "First Presbyterian Church of Chicago," comprising the number of twenty-five persons; seventeen were members of his late Fort-Brady Church, and eight were citizens of the village.* John Wright, Philo Carpenter, citizens, and Major Lafayette Wilcox, U.S.A., were chosen and ordained elders of the church.

[Below we present likenesses of Rev. Jeremiah Porter and Deacon Philo Carpenter; they were copied from portraits, taken, not in the early days of this church, but not long since.

Jeremiah Porter,
Post Chaplain U.S.A.

Rev. Mr. Porter, who is Chaplain in the army, may be said to belong to the church *militant;* and Deacon Carpenter, it must be allowed, was a very efficient *first lieutenant* of the First Church.]

* The names of these 25 first members, we have been unable completely to learn; it has elsewhere been stated that *nine* of the members were from the Fort.

The services of this church at first, it is understood, were held in the log-school-house at the Point; the first communion service, it is said, was supplied by Major Wilcox, of the Fort, from his own table-silver. A Mr. Osborn was a leader for the choir, before the church building was erected. The Sunday-School was also held at Father Walker's cabin, at the Point, when John S. Wright had charge of its few old books, and which he carried in his handkerchief from the South to the West Side.*

* A few superannuated or *cast-off* books had been brought here from some Eastern Sunday-School, for it was probably supposed they would be useful to *the heathen* "out West." Yet we desire to here notice what has been often referred to, not only as a most magnanimous instance of benevolence, but what was called really the first donation or gift here for a public library. This was, as we understand, some 200 new, but cheap, volumes, costing altogether $50. Such, it is said, was the outcome of a visit from two New-York City gentlemen to the village, whose names were Charles Butler and Arthur Bronson. Their errand here, it was reported, was specially to look up some choice bargains among the sands and sloughs of Chicago real-estate. The last-named gentleman was a wealthy money-lender, whose autograph we copy here from a letter long in our possession. That gentleman, we may add from our personal knowledge more than forty years since,

The organization of this church was speedily followed by the agitation of the question as to when and where their house of worship should be reared. This inquiry was, in part, answered by the fact, when the Society had made choice of the (perhaps) hitherto unbought, and certainly, as yet, unoccupied Lot, known as Number 1, Block 34, Original Town, S.-W corner Lake and Clark Streets. We have made some inquiry but which has not elicited the information as to what price was paid for this Lot, whether the commissioners allowed the church to enter it as a purchaser at a reduced price, or on extra favorable terms of payment, as we have heard suggested. Whatever the existing conditions may have been, and as the records perhaps might show, measures were soon taken to erect a church edifice on the lot above named, though we have heard it described as a "lonely spot, almost inaccessible, on account of surrounding sloughs and bogs."* The house

had a keen eye and an iron grip for the *dollar*. In a desperate case of pecuniary *life or death*, if your security was made *unquestionable* by collateral mortgages,

having but a few years to run, he would cash it for you, after deducting *one-third* the amount of principal! Was this extortionate? By no means; there was no obligation on your part, and it only enabled an "accommodating," generous man to donate occasionally an immense $25 to some needy Sunday-School on the border.

* As a part of the early history of this church, it will be proper to give the following brief episode:

Before this society erected their temple of worship, though making preparations to do so, its members and others were somewhat surprised one morning to find the frame of a small building already put up, on the Lake Street front, of the above-named lot. The building had been raised during the preceding night, and work during the following day was industriously continued. The proprietors of this structure, it is supposed, reasoned in this wise: "This front is well adapted to accommodate *trade*, and what need have these church-folks for so large a piece of ground? they can build on the rear and have plenty of room then." And with this specious and plausible, though not disinterested argument, they, the new store-builders, considered themselves happy in their device, and secure, perhaps, in their pre-emptive claim, or some other, to purchase a part or the whole of said lot

was built on the south-east corner of the lot, on the alley, fronting east. Its size, as by one account, was 26 feet by 40 (though another writer has called it 25 by 35 feet, and still another, 40 by 60), and was built by Mr. Joseph Meeker, Mr. John K. Boyer furnishing the timber. The cost of the structure could hardly have been called extravagant, as the whole outlay, it is said, was only $600. "The timbers were at length hewed and squared, and were set up on the prairie; * * * each one, according as he was able, gave his mite to aid in the construction; one worked at the turner's lathe to prepare the columns that adorned the pulpit; some worked in the morter-bed, and all labored who could, for a common desire actuated the members, which was, not only to have a house exclusively set apart for worship, but, when done, to be free from that crushing incubus,—*debt*."

No. 1, by this squatter right of occupation. Inheriting, however, the blindness incident to the condition here of other mortals, they knew not what a day or a night might bring forth. Now it came to pass in those days, that husbandmen from Hoosier land were wont to visit Chicago, to get various supplies of merchandise, coming singly, that is, with one wagon, or, perchance, with a caravan, numbering half a score. Those wagons, as the reader must know, were the "prairie schooners" of the West, and were generally drawn by five to ten yokes of cattle, and were capacious, covered, and clumsy. They brought hither grain, flour, meat, and occasionally a load of dry whitewood lumber, all of which, at that day, found here a good market. It was, we may say, an easy matter for a member of this church to suggest to several of those Hoosier patriarchs, then in town, whose acquaintance he had made, that after the dusky shades of early night had fallen, they should marshal their teams (not the wagons) in business array, opposite the aforesaid S.-W. corner of Lake and Clark Streets; furthermore, that they should quietly, firmly, and expeditiously fasten their heavy chains to the sills of the building, and connect the said fastenings by other chains, from yoke to yoke. It will be sufficient to add that the suggestions named were not only made, but tradition saith, were carried out to the letter. No sound of alarm disturbed the evening air, unless it was the ringing lash and explosive crack of the huge Hoosier whip; and then away down Lake Street marched the trespassing store, and where, in the middle of that principal business street of later years, it was left standing, a monument of thwarted plans and dashed hopes. Following this *departure*, and immediately succeeding, was the erection, by the Society, of a new board fence around their recovered premises, the Lot 1, Block 34, aforesaid.

We have noticed on the books of a merchant here at that day, under date of August 26, 1833, a charge of an expenditure for the church, for "Hauling and stacking lumber, shingles, etc."

We give in the *note** the proceedings at the dedication of this Church, January 4, 1834.

* (From the *Chicago Democrat*, January 21, 1834.)

DEDICATION OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.

It will be gratifying to those who are looking for the prosperity of the West, to learn that in this early history of Chicago, through the benevolence of its citizens, and some aid from friends abroad, we have been able to finish a commodious house of worship for the Presbyterian Church.

On Saturday, January 4, notwithstanding the extreme severity of the weather, a respectable audience assembled to dedicate this house to the service of Almighty God.

The order of exercises was as follows:

1. Introductory Prayer.

2. Reading of the Scriptures. The portion selected was the prayer of Solomon at the dedication of the Temple.—2 Chronicles, 6 Chap.

3. Hymn. The following piece, written for the occasion by Mr. G. T. Sproat, of this place, was sung:

DEDICATION HYMN.

God of the glorious worlds above!
Before Thy gracious throne we bow;
O! send the Spirit of Thy love,
And smile upon Thy children now.

We dedicate this house to Thee!
To Thee these hallowed walls we raise—
O! deign to send Thy Spirit down,
And fill these earthly courts with praise.

Within these walls let sacred peace,
And love, and hope, and union dwell;
Here give the troubled conscience ease—
The lost restore—the wounded heal.

And O! may here the gospel sound,
Sent by the Spirit of Thy grace,
Awaken many sinners round,
To come and fill this sacred place.

Lord! we are weak—but Thou art strong;
Lord! we are few—but Thou art near;—
O! make this house Thy dwelling-place—
Come down and reign forever here.

4. Prayer of Consecration, by the Rev. A. B. Freeman, of the Baptist Church of this place. This prayer was listened to, and united in, with peculiar pleasure by all present, as it expressed so happily the real wishes of those who desired to make an unreserved offering of themselves and that house to God, and who ardently prayed that it might be to many the very gate of heaven.

It was said by Mr. Porter:

"It was the first Church ever built in Chicago, though the Bap-

5. Sermon, by Rev. J. Porter, Pastor of said Church. Text, Jeremiah 26; 1-6. In commencing, Mr. Porter descanted very ably on the importance of houses for public worship, in which the principles of spiritual liberty are to be enforced, and the sacred demands of the law proclaimed, to the political and commercial prosperity of any people. "Attempts," said he, "have been made to establish a social system for the regulation of the conduct of men, to the entire exclusion of the bible and the doctrines derived from it, except so far as they agree with what is termed natural religion. And they who have made these attempts, have promised to exhibit to the world a degree of harmony and happiness such as the religion of Jesus has never produced. But these efforts have always proved so abortive, and these boastings so vain, that they have only drawn forth the contempt of rational men, and the pity of those who have known the consolations of a true piety of heart. From such scenes of delusion and folly, the wise have turned with exultation to the influence of sober christianity, upon those who have adopted its benign precepts. This they perceive is salutory as the gentle rain of Spring, as 'showers that water the earth.' Blessed, say they, 'is that people whose God is the Lord,' who are 'kept as the apple of the eye,' and 'defended by the shadow of his wings.'" He then proceeded, with great clearness and beauty, to contrast the present and past conditions of this rapidly-rising village. "But recently," said he, "these fields and floods, fair as the first finished work of nature, were claimed as the rightful inheritance of the roving savage. As he beheld the prairies blossoming in the luxuriance of Eden, the lake spreading its expanded mirror, calm as sleeping infancy, or rolling its troubled waves in the majesty of resistless power the crystal streams running like silver lines midst groves and flowers, he could exclaim with pleasing self-gratification,

'I am monarch of all I survey,
My right there is none to dispute;
Free from river to lake I may rove—
I am lord of the fowl and the brute.'

Here then were witnessed but heathen rites and heathen sports The Indian drum and rifle were heard on the day that christians love to remember as a day holy to the Lord. No Sabbath then was known, no day of sacred rest." He then referred to the war of 1832. "Then the imagination was filled with frightful pictures of blood and murder; your dreams were full of war-whoops and savage yells, of bloodthirsty arrows and gleaming tomahawks. Then the fearful rumors of approaching carnage murdered sleep.

"Then there was hurrying to and fro,
And gathering tears, and tremblings of distress;
And cheeks all pale, which but an hour ago,
Blushed at the praise of their own lovliness.

Then darkness brooded over the prospects of the place, and all was sad; fair hopes were blighted, and sighs and unavailing tears were poured from aching hearts and sympathizing eyes.

tists had a school-house built, in which *we* had preached for a time —for a few months, on alternate Sabbaths."

"But now, how changed! The untutored native, an enemy in war, a friend in peace, has yielded all his claims to his more powerful friends. He has retired before the tide of emigration. A town has risen like magic on the soil where recently he danced, the only occupant. These fields that echoed the war-whoop and yell now hear the voice of prayer and praise to the living God. Instead of rites offered to unknown gods and devils, now the Sabbath, as it returns weekly, sees a solemn assembly gathered to hear what God the Lord shall speak. The substantial dwelling and the delightful family altar have taken the place of the comfortless lodge, from which issued the voice of drunken mirth and senseless revelry.

"And thanks to the Merciful, in the midst of temporal prosperity, the Giver of every good gift has not been forgotten; but, blessed like David, some have thought like him of building houses for His worship. Here, according to the dictates of our conscience, we are suffered to praise the God of our fathers; we sit under our own vine and fig-tree, with none to molest or make us afraid."

But in the midst of our rejoicings, he entreated us to remember that temporal prosperity, without the graces of the spirit, will only serve to render a people more guilty before God, and to draw upon them the curse mentioned in the text. He also proceeded to show how the building of houses of worship may prove a permanent blessing and not a curse.

1. They who are set upon the walls of Zion must not fail to declare the whole counsel of God.

2. The existence of a house of worship will prove an unspeakable blessing to the people, if they give heed to the word of God, which is there faithfully preached."

After enumerating, with great strength and beauty, the blessings resulting from social and religious worship, he concluded with the following very appropriate remarks:

"Would you then, dear friends, enjoy temporal prosperity; would you see this place holding its rank among American cities, like a diamond among pearls; would you have the names of its earliest inhabitants repeated with the list of generous benefactors from age to age; would you have this place remain in untarnished beauty to remotest time; listen ever with a willing ear and an understanding heart to what God the Lord shall speak to you, by the mouth of his servants, whom he will place on this post of observation. Ever fill your place in the sanctuary, feeling that there 'the Lord commandeth the blessing, even life forever more.' Receive the truth with the docility of children, knowing that 'the law of the Lord is perfect, converting the soul.' Come with a praying, humble spirit; for the 'testimony of the Lord is sure, making wise the simple.' Come with the sentiment engraven on the heart, and ready to start from the lips; 'Holiness becometh Thy house, O Lord, forever.' Come to receive the precepts into honest hearts, and to practise them in holy lives. Then shall the place be 'beautiful as Tirzah, comely as Jerusalem,' in the days when the Lord delighted in her, permanent as the rising sun and rolling waves. Then shall it be said of her as of ancient Zion, 'This and

[If Dr. J. T. Temple, as we understand, built that house, corner of Franklin and South-Water Streets, purposely for Church or religious services on the main-floor, though for a school above, previous to the erection of the Clark-Street edifice, we should think *its* priority as a church, though not owned by the Society, could scarcely be questioned.]

Some one said of this Church on Clark Street:

"It was an unpretending structure, and to the stranger, it might appear to be either a meeting-house or a school-house. It was used as a school-house, where the Second District-School in Chicago was taught; public meetings, lyceums, and concerts, were once also held there; indeed, being the largest room in the village, it was not only used as a church, but as a sort of a Town Hall. [Feb. 15, 1836, the Clerk of Cook County paid the Church $21, for the use of said meeting-house, during the sitting of the May Term of Circuit Court 1835.] The first amateur concert in Chicago, was given there in Dec., 1835—the house filled with tickets at 50 cts. It was in this house also, that the first Episcopal service was held in Chicago."

A writer in the *Democratic Press*, a quarter of a century or more ago, quotes from somewhere as follows:

"The first Presbyterian Church of Chicago, once stood on the lot north of the Post-Office;"

And adds:

"Mr. Editor; it was so. Whoever penned that sentence, wrote the truth, and *a fine large tree* gave umbrage to the south window.

that man was born in her, and the Highest himself shall establish her. The Lord shall count, when he writeth up his people, that this man was born there.'

"How glorious is the prospect of this town, if the people will hear and obey the commandments of the Lord. It shall stand beautiful for situation a joy and rejoicing, while the sun and the moon shall endure. But if they refuse and rebel, and covet the luxuries and crimes of the cities whose names only stand on the page of history, it shall fall like Babylon. But O! let not this generation be the means of hastening its fall. Let this be the generation of them that seek the Lord, who shall 'ascend into the hill of the Lord, and stand in His holy place,' who have 'clean hands and a pure heart,' who shall exultingly say, 'How amiable are Thy Tabernacles, O Lord of hosts! My soul longeth, yea, even panteth for the courts of the Lord. Blessed are they that dwell in Thy house, they will be still praising Thee.'

"'Arise,' then, 'O Lord, enter into Thy rest.' 'Lift up your heads, O ye gates, and be ye lift up, ye everlasting doors, and the King of glory shall come in. Who is the King of glory? The Lord, strong and mighty, the Lord mighty in battle; the Lord of hosts, he is the King of Glory.'"

* * * * Until that house was built, the Methodists, Baptists, and Presbyterians, drew their religious consolations from the 's tated preaching,' in a small frame-building, situated on the corner of South-Water and Wells (Franklin) Streets, built by one Dr. John T. Temple. In it, the Messrs. Porter, Freeman, and Whitehead, preached and helped each other, so each participated in three services a-day. * * * Those were the days of brotherly love. * * * Nearly all the inhabitants aided in the construction of that building (on Clark Street), and the undertaking was so stupendous, that every shoulder was needed to the wheel. A difference in creed in those days was no barrier to giving 'material aid' for the building of churches, or the extension of friendly relations; those who had no cash gave their labor. * * * The approaches to the building, for some months after its completion, were rather miry, nor was there any bridge over the river in those early days.* * * * Those pious worshippers, who came over from the *Northern Liberties* braved the angry flood in a canoe. That famous ferry which was ordered by the united wisdom of the County-Commissioners' Court, to be kept running 'from daylight to dark without stopping,' was located too far up the stream, to be available. After escaping the perils of the deep, and clambering up the muddy bank, they renewed their courage for the passage of 'Dole's Corner' on a round stick of timber, over a pool of very ambiguous depth, to the fence of a certain yellow house, then known as Dr. Goodhue's office, after which, by skilfully meandering fences, a certain bridge, made by spare seats, was reached, and thence the door of the sanctuary. * * * Some of the 'upper-ten' in those days owned a horse and cart, and in the democratic conveyance, seated on buffalo robes, they were duly backed up, and *dumped* on the door-step, dry shod. * * * In the new church, the singing was led by Sergeant Burtiss, from the Garrison, and prayer-meetings were led by the Major, known as good, old Major Wilcox. * * * The luxury of velvet-cushioned seats was unknown; from the Major in command of the stockade Fort to the household servant, all shared alike in such comforts as the house afforded. * * * Since those days, this building has traveled, and lost its identity in accumulations to its bulk. The carpenter's saw and hammer, have of late years, been the only music therein, where *Burtiss* used to lead."

Mr. Porter says: "During the year after the consecration of the Church, we enjoyed a precious revival of religion, and fifty-two persons were gathered into the Church."

We should have named before, that Aaron Russell, in 1834, was added to the number of elders before mentioned.

* The bridge at Dearborn Street was built that same year, 1834.

Copied from Mr. Mitchell's pamphlet is the following:

"One year after the new house of worship was finished, the church became self-supporting. It was in December, 1834, they passed the following resolution:

'Feeling under great obligations to the American Home-Missionary Society, for its aid in sustaining the Rev. Jeremiah Porter as Pastor of the church, in our infancy, we now gladly assume his support from the first of June of last year.' * * * They reached back eighteen months in their resolution, and refunded all which they had received."

Mem.—Collections at communion season, Nov. 8, 1835, were $13.56.

Mr. Porter* accepted a call to the Main-Street Church, in Peoria, in the autumn of 1835, leaving here a church of 110 members.

[There will be, we believe, no impropriety here, in speaking of an article, appearing in the old "Chicago Magazine," written however, more than twenty years after the time to which it refers. We quote as follows:

"An evil hour arrived, when a speculative mania seized the ruling elders; and as the value of lots expanded, so seemed their views to change, of the eligibility of him who had in charge their spiritual affairs. * * * One said he was 'too small of stature,' and another who had just pocketed a very large advance on unproductive real estate, said 'they wanted a man who would not go all over creation to make a prayer.' * * * The unchristian course pursued in the uncermonious dismissal of this first Presbyterian minister, is somewhat lengthily discussed, and may to many who read, seem too much so, particularly to the general reader; but to any of the 'old folks,' whose eye this article meets, the remarks will commend themselves."

We have interviewed one of the "old folks" of that day and a church member, who must have been familiar with the cir-

* Mr. Porter had been chosen by the Presbytery, its first delegate to the General Assembly, which was to be held at Pittsburg in the spring of 1835. We will add, that after the adjournment of the Assembly, Mr. Porter made a visit to his parents in Massachusetts, after an absence of some 4½ years. A very important part of this note, however, is that Mr. Porter, on his way to New England, stopped at Rochester, N.Y., and took Mrs. Jeremiah Porter with him upon his journey, though no lady had hitherto borne that designation; it is needless to indicate that Miss Eliza Chappel, then late of Chicago, was the individual who received the new title.

cumstances. By this individual, we are assured that the language of the writer in the "Magazine" is overdrawn and extravagant. There was no "uncermonious dismissal," and if one or two individuals seemed whimsically captious, if Hiram Pearsons expressed a desire for a more *showy man*, one a little more of the *pompous* or *splurge* order, or if Deacon John Wright, also, had rather an itching for a man of more *celebrity*, those were not the sentiments of the Church and people generally; the Rev. Mr. Porter, we were assured, always had the kind regards and sincere respect of his church and neighbors. However sensitive Mr. Porter may have been, upon hearing of certain words that had been said, and however much his movements were governed thereby, his deportment, it is conceded by all, was christian-like, modest, and manly. After Mr. Porter decided to leave, he made effort in various directions, to supply the approaching vacancy; he has said that he "felt as if Chicago should have the best minister in the land."

We believe it was Deacon Wright who applied to Dr. Joel Hawes, of Connecticut, to accept the vacant pulpit. It was something of a joke, which however had not the least of flattery in it, that Dr. Hawes didn't know where Chicago was; indeed, he had never heard of it before; he respectfully declined to accept the invitation.

Possibly it will not be saying too much, to remark here, that it is not, as we believe, an uncommon circumstance in many churches, that individuals of arrogant proclivities, attempt leadership, more (unwittingly sometimes perhaps) to gratify their personal predilections and vanities, than to further the cause of the Divine Master.

Mr. Mitchell says, after Mr. Porter left, "Mr. Hinton became virtually pastor of the Presbyterian as well as the Baptist Church; both Congregations were his auditors."

Mem. Jan., 1836. The Ladies' Sewing Society, of the Presbyterian Church, received a donation of $44 from one of the officers of the Church.

Rev. John Blatchford* was installed pastor of the Presby-

terian Church, July, 1837. During the pastorate of Mr. B., the church-building was removed south of Washington Street. The conditions or tenure by which the Church held the various parcels of real estate which it occupied from time to time, we are not advised of, and so that part of the church's history, as well as numerous other items and statistics, are left for others to recite.† Mr. Blatchford remained something

* The Rev. John Blatchford was born at Newfield, now Bridgeport, Conn., May 24, 1799. He was the tenth child of a family of eleven sons and six daughters. His parents were Samuel (son of Henry and Mary *Heath* Blatchford) and Alicia (Windeatt) Blatchford. Rev. Samuel Blatchford, who had been educated at the Dissenting College, at Homerton, near London, and some eight years a preacher in England, sailed for America in June, 1795, and arrived in August, the same year. We may merely say that Dr. Samuel Blatchford (for that degree was conferred upon him by Williams College, in 1808) was long (24 years) a pastor at Lansingburgh, N. Y., where he died, March 17, 1828.

Rev. John Blatchford was a graduate of Union College, in 1820, and his theological studies were pursued at Princeton, N. J. He was licensed to preach in 1823, and he settled at Pittstown, N. Y., in that year. In 1825, he accepted a call to Stillwater, N. Y., where he continued until 1836, when he removed West, and spent the winter in Jacksonville, Ill. In 1837, he was called to the First Presbyterian Church in Chicago, where he was installed pastor in July of that year, and continued until August, 1839. From 1841 to 1844, he was connected with Marion College, Mo., first as Professor and afterward as President. Impaired health, however, occasioned the removal of Dr. Blatchford to Quincy, Ill., and where he continued afterward to reside. His death occurred while on a visit to St. Louis, Mo., at the house of his son-in-law, Mr. Morris Collins.

† Not many, it is likely, in the Church today, have any knowledge of a name, which we are here going to write, and though it was long years ago, there are at least a few that speak of him in terms of respect and affectionate regard. Elisha Clark was here as early as 1835; of him, an early resident says: "He was a cabinet-maker, and he made me a rocking-chair, yet a pretty good one, and still in use, a veritable Chicago Antiquity. He was a prominent member of our Church (1st Presbyterian), and one of the best men I ever knew. I was with Mr. Clark in his dying hours. I remember one night, I awoke sometime after midnight, and the moon came streaming into my apartment, turning night almost into day; it was during the last sickness of Mr. C., and it occurred to me, to get up and visit

over two years, and resigned in August, 1839. Rev. Flavel Bascom* succeeded Mr. Blatchford, commencing his labors here in Dec., 1839, and installed pastor, Nov., 1840.

At the forty-sixth anniversary of the First Presbyterian Church, Mr. Bascom was present, and made a brief address, from the newspaper report of which we make a few extracts:

"When Mr. Bascom first arrived at Chicago, July 10, 1833, the village was believed to contain some 300 inhabitants, and Indians were encamped all along the south branch of the river. He took his meals in one place, and lodged in Mr. Porter's study in the attic of another building on South-Water Street. He had been met by Mr. Philo Carpenter and asked to preach, which he did, in Fort Dearborn, on the following Sunday, and the people were called out to hear him at the tap of the drum. Their choir were accompanied in their singing by the shrill notes of a fife; that was the first sermon he preached in Illinois. * * * He came to Illinois as a Congregational licentiate, but he found no Congregational organization in the State, and had to be ordained as a Presbyterian minister before he could become a pastor. He went to Springfield to receive the orders of the church, and had to wait two days for a quorum, when only three ministers were required to perform the service. Mr. Carpenter showed him the place which had been selected for a church site. He thought it an unwise selection, as it would bring

him at that still hour. I accordingly rose and dressed myself, and went to his house, the door to his room being ajar. Quietly approaching his bedside, I addressed him with '*Watchman, what of the night?*' His answer, if in words not now precisely recalled, was in the language of hopeful, confiding trust, and he characterized the prospect of his early departure and blissful hereafter, as bright and glorious. He died, I think, in a small house on Fulton Street, between Halsted and Green Streets."

* Mr. Bascom was born in Lebanon, Conn., June 8, 1804. His parents were Abiel and Sibyl (Roberts) Bascom. His early years were spent on a farm, and attending public school. Under private tuition, he fitted for College, and graduated at Yale in 1828. After teaching a year, Mr. B. took a theological course at New Haven, and was licensed to preach in 1831; he spent two years as tutor in Yale College, and in 1833, in behalf of the American Home-Missionary Society, came to Illinois, where he spent five years as a Home Missionary in Tazewell County and vicinity, and one year as Agent of that Society in Northern Illinois. In fall of 1839, he was called to the First Presbyterian Church, Chicago, where he continued for ten years. In Dec., 1849, he accepted a call to the First Church in Galesburg. In 1880, he is residing at Hinsdale, Ill.

the church out on the prairie. The location was on Clark Street, just north of the Sherman House. The building was constructed, and was 25x35 feet in size. The people worshipped in it for ten years, and then erected a brick building at the corner of Clark and Washington Streets. He dedicated that building, and for his text, chose the passage: 'The glory of this latter house, shall be greater than the glory of the former house.' In a few years, the building was converted into a billiard hall, and he concluded that his prophecies were not reliable."

[The brick house referred to, fronted north on Washington Street. The former old, wood edifice, stood on the rear of the lot, fronting east, on Clark Street; it was doubled in length after being removed from the block north of the Court-House, and in the summer of 1840, was doubled in width. Mr. Bascom informs us that the brick building (corner Clark and Washington Streets) was so far built, that in fall of 1848, the congregation removed to the basement, and held worship there till October of 1849, when the new house was completed and dedicated. As for the old, wood building, we can tell no more of its later history than that long afterward, it stood somewhere on an alley in same block; but a newspaper writer had previously (in 1857) said "it may yet be found on Dearborn Street, converted to other uses."]

Rev. Harvey Curtiss was installed pastor of this Church, Oct. 13, 1850, and who continued eight years.

Rev. Zephaniah M. Humphrey* succeeded Mr. Curtiss, and

* Rev. Zephaniah M. Humphrey, D.D., is a son of the late Rev. Dr. Heman Humphrey, who was long the President of Amherst College. He was born in Amherst, Mass., in 1824; graduated at Amherst College, in 1845, and studied theology at Andover, Mass. He came West, and, during the winter of 1849, '50, he supplied the pulpit of Plymouth Church congregation at Milwaukee. In Oct., 1853, he was ordained pastor of the Presbyterian Church at Racine, Wis., where he remained until the spring of 1856. He was then called to Milwaukee, where he was installed pastor of Plymouth Church, and remained until spring of 1859, when he accepted a call to the First Presbyterian Church at Chicago, beginning his ministry as pastor-elect, May 15, 1859, and was installed June 7th, of that year. Dr. Humphrey removed to Philadelphia in 1868, where he was some years pastor of Calvary Presbyterian Church, but subsequently accepted a Professorship

remained nine years, from 15th of May, 1859, leaving in 1868.

Rev. Arthur Mitchell was installed Nov. 10, 1868.

Our purpose was merely to refer to the earlier years of the Church, so we have said little of it any farther; we close this notice, however, by quoting a paragraph from a letter written by Rev. Mr. Porter, some years since, to the compiler of this book:

"And now, after forty years from our first labors in the church and school in your infant City, wife and I look back from our Military post in Indian Territory (Fort Sill) to admire your rebuilt City, with its one and half-hundred churches, and its 450,000 people, and rejoice at what God by man has done."

First Baptist Church.—The statement in Mr. Blanchard's History that "the first known Protestant preacher in Chicago was a Methodist," seems to have been a mistake, as we have previously shown in this chapter that he was a Baptist. But that was on the occasion of Mr. McCoy's casual visit here in 1825; (see *p. 198*) Mr. McCoy was the founder of the school at Carey. Chicago had not then arrived at the proportions and condition of a village.

Dr. John T. Temple,* we believe, can be properly called the pioneer *Baptist of Chicago.* We will attempt to show this

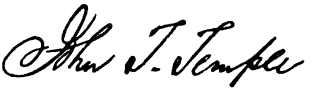
of Church Polity and Ecclesiastical History in Lane Seminary, Cincinnati, O.

Since the above was sent to the printer, Dr. Humphrey has died, after a brief illness, at Cincinnati, O., Nov. 13, 1881. His funeral was in Chicago, Nov. 17, and his remains were buried in Graceland Cemetery.

* Dr. J. T. Temple, a prominent man in Chicago, for some years, was a graduate of Middlebury College, and the Medical School at Castleton, Vt. He arrived in Chicago in July, 1833, and was directly concerned in one or more mail contracts, and was proprietor of the first stage-coach out of Chicago. This however was not to the exclusion of his regular practice as a physician, and it is named in Dr. Hyde's "Early Medical Chicago," that "so far as known, he should be credited with the performance of the first autopsy made in the City." Dr. T. sold his stage interest to the late John Frink, of Chicago. He left Chicago, we think, about the year 1852, and for many years lived in St. Louis, Mo. He was the founder of the Homeopathic College of Missouri. He died at St. Louis, Mo., Feb. 24, 1877, aged 77.

by quoting from Rev. Mr. Porter's lecture, published in the "Fergus Historical Series."

"In the first week of July, 1833, Dr. John T. Temple, and wife, and four children, arrived from Washington, D. C., with a contract from the Government to transport the mail from Chicago to Fort Howard, Green Bay. He was an intelligent physician, and a mem-



ber of the Baptist Church. His wife was the daughter of Rev. Dr. Stoughton, of Philadelphia, a distinguished minister of that church. They were happily disappointed to find regular religious services at Chicago, as they had heard there were none of any denomination. Dr. Temple, supposing there was no minister at Chicago, had applied to the Baptist Missionary Society for one, and the week after his arrival, Dr. Temple informed me that a missionary had been commissioned for Chicago. Until his arrival, Dr. Temple and family attended our services in Fort Dearborn. Thinking it best that we should at once start out as separate churches, Dr. Temple started a subscription for a building, having the double purpose of school-house and place of worship. He started the subscription with one hundred dollars. In a few weeks, it was built on the corner lot on Franklin Street, near South-Water Street. * * * The building was two stories, the upper for a school, and the lower for meetings."

Dr. Temple's agency in the matter seems clear enough, and that house, the lower part of which was purposely designed for religious "meetings," would rather show it to be *the first church edifice.* It was used by the three denominations, Methodists and Presbyterians as well as Baptists, at least for a while.* Dr. T. also pledged himself for the amount of $200 towards the support of a missionary whom the Board might send.

The Rev. Allen B. Freeman, the missionary referred to above, arrived with his bride (as by a letter of Mrs. Freeman

* A newspaper writer referred to above, said:

"To speak of the church singing, of this particular denomination, would be only to repeat what has been heretofore said of the choir performances of the Presbyterians; for the same choir did duty for all three creeds. * * * This state of things continued as long as the 'Temple Building' (so called) was the only meeting-house."

to her sister), on the 16th August, 1833. The same letter

also states that there were then "between twenty and thirty Baptists in Chicago."

Mr. Freeman, on Saturday, Oct. 19, 1833, formed the first Baptist Church, consisting of eighteen members, fourteen of whom were present, and whose names were as follows: Rev. A. B. Freeman, Hannah C. Freeman, wife of the pastor, S. T. Jackson, Martin D. Harmon, Peter Moore, Nat. Carpenter, John K. Sargents, Peter Warden, Willard Jones, Betsey Crane, Susannah Rice, Eben Crane, Samanthe Harmon, Lucinda Jackson.

Mr. Freeman labored earnestly and effectively, not only here, but in the neighboring country settlements; he organized at least four other churches, in various districts, besides the one at Chicago, during his residence here. Says a newspaper correspondent: "One of his best sermons was preached on Nov. 17, 1833, from Luke, ch. 16, v. 2, *Give an account of thy stewardship.* Mr. Freeman's sojourn at Chicago, however, was not a lengthy one; he died here Dec. 15, 1834. Rev. Jeremiah Porter says, in his lecture of 1859:

"By request of Mrs. Freeman, and the Church, I preached (Dec. 21st) his funeral sermon in our church, as it was twice as large as his, and all wished to honor the faithful pastor, who had so early finished his work. So large an audience for Christian worship had never been gathered in Chicago before. Four ministers took part in the services—Rev. I. W. Hallam of the Episcopal Church, Rev. John Mitchell of the Methodist, and Rev. Mr. Ambrose of the Baptist, who was laboring with one of the churches that Brother Freeman had formed in the country."

We will add that Rev. Allen B. Freeman was a graduate of Hamilton Theological Seminary; his father and brothers were Baptist ministers. His remains, it was said, were interred in the "old cemetery"; but a later statement tells that their "resting-place no one can point out." A communication in quite a recent number of the *Chicago Tribune* speaks of,

"— a little burial-ground near the North Branch on the West Side; * * * That little burial-ground, as I remember, was about where Indiana Street crosses the river. The little inclosure was a prominent object, on the otherwise unoccupied and open prairie, up to 1840, if not later. An inscription on one head-stone, or rather head-board, I well remember. It was that of the Rev. A. B. Freeman, who was the first Baptist minister of Chicago."

The widow of Mr. Freeman subsequently married Rev. Alvin Bailey. Her maiden name was Hannah Clarke; she died in Jacksonville, Ill., July 18, 1847, aged 44 years, and was buried July 21, in Carrollton; her remains rest by the side of those of "little Allen Brown Freeman," her only child by her first husband. She left a son, Alvin Freeman Bailey, now (1881) a clergyman in Barre, Mass.

We extract from the volume entitled "Chicago and Her Churches":

"It was soon found necessary to enlarge their boundaries, owing to the great increase of members and attendants; and they were fortunate enough to secure a donation from the State, under the provision of the dedication law, by which they were put in possession of a lot at the corner of Washington and LaSalle Streets, measuring 80 by 180 feet. This was in the year 1835, when the Rev. I. T. Hinton* was inaugurated the second pastor, and soon

* From a newspaper article of many years ago, we copy the following:

"Elder Freeman having gone to his rest, their spiritual state was looked after by the Rev. Isaac T. Hinton, a gentleman by birth an Englishman, a pious man and a ripe scholar. He was a most valued and accomplished teacher in religious things, free from all false austerity, genial in spirit, and warm in soul; he made his way easily to the hearts and firesides, whether of Baptists or Romanists. He not only taught, but practised what he taught; he not only pointed the road to heaven, but travelled it. The salary which his people paid him, was inadequate to his support; the more so, from the fact, that he had but few sheep over which he exercised a pastoral care, and was blessed, like all poor parsons, with a numerous family. He therefore, for the purpose of a better maintenance, combined teaching the young with preaching to the old, and kept a school. His great forte was, visiting his people, and preaching on prophecy. His happy disposition and jovial turn of temper rendered his visits very acceptable, and drawing his people near to him as he drew them out in converse, he was better able to pour the balm of consolation into wounded hearts, which were so frankly laid open to him. He preached on Sunday evenings, in the year 1836, a series of sermons on prophecy,

afterward sent East to obtain subscriptions for the erection of a suitable place of worship. He met with but poor encouragement, returning with a subscription list of only $846.48. They seemed to think a good deal of it, however, and it stirred them up to active work among themselves. They laid the foundations of the new temple, and prepared a good deal of the wood-work; but the crisis of 1836-'7 so completely demolished the enterprise, that they finally equipped a frame building which had been erected as a temporary workshop, and converted it into a church, where, with additions and

in the Presbyterian Church, to houses crowded to suffocation; his theory set forth, that the end of the present order of things would take place in 1873. He often indulged in startling denunciation or florid allegory. At last, to the great and irreparable loss of the Baptists in particular, and Chicago in general, he discovered that preaching and teaching combined, did not promise to secure a protection against incompetent provision for the wants of his family, as a loud call from the *City of St. Louis* promised. He set his face southward. * * * We must not omit to mention the choir performances which accompanied these evening lectures. Quartette choirs in churches, as we before remarked, were not known in those days; but the hymns and set-pieces, were delivered with a stentorian and voluminous energy. * * * Old "Denmark" was usually the opening piece, and "St John" was ever the favorite tune whenever common metre was selected. Prescott's voice on the tenor, is yet fresh in the memory of those who went to hear 'Hinton on prophecy.'"

[We will add to this note, the following, from Hon. John Wentworth's lecture of May, 1876, in "Fergus' Historical Series":]

"Our early settlers were distinguished for their liberal patronage of all religious denominations, and we had one clergyman, who created as much sensation as any we have had since his day. Like all really influential sensational preachers, he was an original. He dealt freely in pathos and in ridicule. If we cried once, we were sure to laugh once, in every sermon. Unlike clergymen now called sensational, he never quoted poetry, nor told anecdotes, nor used slang phrases, for the purpose of creating a laugh. There was nothing second-handed about him. I allude to Rev. Isaac T. Hinton, a Baptist clergyman, who was the only settled minister on the South Side when I came here in 1836. His residence was near the corner of Van Buren Street and Fifth Avenue, then in the outskirts of the City, and was shaded by native oaks. He was a man who never seemed so happy as when he was immersing converted sinners in our frozen river or lake. It is said of his converts, that no one of them was ever known to be a backslider. If you could see the cakes of ice that were raked out to make room for the baptismal purposes, you would make up your mind that no man would join a church under such circumstances unless he joined to stay. Immersion was no uncommon thing in those days. One cold day about the first part of February, 1839, there were seventeen immersed in the river at the foot of State Street. A hole about 20 feet square was cut through the ice, and a platform was sunk, with one end resting on the shore. Among the seventeen was our well-known architect, John M. Van Osdell, alderman elect, said to be now the only survivor."

improvements, they worshipped God until the year 1844, handing over one of these additions to the colored brethren of the Methodist Church on Jackson Street.

Rev. Mr. Hinton preached his farewell sermon in the Presbyterian House, Sept. 26, 1841, and he removed to St. Louis.

Following Rev. Mr. Hinton in the pastorate of this church, were successively, Rev. C. B. Smith, Rev. E. H. Hamlin, Rev. Miles Sanford, and Rev. Elisha Tucker, D.D., and others.

The Society, in 1844, had resolved to build a new building, and $5000 were raised, and a brick building was erected, 55 by 80 feet, where the congregation continued to worship, until the building was destroyed by fire in 1852.

We learn from Dr. L. D. Boone, that he is "the oldest male member of the First Baptist Church, living, who was a member in June, 1836," when he joined.

Protestant Episcopal Church.—Rev. Jeremiah Porter in his lecture of 1859, says:

"About the 10th of October, 1834, the Rev. Mr. Dyer, of the Episcopal Church, arrived in this town. Having passed a pleasant evening with him, and his Episcopal friends, I invited him to occupy my pulpit on the following Sabbath. He consented to do so, and on the 12th, so far as my knowledge goes, the first sermon preached in connection with the Episcopal services, was delivered in my church, near Lake Street. Mrs. J. H. Kinzie, Mrs. Helm, her sister-in-law, and Miss E. Chappel, distributed the prayer-books to the congregation. The sermon was excellent—in the morning from the words, (Matt. xviii: 3), "Except ye be converted, and become as little children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven"; another in the afternoon, from Isaiah xl: 8, "The grass withereth, the flower fadeth, but the word of our God shall stand forever." After the second service, Mr. Dyer administered the sacrament, the congregation remaining to witness the feast. Myself and many of my church partook of the emblems, with our Episcopal friends. Only four of that church communed on that occasion—three ladies, of Mr. Kinzie's family, and one gentleman only. Including my church, about thirty received the sacrament from the hands of Rev. Mr. Dyer." * * *

"The Rev. Isaac W. Hallam and wife, in company with E. K. Hubbard and wife, now Mrs. Thomas Dyer, were on their way from Connecticut to Chicago. The following Sabbath, Mr. Hallam commenced his ministry in Chicago, preaching in the Baptist house of

worship, Mr. Freeman being absent in the country, as usual, once a month. It was October 19, 1834. St. James', the first Episcopal Church, was then building near the dwelling of Mr. J. H. Kinzie, on the North Side. * * * St. James' Church was soon after consecrated, and Mr. Hallam had gathered a pleasant and increasing

congregation and church, when I left Chicago, about a year after his coming."

We are told, however, by a resident here at the time, that Bishop Chase preached and administered the sacrament, in the Presbyterian house, before the arrival of Rev. Mr. Hallam. As late as the summer of 1836, the last-named clergyman occasionally held service in the Presbyterian edifice, as a gentleman from abroad said, though he called that house "a little, low, frame shanty of a building."

We copy the following letter, said to be from the first Episcopal missionary, to this locality, bearing date Dec. 7, 1835; the writer we presume was Mr. Hallam.

"During the last quarter, my labors have been confined to Chicago. I have buried six individuals, and married two couples. Four persons have been added to the number of communicants. By the blessing of God, I may again report that my congregation continues to increase. On Sunday last there was a more numerous attendance on our services than ever before. Of several places where missionaries of our Church might be immediately stationed, and where I know that now is the time to put in the sickle, I select Milwalky. It is situated in the Ouisconsin Territory, on the shore of Lake Michigan, and distant about eighty miles from Chicago. In the opinion of many judicious persons, it will be very little inferior to the last-named place. Twenty-five miles this side of Milwalky is Root River. The two might be united for the present in one station. I have been frequently requested by intelligent and influential men of both places to call the attention of the Committee to this subject, and to assure them of a readiness on the part of the people generally to support a missionary of the Episcopal Church. They always add, what you missionaries so often write, 'now is the time.' It is not so much what these places now are, as what they will be in a short time, that makes it so important that they should be immediately occupied. Both Milwalky and Root River will have harbors; and, where such is the case, the increase of population is astonishingly great."

The following is an extract from a page of the volume called "Chicago and Her Churches":

"The oldest Episcopal Church in the City is that of St. James. It was organized in 1834, with the following as its first members: Peter Johnson, Mrs. P. Johnson, Mrs. Juliette A. Kinzie, Mrs. Frances W. Magill, Mrs. Nancy Hallam, Mrs. Margaret Helm; and from this beginning, have grown the various magnificent churches, belonging to the Episcopalians proper, which grace and adorn the City."

The First Unitarian Church.—From one of the *dailies* we extract the following sketch, presumed to be authentic, of this church:

"The first Unitarian preaching in Chicago was by Dr. Follen, in June, 1836.* The services were held in the old Lake House, on the corner of Michigan and Rush Streets. A society was organized June 29, 1836, under the laws of Illinois, with the title of 'The First Unitarian Society of Chicago,' and $800 were subscribed at once for the purchase of a lot. For several years after the organization, there was no settled pastor, and the Society was dependent upon such occasional preaching as they could obtain. The Rev. Mr. Huntoon preached for sometime in 1837. In June, 1838, the Rev. James Thompson, of Salem, Mass., preached three Sundays with much benefit to the Society. In the early part of 1839, the Rev. Crawford Nightingale preached for some months. Rev. George W. Hosmer, of Buffalo, preached here four Sundays. Services were held at this period, in the 'Saloon Building,' so called, situated on the south-east corner of Clark and Lake Streets. In the same year, the Rev. Mr. Barrett preached two Sundays with great acceptation. In October, 1839, the Rev. Joseph Harrington arrived and took charge of the Society as their pastor. The first Sunday he held services in the 'Saloon Building' with an audience of ten persons. Mr. Harrington preached in the same place during the winter to a constantly increasing audience, so that in the spring of 1840, he determined to go East and ask for help in building a church. He was successful in his mission, and a lot was purchased on Washington Street, between Clark and Dearborn, 80 by 180 feet. A building was contracted for with Alexander Loyd, in October, 1840, and it was dedicated by the pastor, the Rev. Joseph Harrington, in May, 1841. The cost of the church was $3758.45; cost of the land $500; making a total of

* The authoress, Miss Martineau, who visited Chicago in 1836, refers to that occasion as follows: "We were unexpectedly detained over the Sunday at Chicago, and Dr. F. was requested to preach. Though only two hours' notice was given, a respectable congregation was assembled in the large room of the Lake House, a new hotel then building. Our seats were a few chairs, and benches, and planks laid on trestles. The preacher stood behind a rough pine table, on which a large Bible was placed. I was never present at a more interesting service, and I know that there were others who felt with me."

$4258.45. Of this there was collected at the East, chiefly through the exertions of Mr. Harrington, $2888.46; collected in Chicago, $1369.99; cost of steeple, built afterward, $461. The Rev. Mr. Harrington closed his pastorate in the fall of 1844, after which this church had the services of the Rev. William Lord, the Rev. Henry Giles, the Rev. William Adam, the Rev. William P. Huntington, and the Rev's. Messrs. Ripley and A. H. Conant, at various times."

We will add here that the church edifice on Washington Street, was twice enlarged, before it was burned, on May 22, 1863. It was this building, as we have said on a previous page, which bore up the first church bell in Chicago. The Society subsequently sold their lot on Washington Street for $15,000 and rebuilt on Wabash Avenue.

CHICAGO MUNICIPALTY: VILLAGE AND CITY.

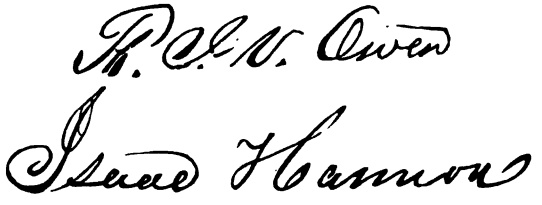
The County of Cook was incorporated by Act of the Legislature, approved Jan. 15, 1831.

The Commissioner's-Court of Cook County seems to have first convened on the 8th of March, 1831.

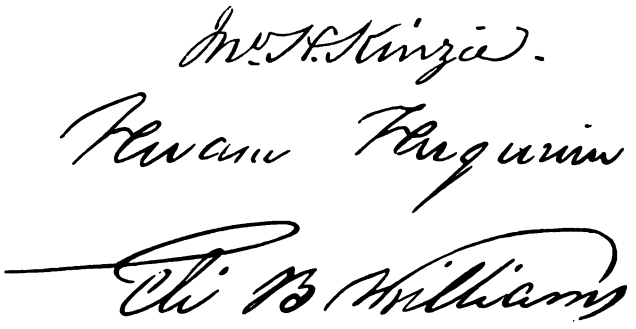
In the month of July, 1833, a meeting of the citizens was called to determine the expediency of organizing or "incorporating" the Village or "Town" of Chicago, agreeable to the Statute for that purpose. The result of this meeting was twelve votes for incorporation and one against it.

The first election for Trustees of the Town was held at the house of Mark Beaubien, on the 10th of August, 1833; twenty-eight votes were polled, and five Trustees elected; their names were Thomas J. V. Owen, George W. Dole, Medore Beaubien, John Miller, and Edmund S. Kimberly.

The first President of the Village or Board of Trustees was Col. T. J. V. Owen, and Isaac Harmon was Secretary.



Between the summer of 1833 and the spring of 1837, when the City Government was organized, there seems to have been four incumbents of the position of President of the Village; namely, Col. Owen, as above, also, Col. John H. Kinzie, Hiram Hugunin, and Eli B. Williams.



The City of Chicago was created by Act of Legislature, March 4, 1837. The first election for City Officers was held May 2, 1837, when Wm. B. Ogden was chosen Mayor.

Following this first election under the Charter, was a discussion of the subject of a City Seal. Prominent in this matter of the Seal, and the getting up the model for it, was Dr. Josiah C. Goodhue, who had been elected one of the Aldermen of the First Ward.

Buckner S. Morris was chosen Mayor in 1838,

Benjamin W. Raymond, in 1839,

Alexander Loyd, in 1840,

Francis C. Sherman, in 1841,

Benjamin W. Raymond, in 1842,

Augustus Garrett, in 1843,

[At the first election of 1844, it was supposed that Augustus Garrett had been reëlected Mayor; but the matter was contested and declared illegal, and a new election ordered to be held April 2, 1844, at which A. S. Sherman was chosen Mayor.]

Alanson S. Sherman, in 1844.

Augustus Garrett, in 1845,

John P. Chapin, in 1846,

James Curtiss, in 1847,

James H. Woodworth, in 1848, also in 1849,

James Curtiss, in 1850,

Walter S. Gurnee, 1851 and in 1852,

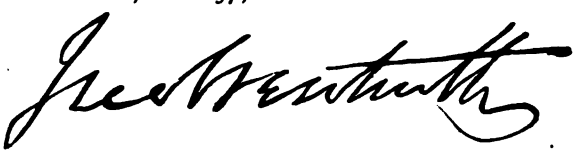
Charles M. Gray, 1853,

Isaac L. Milliken, in 1854,

Levi D. Boone, in 1855,

Thomas Dyer, in 1856,

John Wentworth, in 1857,



John C. Haines, in 1858, and in 1859,

John Wentworth, in 1860,

Julien S. Rumsey, in 1861,

Francis C. Sherman, in 1862 and 1863, [Early in 1863 an amendment to the City Charter, made the term of Mayor two years, in place of one, as hitherto.]

John B. Rice, was elected in 1865 and 1867,

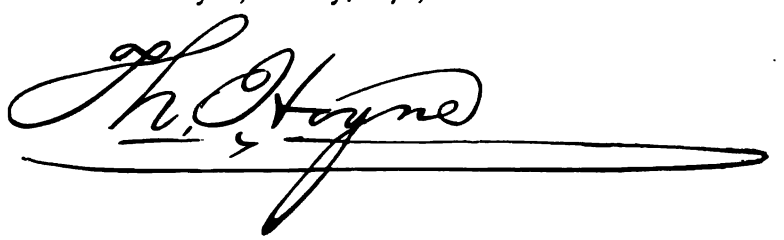
[By Act of the General Assembly, passed March 10, 1869, the time for the City election was changed from April to November; those in office were continued therein until the first Monday in December, 1869.]

Roswell B. Mason, was elected in Nov., 1869,

Joseph Medill, was elected in Nov., 1871,

Harvey D. Colvin, was elected in Nov., 1873,

Thomas Hoyne, in May, 1876,



"The City of Chicago was (newly) organized under the 'General Incorporation Act,' in April, 1875, and, consequently, no election

was held in November, 1875, but those in office held over until May, 1876.

"The order passed by the City Council, providing for an election for City Officers under the (new) General Incorporation Act, omitted all reference to the office of Mayor. Notwithstanding this omission, and the apparent absence of any authority, a popular vote was taken for Mayor at the election, and Thomas Hoyne received 33,064 votes, 819 scattering.

"The canvass of the returns being made to the Council, the vote given for Mayor was disregarded, but the new Council, at its first meeting, decided to canvass the returns, and, having done so, declared Mr. Hoyne duly elected mayor.

"Mr. Colvin, the incumbent, then declined to yield possession of his office, on the plea that he was entitled to 'hold over,' under the law; a reference was had to the courts of law, resulting in the virtual failure of each of the contestants to sustain his position. In consequence, a special election for mayor was ordered by the Council, which was held July 12th, 1876, at which Monroe Heath was duly elected."—J. A. MOODY.

Monroe Heath, in July, 1876,

Carter H. Harrison, in 1879 and 1881.

We will remark that at the time of the great fire, the portraits of all our Mayors who had filled the office, and those of several Chicago Village Presidents, also, we believe, were in the City Hall, but were all burned.

It would be, we think, a popular and graceful act of the City Council, to restore the portraits of those gentlemen to the Council Hall, which it is likely might be done, if done immediately, together with a continuation of those of the subsequent Mayors. The expense would be trifling, for what would afford a creditable pride, not only with the present generation, but those of centuries to come.

FIRST CHICAGO NEWSPAPER.

If a fair presentation could be made today of the history of the press of Chicago, it would require a volume of no small dimensions. Could the facts involved in such a history be justly portrayed, they would no doubt show a marked and striking feature in the progress of this (sometimes by strangers so-called) wonderful Town. We could not here attempt to suggest even the hundredth part of the ways in which this, one of our powerful levers, has been moving the world at home and abroad, during the short period, its first half-century not yet complete. We will hope still to see such a book, written with the ability which the subject deserves, in which the numerous branches and departments of its labors, with the acts and actors, whether for good or evil, may have due attention.*

It will be proper to add, however, that one great obstacle in the way of such a compilation or comprehensive history as we have referred to, is the absence of a great share of the files of newspapers and other periodicals, etc., during the thirty-eight years preceding the great fire of 1871.

Our purpose, in this chapter, will be to give merely a few items and incidents happening at *the dawn here*, of this type-setting and type-feeding age.

* It will be proper to notice several communications upon the subject of Chicago printers, printing, and journalism, which have appeared in the papers within a few years past; namely,

A Letter of a column or so, addressed by Mr. K. K. Jones to the *Springfield Journal*, copied into the *Chicago Tribune*, of Feb. 23, 1879.

A Paper entitled "Early Journalism," by Gershom Martin, appeared in the *Saturday Evening Call*, of Peoria, March 22, 1879; and in the *Printers' Cabinet*.

An Article about the "Early Printers of Chicago," in Mr. S. P. Rounds' *Printers' Cabinet*, of October, 1880, by Mr. Z. Eastman.

All the above-named, present professed reminiscences of the writers, and each, no doubt, gives items of more or less value to the future writer of history, however occasionally warped by possible prejudice or a wayward memory. We must add that we are assured by an early printer of Chicago, that the statements in all the above-named papers should be received with the greatest caution, and that the last-named, particularly, abounds in error.

The first newspaper of which we have heard, as started in the State or Territory of Illinois, was the *Illinois Herald*, begun at Kaskaskia in or before the year 1814, by Matthew Duncan, a brother of a former Governor of Kentucky. That paper, however, soon took the name of the *Illinois Intelligencer;* but besides it and the *Illinois Gazette*, which it is believed had already been commenced at Shawneetown, we are not aware that any other newspaper had existence in Illinois in 1818, at the time it became a State. The schoolmaster, it is supposed, had not as yet been much abroad, and Northern Illinois was still a wilderness.

It was while Andrew Jackson was Executive Chief of the Nation, in the first year of his second term, when John Reynolds was Governor of Illinois, and Thomas J. V. Owen was President of the newly-incorporated Town of Chicago, that the first printing-press was set at work here, and the first Chicago newspaper made its appearance.

To the name of John Calhoun* belongs the credit of having

* John Calhoun was the fourth child of a family of five sons and three daughters, and was born (not in "*Waterloo,*" as Mr. Eastman's article says) in Watertown, Jefferson County, N. Y., April 14, 1808. His parents were Chauncey and Sarah Edwards (Paddock) Calhoun, who were natives of Connecticut, and early settlers at Watertown. Mr. Calhoun's educational advantages were mostly those fforded at the common school, and which he was only able to attend during the winter months. From some autobiographic *memoranda*, by Mr. Calhoun, we learn that his mind seemed to take "more of a practical and mechanical" cast than otherwise, and he was famous among his playmates as an expert in building sleds, wooding skate-irons, and divers other appliances of boyhood locomotion and amusement. This aptness in the use of tools is, in part, explained by the fact that his father was a carpenter and builder, and John's mechanical proclivities were seconded by the free use of the implements of his trade.

At the age of sixteen, his father proposed that he should select some respectable trade for his future occupation in life. It is proper here to say that among John's associates were two young lads, who were apprentices to the printing business, and his intimacy with them had led him somewhat into the mysteries of the *art;* indeed, he had acquired already something of the rudiments of type-setting. So his father consenting, John arranged terms with Mr. Walter Woodward, and set to work in the capacity of "*devil*" of the establishment. We understand that such was Mr. Calhoun's faithful application to his duties in the office, that he won the fullest confidence of Mr. Woodward, and who, after a while, to a great extent, left the business to his care and management. At the age of twenty, agreeable

been the pioneer-printer, editor, and publisher in this part of the State of Illinois.

to the articles of the apprenticeship, Mr. Calhoun's term of service expired; and after making a visit to friends in Rochester and Utica, returned and worked for Mr. Woodward as a *journeyman* in the office. [We may as well remark here, as anywhere, that Mr. Calhoun did not learn to print in the office of the "*Waterloo*" *Freeman*, nor did he emigrate from Waterloo for Chicago, as Mr. Eastman tells us; whether or not Mr. Calhoun arrived at Chicago, Oct. 16, 1833, as Mr. E. further states, we can not say, for we are not aware that Mr. Calhoun himself tells us. Furthermore, we must deny that Mr. Calhoun came from New Hampshire, as Mr. Gershom Martin suggests, or that "he learned his trade in Isaac Hill's old *New-Hampshire-Patriot* office, at Concord." So far from this, we may state that until his visit to Rochester, in 1828, he had never before been outside the bounds of Jefferson County, N. Y., the place of his nativity.] The year following, Mr. Calhoun went East, and worked in Starr & Little's type-foundry, at Albany, and a short time in Troy, on a City Directory. Returning to Watertown, he again worked for Mr. Woodward for about a year, thence he went to Oswego, where he was engaged in the printing-office of Richard Oliphant, where he continued about six months. Again going home, he entertained the project of taking a trip to New Orleans, but to this his father made objections, and proposed to him that if he would start a job office of his own, he would assist him to equip it with type, press, etc. This offer was accepted, and in the summer of 1831, he made purchase of a press and material at Albany.

In fitting up, at Watertown, his first printing-office, his mechanical genius came into play again, his use of carpenter's tools "enabling him to make all the furniture necessary for the office, including cases, stands, etc., and which articles many carpenters are unable to put together in a proper manner."

After he had procured his type, press, etc., Mr. Woodward made a proposal to take him into partnership, limited to the term of one year. Mr. Calhoun concluded to accept the offer, and "again returned to his old office." Mr. Calhoun, in the *memoranda* spoken of, refers to "one of those splits in the Democratic party of New York, which have attracted so much of the attention of politicians, and recites the story of its effect upon himself." The *Watertown Freeman*, we understand, was the name of Mr. Woodward's newspaper, and with which Mr. Calhoun had now become connected; but its seems Mr. Woodward, within the period named, took upon himself the responsibility of selling out the concern to the other wing, "in order to heal the division," and so left Mr. C. out in the cold. Mr. C., however, procured additional material, and established the *Watertown Eagle*, a rival Democratic paper. After continuing this sheet for a year, he closed up the institution, and not long afterward looked toward the West.

We should here say that during his partnership with Mr. Woodward, Mr. Calhoun was married at Watertown, or rather across the river, in the immediate vicinity, May 31, 1832, to Miss Pamelia C. Hathaway, daughter of James and Lucinda (Read) Hathaway.

Mr. Calhoun having shipped his press, etc., for Chicago, and leaving Mrs. C. at Watertown, he "set out to seek a home and his fortune in the West. He took

It was about the middle of the month of September, 1833, that Mr. Calhoun shipped at Sacket's Harbor for Chicago, his printing-press, type, and other material, including a small quantity of paper, all in charge of his two apprentices. [It will be quite proper to say a word or two further of those assistants, the "two apprentices"; somebody in the far-away future may wish to know more about two of our earliest printers, who came as a body-guard, escorting Chicago's first printing-press a thousand miles or so over the fresh-water seas. Their names were Oscar Pratt and —— Beckford. They were young men, and had the confidence of their employer, yet their sojourn at Chicago, we think, was not of

what he supposed would be the most expeditious route; he went by steamer up Lake Ontario; at Buffalo, took steamboat "New York," for Cleveland, but from headwinds was delayed; took steamboat "Pennsylvania," for Detroit, but encountered a fearful gale, driven back twice, "the water on her decks knee-deep" occasionally, headed for Black River, she struck on the bar; after waiting there a day, Mr. C., with some thirty others, proceeded on foot for Huron, twenty miles distant. Waiting there two days, they chartered a schooner and reached Detroit. Stages to Chicago were then but tri-weekly, and two days passed before he got a passage. There were various delays on the route, but he was at length set down at the "Mansion House," in Chicago, kept by Dexter Graves, on Lake Street. The press, etc., had arrived some days before. Mr. Calhoun worked diligently with his hands in getting his office ready to be occupied; he speaks, however, of the straightened circumstances in which he found himself after his arrival at Chicago; the freight upon his goods, besides various other demands, bore down with a serious weight upon his sensitive nerves and empty purse. Mr. Calhoun, however, has paid a grateful tribute to the memory of Col. Thos. J. V. Owen, who came to his relief by advancing the necessary funds to bring him out from immediate difficulties; nor was his kindness limited by this single occasion.

In the spring of 1834, Mr. Calhoun was joined by his wife, whom he had left at Watertown, as before stated. It was during this separation that they were called to mourn the loss of their first-born child.

"Having procured a residence which had been built by Mr. David Carver, upon Lake Street, near Clark, Mr. C. resided there during that summer, and, in the Fall, removed to a house which he had built upon a canal lot, adjoining the "Sherman House," which he had selected and fenced during the spring, where he resided until the fall of 1836."

During the month of May, 1836, Mr. and Mrs. Calhoun were made happy by the birth of a son.

Mr. Calhoun, who had hitherto enjoyed good health, was prostrated in the fall of 1836, with bilious or malarial fever, and was brought, he has said, "to the verge of the grave." During this fall, he made disposal of his newspaper, the

many months. Pratt, we understand, soon went South, and afterward became a captain of a steamer on the Mississippi, but died many years ago. Mr. Beckford might be called a singular individual in his appearance, in his movements or manners, as well as in his speech and intellectual characteristics. He was not a large man and moreover was somewhat deformed; whether he was of any very near kin to the wealthy Beckford, the author of "Vathek," we have our doubts; but we think he returned to Her Majesty's Dominions in Canada, from whence he came.] A three weeks' voyage, had, one day in the first half of the month of October, 1833, landed them in Chicago, on the dock of George W. Dole, at Dearborn

Democrat, and also of his lot on Randolph Street. Purchasing a lot on State Street, Mr. Calhoun erected the dwelling where he had resided nearly twenty-three years at the time of his death. [The location of Mr. Calhoun's house was west side of State Street, south corner of "Calhoun Place," where Messrs. Pardridges' store is.] "At that time (1836) there were but very few buildings south of this house, while the number of persons passing on State Street would not average three a-day."

On the 15th of April, 1837, they met the great affliction of the loss of their son and only child.

In the Spring of 1837, Mr. Calhoun was appointed, by the Commissioners, Treasurer of Cook County. Connected with this office, was also that of making the assessment for the entire County, which office he held for two years. Subsequently, he was appointed Collector for the County, three years in succession; in 1841 and 2, he was elected Alderman of the Second Ward. The next two or three years, Mr. C. tells us were those of leisure, much of which time, he says, was passed in gunning. Later years were passed as a clerk in the hardware store of Ira B. Eddy; then a partner with Joseph Mattison, for several years in same business; afterward in the employ of Illinois Central Railroad; and in 1854–5, was engaged with others in attempts to rid the public of the Wild Cat-banks or their currency.

For the last few years of his life, his health was so poor as to prevent his engaging in any business. He has said that he "never had a great ambition to be rich, and thus far, all his aspirations have been realized."

He died at his residence on State Street, on Sunday, February 20th, 1859, in his 51st year. His widow still survives and resides in Chicago.

We will close this rather-extended sketch, which we thought due, (not only to the memory of our pioneer-printer, but to the use of the coming historian), with the following few words, written by Mr. Calhoun, which we esteem as a better certificate of nobility than any ever issued at the Herald's College.

"Of late years, I have felt the want of riches, more for the *good* that I could do with them, than for any benefit to be derived to myself from their possession."

Street. Mr. Calhoun, who had been an equal length of time on the way, though taking as he supposed a shorter route, found his apprentices boarding at the old log Wolf Tavern, or as then called the "Traveler's Home" of C. Ingersoll, on the West Side. His first business was to procure an office. He has said:

"After some considerable search, I was able to procure the second story of a building which was being erected on the south-west corner of South-Water and Clark Streets. By taking hold and lathing, and holding a candle, while Mr. Ashbel Steele plastered during evenings, the room was soon ready to be occupied."

After arranging his office, Mr. C. found it necessary to determine "whether he should issue a neutral or political paper. Being an ardent admirer of the then Chief Magistrate of the United States, and leader of the Democratic party, Andrew Jackson, he was impelled to publish a Democratic paper." The first printing done here by Mr. Calhoun, was a job of hotel cards for Chester Ingersoll, who kept the "Traveler's Home."

John Calhoun

The first number of Mr. Calhoun's newspaper, the *Chicago Democrat*, bore date November 26, 1833. It was a six-column, four-page sheet, and we may say that the measurement of the printed matter on the page within its outside edges was, width 14 inches, height 18¼ inches; we are not describing the paper as a printer would, but we will present here a reduced *fac-simile* of the heading of that first Chicago newspaper.

CHICAGO DEMOCRAT.

"Where Liberty dwells there is my Country."

BY J. CALHOUN. CHICAGO, TUESDAY NOV. 26, 1833. VOL. 1—NO. 1

"The *Democrat* is published every Tuesday in the Village of Chicago, Cook Co., Ill., in the building on the corner of South-Water and Clark Streets. Terms, two dollars and fifty cents in advance; any procuring six subscribers will be entitled to one gratis."

Mr. Calhoun, in his inaugural, announces that:

"The political complexion of the *Democrat* can not be mistaken, for it will be in fact what its name implies. As the advocate of popular rights, and the adherent of the People's Government, the *Democrat* will sustain to its utmost ability the Democracy of the State and of the Union; believing, as we do, that the prominent and leading measures of the present administration are well calculated in their results to promote the welfare of the Nation, and to secure to our Republican Government permanency and stability," etc.

The editor disclaimed being "so selfish as to exclude from the *Democrat* such articles as may be temperately written upon any subject that the editor may deem suitable for newspaper discussion." A stranger to the leading citizens, he says he is free from those "personal predelictions which most editors are apt to entertain for their political favorites; consequently, his support of, or opposition to, the politicians of Illinois, must be entirely governed by measures and not regulated by men." He referred to "the rapidly increasing importance of Chicago, in a commercial point of view," and of the desired "speedy commencement and completion of the long-contemplated Canal or Rail Road, which is to connect the waters of Lake Michigan with those of the Illinois River;" and he asks for communications on the subject; and says, that "a large portion of the paper will be devoted to the cor-

rect development of the great natural resources of the State;" etc.

In Mr. Calhoun's first paper, he says:

"More than 800 souls may now be found within the limits that, within a few short months since, included less than *one-tenth* of that number." Also: "Even with the present limited facilities of navigation which it possesses, goods have been transported from New York by way of the lakes to St. Louis, in the short space of twenty-three days, at the rate of $1,63 per 100."

We copy from Mr. Calhoun's *memoranda:*

"The people of Chicago, anxious for the establishment of a paper, extended to it a very liberal support, for the influence it would not and did not fail to exert upon the growth of the City. Numbers of persons subscribed for two, three, four, and five copies of the paper, directing them to be sent to their relations and friends in the different sections of the country, from whence they had emigrated."

"Mr. Calhoun, though not having the advantage of a liberal education, was the ostensible Editor of the *Democrat*, but was assisted by able writers, and published a large number of well-written articles, descriptive of the advantages of Chicago and the surrounding country, which exerted a great influence upon its future growth."

"The nearest points at which newspapers were published, at this time, were Galena, Springfield, and Detroit; and a supply of paper was procured from St. Louis by stage, after a suspension of Mr. Calhoun's paper for two weeks."

The following from the *Democrat* of Dec. 17, '33, embraced the ideas of Mr. Calhoun:

"When we reflect upon the commercial advantages of Chicago, and take into consideration the inviting country that surrounds it, we are not astonished that the attention of different parts of the country has become so much awakened by the stories related by travelers of the superior advantages of the northern parts of Illinois. Here is a town that affords an advantageous market for a country hundreds of miles in extent; here are the fields of nature, inviting the attention of the agriculturist, and promising, with but little labor, the most abundant crops and manufacturing advantages, surpassed by those of no country."

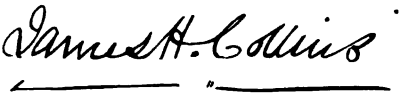
President Jackson's message was not received by mail, to enable it to be published until Dec. 31st.

In the 10th number of the *Democrat*, January 28th, 1834,* appears an editorial, from which we extract the following:

* Mr. K. K. Jones says the *Democrat*, in 1834, was located on the upper floor of a

"At that time (spring of 1833), Chicago did not contain more than five or six regular stores, and now may be counted from twenty to twenty-five; then it did not contain over one-hundred-and-fifty inhabitants, whereas now there are from eight to ten hundred; then it did not contain over thirty buildings, now may be seen over one-hundred-and-eighty. During the past summer, over eighty vessels have arrived, bringing goods and property to a vast amount; yet, notwithstanding the immense importation of merchandise during the past season, hardly three good assortments could now be made out in this place. * * * Much inconvenience has been experienced, during the past season, for the want of all kinds of mechanics; and their labor has commanded very high prices. The harbor which is now in progress at this place, it is confidently hoped, will be so far advanced in the early part of next season, as to admit vessels into the river; when the danger that has heretofore existed to vessels laying in the offing to discharge and receive their cargoes, will be remedied. Then our advancement will receive a decided impulse."

"The *Democrat* took strong grounds in favor of the construction by the State of the Canal; and to its strong articles upon this subject (to which the late James H. Collins was among the ablest contribu-



tors), we are indebted for its early commencement. As the northern part of the State, which then embraced the counties of Rock Island, Peoria, LaSalle, Cook, and Jo Daviess, was entitled to only one representative in the Legislature, the effect of these articles will be more fully appreciated."

"This year (1834), the message of President Jackson was received, so as to be published in the *Democrat* the 23d of December."

"Owing to the contractors failing to ship a supply of paper, in season to reach Chicago before the close of navigation, Mr. Calhoun was compelled to discontinue its publication, from 1st January (1835) until spring."

three-story frame-building on South-Water Street, between Dearborn and Clark Streets, occupied below by the firm of Jones & King, dealers in "hardware, iron, and stoves."

The *Democrat* of Wednesday, August 16th, 1837, says, "Published at Democratic Hall, two doors from the post-office, on Clark Street." The P.-O. was on east side of Clark Street, between Lake and South-Water Streets, north of the alley, and the *Democrat* office was north of it.

In 1839, and several years thereafter, the *Democrat* was published at 107 Lake Street.

"By a census taken in the fall of this year (1835), the number of inhabitants in Chicago was found to be 3279, and the number in the County 9773."

"Mr. Calhoun, having procured the assistance and services of Jas. Curtiss, Esq., the editorial management of the *Democrat* was under

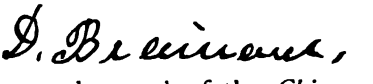
his charge during the year 1835. Local politics ran high, and the *Democrat* took a leading part in them. The increased patronage of the paper kept pace with the growth of Chicago."

We continue to quote from Mr. Calhoun's autobiographical *memoranda:*

"Not having been formed by nature with a temperament suitable to the printing business, and wishing to be on friendly terms with all mankind, which the publisher of a political paper finds to be impossible, Mr. Calhoun determined upon disposing of his paper, and retiring from the printing business.

He had, at the commencement of the third year of the publication of the *Democrat*, in May, 1836, offered one-half of his printing establishment for sale. Messrs. J. D. Caton, E. Peck, H. Hugunin, Dr. J. C. Goodhue and some others, leading Democrats, in order to have a controlling influence in its publication, proposed to make the purchase, and furnished the credit by which an additional press and materials were purchased; and on the 17th of August, of this year, the *Democrat* was enlarged to seven columns in width, making it a fair-sized weekly paper."

It was during a severe sickness of Mr. Calhoun, in the fall of 1836, that Dr. Daniel Brainard consented to take charge,



temporarily as we understand, of the *Chicago Democrat;* in this position, we think, he continued until Mr. Wentworth took charge.

The sale before referred to, not having been perfected, Mr. Calhoun looked elsewhere for a purchaser. Mr. Horatio Hill, of Concord, New Hampshire, who was then making a tour in the West, entered into negotiation with Mr. Calhoun, and, as by articles of agreement, dated Nov. 14, 1836, Mr.

Calhoun made conveyance to that gentleman. By the *memoranda* before spoken of, we learn that Mr. Hill was to assume to pay certain debts owing by Mr. Calhoun, and the balance of the purchase in a draft on New-York City, at ninety days.

The valedictory of Mr. Calhoun appeared in the paper of Nov. 16, 1836; that day:

"Mr. Hill took possession of the *Democrat*, and after placing the Hon. John Wentworth in charge of the same, until his return, left for the East, but never returned to Chicago. It was not until the draft was returned from New York protested, that Mr. Calhoun found he had not made a sale of his printing-office.

"Mr. Wentworth being in possession, and anxious to purchase, and agreeing to assume all the payments that Hill had agreed to make, became the purchaser; and in the course of the next four years, liquidated the debts owing to Mr. Calhoun."

Mr. K. K. Jones says, of the *Democrat* office:

"I was then a boy of 10, and that printing-office had great attractions for me. I used to hang about there, all the rules allowed, and more too. * * * In 1836, Mr. Calhoun sold out, and without consulting me; so that one day when I rushed into the office without any ceremony, as usual, a tall, lank chap stood before me, that I would have made oath was fifteen feet high; for I was frightened, and ceased my investigations into the 'art preservative.' It was John Wentworth, and he immediately began to make the *Chicago Democrat* a red-hot political power."

Mr. Wentworth took the editor's chair of the *Democrat*, and

made his *début* in the paper on 23d of November, 1836. This arrangement was followed, in the July succeeding, by the purchase by Mr. W. of the establishment on his own account.*

* From the article of Gershom Martin, referred to previously in a note:

"As has been remarked, the *Chicago Democrat* was the first paper ever published here; and at that time, there were more soldiers than citizens, and more 'Injuns' than anybody else. Besides, it was more than twenty miles to the next neighbors anywhere. The 'suburbs of Chicago, then, were Ottawa, Boyd's Grove, Dixon's Ferry, Galena, Peoria, and Green Bay. So you can imagine what the art of printing was then in Chicago. But the town rapidly grew to be quite a city in '36–7,

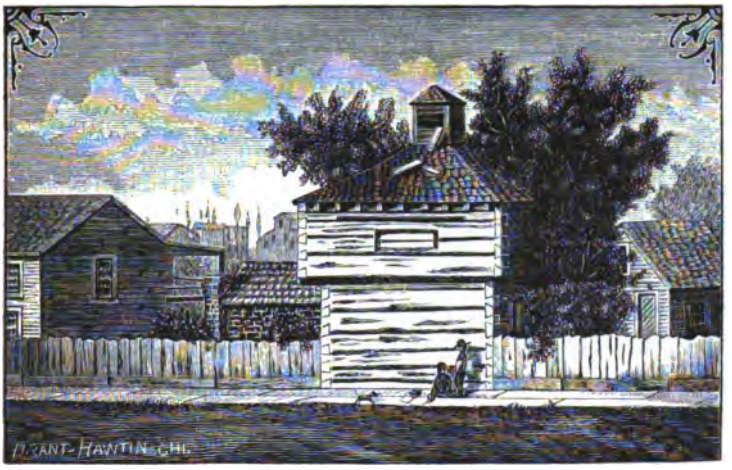
Whether or no it was a demonstration of a growing appetite for that sort of ink in these parts, it was yet a plain exhibit of poverty in the supplies of this market, when our proprietor of the *Democrat*, in the autumn of 1838, just on the eve of an election, had to send a boy to Michigan City to beg, borrow, or buy a bucket of printer's black ink. But, seven years later, in his paper of Dec. 27, 1845, he announced the arrival of his Adams Steam-Power Press, being the first *Power Press* west of Buffalo.

There is no occasion for any remarks from us regarding the well-known and notable career of Col. Wentworth, in connection with the *Chicago Democrat*. It will be sufficient to say, that journal continued under his leadership for the space of nearly a quarter of a century.

Col. Wentworth says:

"My first number was 23 Nov., 1836; my last 27 July, 1861. * * * My wife was sick, and I was calculating to go to Europe. I would not sell, and reserved the right to issue another paper any time after 1st March, 1864. My wife's health grew worse, and I did not go abroad. The *Tribune* supplied all who had paid in advance, and I kept my own material and debts. I never gave up my name of *Chicago Democrat*, nor good-will; I wanted to start again if I saw fit."

and when another paper was started, times became more lively. 'Long John's' length of legs gained him considerable notoriety, and as the *Democrat* had no opposition in its own party, north of Vandalia, it and its new editor became extensively known. But those were glorious times. Money was plenty, and everybody had some. Big wages were paid, and the 'jours' of those days were glorious fellows, with plenty of 'rocks' in their pockets. Everybody was rich. The 'Lake House,' which now (1852) looks like some old deserted castle, had just been built. It was without rival, the 'crack' hotel of the West, and it is asserted as a positive fact, that no one was allowed to board there who was not worth one hundred thousand dollars. * * * Some time in 1839 or '40, 'Long John's' legs procured him the appointment of aid-de-camp to Gov. Carlin, with the rank of 'Colonel.' Upon receipt of his commission, the *Democrat* came out with an 'inaugural address' of four or five columns in length, headed with a monstrous big cut of 'Colonel John Wentworth,' mounted on the most diminutive jackass, in his regimentals, his feet dragging on the ground, while an immense crowd were represented as gathered on the sidewalk, while ladies waved their handkerchiefs from the windows. His enemies had intended to ridicule his appointment, but he stole a march on them, and he was immediately dubbed 'Col.' far and wide, from Maine to Missouri."



"HISTORY OF FORT DEARBORN AND ITS OCCUPANTS."

To the Paper which we prepared to be read before the Chicago Historical Society, in December, 1880, relating to Fort Dearborn and its Occupants (printed in the *Chicago Times* of Dec. 25, 1880, yet with a few mistakes of the types), we have received the addition of new matter, not shown therein, nor in Hon. John Wentworth's Address and Appendix of May 21, 1881, which comprise Number 16 of the "Fergus' Historical Series." There is more material also to be gathered. We purpose, at no very distant day, to offer to the public a thin volume with the above-named title.

The name of Hon. John Wentworth carries with it *a prestige*, a power and value, which he turns to good account, as a collector of facts of history; this is shown in his valuable Fort-Dearborn Address, referred to above; may it be long before he shall abate his force in these historical inquiries.

We have availed ourselves frequently of items and statements drawn from the previous Addresses, etc., of Mr. Wentworth, and we are pleased to see that he has done the same toward the early pages of the "Antiquities" and historical notes of ours elsewhere.

JUSTICE TO THE MEMORY OF A PATRIOT.

As the fitting close to this volume, on the last page of a book which assists to link the past to the present and future, we beg to append here a few lines, in behalf of what seems an obvious propriety. We speak of the suggestion that what is now called "5th Avenue," should be restored to its former name, *Wells Street.*

It was, we think, quite a mistake when the City Council, on the 17th of October, 1870, rubbed out the name hitherto borne by one of our important thoroughfares, a name given it many years ago, as a memorial of one of Chicago's historic characters. It is true there had been some provocation for the Council's action; yet, if numerous bad characters made a sojourn upon Wells Street, which gave it, for a time, a reputation somewhat odious, the conflagration of 1871 was a purifier; if it did not annihilate the class to which we refer, at least it sent them to other localities. May not State and Clark Sts. today be complained of for quite as much an offence? Yet shall we blot out the name of *Clark* Street, given in honor of George Rogers Clark, another of the heroes of the West? That change from street to avenue was scarcely a considerate one, though we will not believe it was done to *ape* Manhattan's pride for its boastful and pretentious "5th Avenue"; we have heard of "*Biler Avenue*", and in the early days of our Town, one of the important routes of egress and ingress, was legally established with the name "*Hoosier Avenue*", but as no one was thought to be honored by the term, it was changed to *Blue Island Avenue.*

Captain Wm. Wells, whose name is frequently referred to in the foregoing pages, often visited Chicago, many years before his death. [Interesting particulars relating to Captain Wells, may be seen in Hon. John Wentworth's Fort-Dearborn Address, in "Fergus' Historical Series."] When Capt. Wells was informed of the intended evacuation of Fort Dearborn, he straightway volunteered to come here on an errand of

mercy, to aid and protect his friends and the retreating soldiers. That his mission was not successful and resulted so disastrously to himself, he was mourned by his comrades, and should be honored by us. All that humanity could do, he did for Chicago; he gave his life for its succor. Capt. Wells was slain, and the yelling demons cut out his heart, and while the bleeding organ was still warm, they parcelled it around and ate of it, alleging that it gave them power, *as "he was a brave man."*

The street once named in memory of Capt. Wells was his only monument. May we not hope that before the 15th day of August, 1882, which will be the 70th anniversary of Capt. Wells' death, that Chicago will not only pay proper respect to the memory of that gentleman, but shall also honor itself, by giving back to the street the name by which it was formerly known?

ERRATA.

Page 8, 2d line from foot, in place of "was" put *she.*
Page 21, 4th line from foot, "1833" should be *1832.*
Page 22, 14th line from foot, the "a" before "which" should come *after* it.
Page 22, 9th line from foot, after "us" put *is.*
Page 33, 17th line from foot, in place of "John S." read *Benjamin K.*
Page 39, 4th line from top, "1821" should be *1823.*
Page 47, bottom line, "two-wheeled" should be *four-wheeled.*
Page 77, 10th line from foot, put *be* between "to" and "seen."
Page 79, the name "Chandonia" should be *Chandonai.*
Page 83, 9th line from top, "caravols" should be *caravels.*
Page 103, top line, needs a *comma* after "daring."
Page 128, 4th line from top, "43" should be *21.*
Page 129, 12th line from top, "antideluvians" should be *antediluvians.*
Page 134, 5th line from foot, "anthered" should be *antlered.*
Page 146, 2d line from top of note, "1745" should be *1645.*
Page 175, 12th line from top, "Lansman's" should be *Lanman's.*
Page 240, 5th line from foot, "began" should be *edited.*
Page 264, 6th line from top, "1618" should be *1718.*
Page 302, 12th line from foot, "respectfully" should be *respectively.*
Page 304, 5th line from foot, "Augustus" should be *Augustin.*
Page 329, 8th line from top, "seventeen" should be *nineteen*, and "eleven" should be *thirteen.*
Page 332, 11th line from foot, "J" in this Col. Hamilton's name should be *S.*
Page 349, 8th line from foot, "Gholsen" should be *Gholson.*
Page 368, 17th line from top, "1833" should be *1832.*
Page 368, 5th line from foot, "earlier" should be *later.*
Page 396, 7th line from top, "1834" should be *1835.*
Page 410, 16th line from top, "presents" should be *present.*
Page 414, 18th line from foot, "Hinkling" should be *Hickling.*
Page 423, in top line, "stony" should be *strong.*
Page 435, wherever "Illinois" appears it should have but one *l.*
Page 436, 17th line from foot, "Donay" should be *Douay.*
Page 439, 4th line from foot, "Kenomokouk" should be *Kenomokonk.*
Page 441, 6th line from foot, "Pipin" should be *Pepin.*
Page 444, 9th line from foot, "Booneville" should be *Boonville.*
Page 456, 10th line from top, "above cut" should be *cut below.*
Page 459, 15th line from foot, "On" should be *In.*
Page 464, 13th line from top, "Memoirs" should be *Memories.*
Page 467, 2d line from top, "1853" should be *1833.*
Page 472, 19th line from foot, "Augustus" should be *Augustin.*
Page 480, 12th line from foot, "McKenny" should be *McKenney.*
Page 511, in upper line of note, "Edward" should be *Edmund.*
Page 514, 20th line from top, "1865" should be *1860.*
Page 528, 5th line from top, "has" should be *have.*
Page 560, 12 lines from foot, "April 28" should be *March 12.*
Page 565, 19 lines from top, "Augustine" should be *Augustin.*

INDEX.

Abbott, J. 56, 70, 71.
Abbott, Dr. Lucius, 428, 452.
Abell, Sidney, 541.
Abell, Ralph M. P. 543.
Accident to an Early Building, 609.
Adam, Rev. William, 629.
Adams, Hon. Charles F. 266.
Adams, Edward F. 168, 170.
Adams, Hon. John Q. 442, 529.
Adams, William Henry, 545.
Advantages, Poorly improved, 423.
Agency House, 104, 411.
Aiken, E. H. 517.
Ainslie, John, 534.
Aitken, William A. 35.
Alexander the Great, 133.
Allen, Albert, 529.
Allen, "Col." 510.
Allen, Edward H. 525.
Allen, Lieut. James, 497, 498.
Allen, Miss Susan R. 104.
Allouez, Father Claude, 152, 435, 591.
Ament, Edward G. 477.
American Fur Company, 28, 31, 32, 35, 306, 307, 308, 346, 397, 410, 432, 528.
American Hotel, 522.
American, Newspaper, 540, 560.
American Pioneer, 526, 527.
American State Papers, 406.
American Temperance House, 525.
Amiability sometimes a fault, 398.
Amusements in winter of '33-4, 570.
Ancient Ship, 82.
Ancient Subterranean Passage, 399.
"Areadne," vessel, 359.
Arndt, Judge, 210.
Arnold, Hon. I. N. 297, 364, 445, 448, 485, 586.
Arkansas, 436, 439.
Arundel, Mr. 55.
A Suggestion, 44.
Astor, John Jacob, 28, 32, 201, 202, 203.
As well lower her colors, if, 575.
"Atlanta," schooner, 515.
Aumies, The, 56, 59.
Aux Pleins, 455.
Austin, Capt. Thomas, 511.
Austin, Pamelia (Loomis), 511.
Baby, of the City Seal, 531.
Badin, Rev. Stephen D. 329, 382, 454, 594.
Bailey, C. S. 296.
Bailey, Jonathan N. 358, 479, 530, 531.
Bailey, Miss Anna Maria, 533.
Bailey, Rev. Alvin, 624.
Bailey, Rev. Alvin Freeman, 624.
Bailly, Joseph, 35, 94, 95, 304, 412, 452, 581.
Baird, Mrs. of Green Bay, 565.
Baker, Major Daniel, 182.
Baker, Hiram, 296.
Baldwin, C. C. 262, 264, 265, 266, 434, 437.
Balestier, J. N. 557, 560.
Ball at Hickory Creek, 492.
Bancroft, Hon. George, 402.
Barker, Jacob, 578.
Barnerd, James, 196.
Barnes, Cecil, 399.
Barron, the Guide, 201.
Barrows, Miss, 396.
Barry, Rev. William, 121.
Barry, William T. 529.
Barthe, Mr. 57, 58.
Bartlett, Rev. William A. 368.
Bascom, Rev. Flavel, 619.

Bates, Aurilla (Booth), 286.
Bates, Capt. 211.
Bates, Hon. George C. 39, 490.
Bates, Jacob R. 519.
Bates, John Jr. 370, 412, 500, 533, 534, 535, 536, 540.
Bates, Noble, 286.
Bates *vs.* Illinois C. R. R. 451.
Battles, Joe, 104.
Battle of Oriskany, 51.
Battle of the Thames, 460.
Battle of Tippecanoe, 70, 377.
Beach, Miss Lucy, 391, 396.
Beard, James and W. H. 383.
Bear Stories, 427.
Beaubien, Alexander, 37, 288, 412.
Beaubien, Antoine, 304.
Beaubien, Charles H. 194, 284, 305, 329.
Beaubien, Genevive, 304.
Beaubieniana, 302.
Beaubien, Henry, 288, 329.
Beau Bien, Jn, 304.
Beaubien, Jean Marie, 304.
Beaubien, John Baptiste, 28, 31, 35, 45, 196, 201, 210, 285, 288, 302, 304, 306, 309–320, 323, 324, 325, 327, 328, 332, 349, 370, 420, 432, 478, 558, 601.
Beaubien, Joseph, 304.
Beaubien, Mrs. Josette, 305, 320, 329.
Beaubien, Mrs. Keez-ko-quah, 336.
Beaubien, Lambert, 304, 306, 308.
Beaubien, Mrs. Mah naw bun no quah, 305.
Beaubien, Marien, 304.
Beaubien, Mrs. Mark, 507.
Beaubien, Mark, 113, 288, 329, 331, 332, 333, 334, 349, 462, 481, 506, 507, 508, 510, 557, 629.
Beaubien, Medore B. 194, 198, 305, 306, 313, 314, 315, 316, 329, 334, 335, 336, 349, 438, 443, 444, 464, 492, 629.
Beaubien, Philip, 288, 329.
Beaubien, Theodore, 477.
Beckford, Mr. 638.
Beckwith, Hiram W. 199.
Beggs, Rev. Stephen R. 373, 391, 502, 594, 596.
Bellerive, de St. Ange, 174.
Bellin, N. 265.
Bennett, Samuel C. 296, 297.
Benton, Thomas H. 589.
Beresford, J. 594.
Berrien, Rev. Mr. 195.
Bertrand, Joseph, 34.
Bertrand, Joseph, jr. Brother and Sister, 194.
Bertrand, Madeline, 194.
Bertrand, Mme. 353, 354.
Bertrand, Mich. 49.
Bible for the *Sauganash*, 462.
Biddle, Edward, 35, 412.
Biddle, James W. 181.
Big Buffalo Hoofs, 269.
"Bigfoot," Chief, 199.
"Bigoted Prayer," *a myth*, 395.
"Big Swan," 54.
Big Wabiskokie, 84, 91.
Bigelow's Building, 541.
Billings, Dr. John S. 362.
Binette, Buisson, and Bibeau, 35.
Bingham, Charles K. 542.
Birchard, Solicitor of Treasury, 312.
"Blackbird," 191, 211, 358.
"Blackfoot," 457.
"Black Hawk," 180, 181, 380.
"Black Hawk," a Poem, 411.
Black-Hawk War, 112.
"Black-Hawk" and Chitty, 580.
Black Jim, 45.
"Blackmeat," 107.
Black River, 441.
"Black Partridge," 358, 377, 432.
Blake, "Commodore" C. 390, 558.
Blanchard, Rufus 120, 397, 402, 403, 414, 416, 428, 455, 456, 479, 502, 505, 556.
Blanchard's Discovery and Conquest of North-West, 397, 416.
Blanchard's Historical Chart, 387.
Blatchford, Rev. John, 618.
Blatchford, Rev. Samuel, 618.

Blodgett, Henry W. 364.
Blome's Britannia, 260.
"Blue Eagle," 510.
Boardman, George E. 524.
Bois Blanc Island, 355.
Boiseley, Mr. 213, 505.
Bolles, N. H. 295, 296, 297.
Boone, Levi D. 626, 632.
Borin, Rev. Peter R. 599.
Boniteau and Pinet, Revs. 382.
Boonville, Mo. 444.
Bordering on the Boastful, 545.
Bowen, Erastus, 537, 540.
Bowen's General Atlas, 266.
Bowen, Joseph 179.
Bowle's Atlas, 266.
Box and Contents under the Corner, 21, 579.
Bradley, Capt. Hezekiah, 190, 204, 347, 409, 453, 582.
Brainard, Dr. Daniel, 363, 475, 644.
Breese, Hon. Sidney, 120, 324, 566.
Brice's History of Ft. Wayne, 563.
Bridges, Mr. *an early gunsmith*, 106.
Bridge at Dearborn Street, 559.
Bridges misplaced on map, 575.
Brewster, Hogan & Co. 531, 534.
Brig "John Kinzie," 132.
Bristol, Capt. Robert C. 132.
Brockway, J. W. 327.
Brookes, Samuel, 552.
Brookes, Samuel M. 503.
Bronson, Hon, Alvin, 417, 418.
Bronson, Arthur, 607, 608.
Bross, Hon. Wm. 35, 121, 280, 355, 364, 421, 560, 606.
Bross' History of Chicago, 355, 505, 530.
Brown, Adam, 466.
Brown, Miss Harriet E. 536.
Brown, Hon. Henry, 573, 580.
Brown's History of Illinois, 372.
Brown, Jeduthan, 514, 525.
Brown, John, 294, 295.
Brown, Lemuel, 394.
Brown, Rufus, 113, 554, 572.
Brown, Wm. H. 296, 297, 300.
Brown, Wm. S. 580.
Buchanan, Pres. James, 546.
Bucklin, James M. chief engineer, 529.
Buel, Capt. E. 419.
Buffalo Hotel, 525.
Buffalo Rock, 477.
Builder of Fort Dearborn, 27.
Burial of John Kinzie, 479.
Burial of Shabonee, 468.
Burial of Wabansa, 445.
Burlesque Review, 411.
Burnam, Ambrose, 131.
Burnet, Gov. Wm. of N. Y. 420.
Burnett, Abraham, 192, 195.
Burnett, Wm. 49-78, 178, 452, 469, 527.
"Burlington Hall," 549.
Burns House, 105.
Butler, Charles, 607.
Burtiss, Sergt. 615.
Butterfield, Hon. Justin, 448, 580.
"By-Gone Days," 108, 498, 538.
Cabin of Father Jesse Walker, 607.
Cadellac de la Motte, 111.
Cadotte, Michael, *sen.* 35.
Caldwell, Archibald, 495, 496, 566.
Caldwell and Shabonee, 459.
Caldwell, Billy, 288, 349, 367, 394, 410, 432, 457, 462, 463, 465, 512, 568.
Caldwell, Capt. John, 578.
Calendar, Robert, 274.
Calhoun, John, 280, 309, 347, 414, 536, 636-645.
Calhoun, Chauncey, 636.
Calhoun, Mrs. John, 359.
Calhoun, Hon. John C. 187, 312.
Callis, Mrs. S. M. 98, 105.
Callis, Wm. O. 108.
Caltos, Mr. 61.
Calumet Club, 287, 359, 508.
Calumet Lake Route, 385.
Calumet Club Reception, 397.
Calumet River, 184, 439.
Campbell, Mr. 55.
Campbell, Major James B. 523, 566.
Campbell, John, 274.
Canada and North-West, 434.
Canal, Ill. and Michigan, 356, 357.

Canal Commissioner's Map of Chicago, 46.
Canal Commissioners and U. S. Engineers, 567.
Cannon from Fort Dearborn, 21, 128.
Cane Presentation, 124.
Capuchins, Recollects, and Jesuits, 593.
Carney, James, 392.
Carli, P. I. 510, 521.
Carpenter, Deacon Philo, 47, 109, 113, 127, 288, 289, 332, 392, 396, 412, 421, 481, 504, 599, 607, 619.
Carpenter, Sergt. at Ft Dearborn, 127.
Carey's General Atlas, 268.
Carver, David, 599.
Casey, Edward W. 537.
Casity, John, 55.
Cass, Gov. Lewis, 187, 195, 196, 198, 203, 306, 374, 422, 478.
Castles, George, 275.
Caton, Hon. John D., 249, 418, 518, 537, 575, 644.
Caune, Pierre, 35.
Census of Chicago, 396, 644.
Chabollier, Augustin, 63.
Chabollier and Young, 62.
Chachagwessiou, 117.
Chacagouche, 267.
Chacksfield, George, 310, 428.
Chadwick, G. W. 296.
Chair of Integrity, 48.
Champlain, Samuel de, 434, 435.
Chamberlin's "Chicago and Suburbs," 120, 121.
Chandler, Theresa, 33, 194.
Chandonai, Jean B. 79, 194.
Chapin, John P. 298, 300.
Chappel, Miss Eliza, 289, 292, 396, 626.
Chappee, M. 397.
Charlevoix, Father, 171, 265, 434.
Charlevoix's Journal, 342.
Charlevoix's "New France," 265.
Chase, Bishop, 627.
Chebass, 192, 197.
Chesbrough, Mr. 574.
Cheshaugan, 192.
Chevalier, Catharine, 454.
Chevalier, Francois, 458.
Chevalier, Mary Ann, 458.
Chicago an Accident, 364.
Chicago and Early Maps, 250.
Chicago a Trail Centre, 206.
" Business Directory 1839, 12.
" City Register 1839, 11.
" Churches 1839, 19.
" Churches and Church Choirs, 394.
" Colony in the Old World, 424.
" *Democrat*, 347, 356, 358, 414, 500, 502, 508, 509, 510, 521, 522, 537, 540, 641-646.
" Early Notices of, 145.
" Evening *Journal*, 390, 394, 428.
" Evening *Post*, 368.
" Fort, 177, 178.
" "Fort Miami," 593.
" Game in 1823, 208.
" Garrison, a Rumor in 1798, 66.
" History and Mistakes, 337.
" Historical Society, 33, 34, 44, 384, 399, 400, 425, 430.
" Hotel, 516.
" in Olden Time, 42.
" in 1812, 177, 569.
" in 1825, 212.
" in 1833, 215, 643.
" Laws and Ordinances in 1839, 7.
" Lyceum, 573.
" Massacre, 177, 378, 582.
" "Magazine," 369, 381, 394, 395, 463, 473, 559, 616.
" Municipality, 629.
" Origin of Name, 117-124, 182, 189, 423.
" of Maj. Long's Expedit'n, 204-9.
" "Past, Present, Future," 366.
" Portage, 438.
" Port and River, 439.
" Residents in 1832, 579.
" River in 1830, 566, 567.
" "Temperance House," 525.
" "Times," 383, 416, 426, 519.
" Treaty of 1821, 193.
" Treaty of 1833, 221.

Chicago Tribune, 119, 123, 420, 432, 433, 453, 522.
" Virginians, 471.
" with Variations, 442.
Childs, Ebenezer, Reminiscences, 209, 307.
Childs, Luther, 113.
Chouteau, Auguste, 239.
Churches made Post-Offices, 549.
Cicot, Jean B. 194.
Cincinnati Prophecy, 396.
City Hotel, 514, 523, 524.
Clairemont, Jeremie, 34.
Claims by Father St. Cyr, 600.
Clapp, T. E. 529.
"Clarissa," vessel, 359.
Clark, George Rogers, 648.
Clark, Gov. William, 202, 239.
Clark, Jonas, 133.
Clark, Mr. 471.
Clark, T. B. 597.
Classic Style of Wigwam, 449.
Cleaver, Charles, 427, 569, 570.
Clowry, Patrick M. 547.
Clybourn Archibald, 124, 126, 144.
Clybourn, Jonas, 471.
"Cobweb Castle," 432.
Cobb, Ebenezer, 515.
Cobb, Henry, 515.
Cobb, Silas B. 515, 516, 518.
Collections, Mich. Pioneer Soc'y, 364.
Collins, George C. 295, 296, 297.
Collins, James H. 643.
Collins, Morris, 618.
Columbian House, 525.
Communication betw. Lake and River, 207.
Conant, Rev. A. H. 629.
Conant and Mack, 409.
"Confute" Indians, 564.
Connor, Henry, 196.
Contraband Beef, 494.
Cooney, Mrs. Cynthia, 458.
Cook, Charles W. 522, 525.
Cook, Hon. Isaac, 546, 547, 548.
Cook, Josiah P. 277.
Cook, Mr. 514.
Corbin, James, 179.
Corbin, Jean Baptiste, 33.
Corbin, Mrs. 105.
Corbin, Mrs. Phelim, 180.
Corbin, Phelim, 179.
Corner Stone of 1851, 578.
Coté, P. Gabriel, 65.
Couch, Ira, 519, 520.
Couch, James, 519, 520.
Coursolle, Mr. 66, 72.
Courtney, Bailey, 278.
Cox, David, 516.
Cox, Jack, 136.
Cox, William L. 284.
Crafts, John, 28, 31, 305, 409, 425, 453, 476, 477.
Crane, Betsey, 623.
Crane, Eben. 623.
Crooks, Ramsay, 30, 32, 203, 355.
"Crows, Blackbirds, and Insects," 205.
"Cuillerier," 303.
Cummings, E. H. 423.
Cummings, L. F. 326.
Curtiss, Hon. James, 585.
Curtiss, Rev. Harvey, 620.
Curtiss, Rev. O. T. 599.
Cusick, David; Hist. of Six Nations, 271.
Cut off from Head-Quarters, 536.
Dablon, Father Claudius, 146, 338, 341, 344, 435, 591.
Daily Democrat, 394.
Daily Eastern Mail, 541.
D'Anville's Map, 266.
Darby, William, Tour of, 184.
D'Artaguette, Gov. 173.
Davis, George, 513, 520, 552, 554.
Davis, John, 522.
Davis, John Henry, 34.
Davis, William Gregory, 552.
Davis, Mr. 508, 513.
Daze, Joseph, 194.
Dead-pit of Cholera Victims, 392.
Dean, Mr. a Trader, 106.
Dean House, 306.
Dean, John, 313, 328.
Death Block, 445.

Death on the Prairie, 247.
" of Father Allouez, 153.
" Mrs. George C. Bates, 490.
" Col. J. B. Beaubien, 329.
" Mark Beaubien, 508.
" Capt. C. Blake, 390.
" William Burnett, 77.
" John Calhoun, 639.
" Billy Caldwell, 463.
" Chandonai, 79.
" Archibald Clybourn, 126.
" George Davis, 555.
" Stephen Forbes, 287.
" Lieut. John G. Furman, 85.
" a French Chicagoan, 59.
" Father James Gravier, 170.
" Edward H. Hadduck, 518.
" Pres. W. H. Harrison, 543.
" Russell E. Heacock, 42.
" Rev. A. W. Henderson, 301.
" Rev. Dr. Z. M. Humphrey, 621.
" Judge P. D. Hugunin, 416.
" Judge Charles Jouett, 108.
" Kewagoushkum's Family, 200.
" Mrs. Eleanor Kinzie, 482.
" John Kinzie, 479.
" James Kinzie, 483.
" Mrs. J. A. Kinzie, 490.
" John H. Kinzie, 488.
" Robert A. Kinzie, 494.
" Sister of Robt. A. Kinzie, 492.
" David and B. H. Laughton, 288.
" "Little Turtle," 98.
" Major S. H. Long, 345.
" Father Marquette, 149.
" Father Zenobe Membre, 163.
" John Murphy, 511.
" Nonnoga, 106.
" Charles Patterson, 440.
" Rev. James H. Perkins, 343.
" Alex Robinson, 458.
" Mrs. Alex Robinson, 458.
" William See, 483.
" Shabonee, 468.
" Wife of Shabonee, 468.
" Charles Taylor, 501.
" John T. Temple, 621.
Death of Wabansa, 444.
" Wife of Wabansa, 444.
" Capt. William Wells, 380.
" Major John Whistler, 27.
" Col. William Whistler, 27.
" Dr. Alex. Wolcott, 39.
"Dearborn House," 518.
DeBoisbriante, 172, 593.
DeCamp, Dr. S. G. J. 362.
Dechereau, Joseph C. 35.
Dedication of 1st Presb. Church, 611.
Definitive Treaty, France and Great Britain, 173.
Definitive Treaty, Gt. Britain and U. S. 175.
DeFrontenac, Count, 147.
DeGaray, Gov. 436.
DeLangbade, Charles, 35, 270.
DeLigney, 172, 270.
De La Rebourde, Father Gabriel, 163.
DeL'Isle's Maps, 263, 264.
Democratic Press, 37, 355, 614.
DePeyster, Col. Arent, 174, 472.
DeSable, Bap. Point, 174, 376, 404, 472.
Del Spiritu Santo, 261.
DeSiette, 172, 593.
Deschamps, Antoine, 34, 35.
Desplaines River, 210.
Detroit Surrender, 330, 347.
DeWolf, Calvin, 295.
Dickson, Col. Robert, 180, 380, 381.
Did n't Preach in the Fort, 595.
Dingley, Daniel, 35.
"Dis'y and Conq't of Northwest," 397,
Dis'y and Exp. of Miss. River, 339.
Divine River, 183.
Dodomead, Miss Eliza, 104.
Dole, George W. 288, 546, 557, 606, 629, 639.
Dole, John (?), 328.
Doty, Hon. James D. 188, 374.
Douglas, Capt. D. B. 188.
Douglas, Stephen A. 542.
Draper, Lyman C. 174, 422, 451, 468.
"Drawbridge, Oakwoods, and Blue Island," 536.

Drinking Customs, 111, 140, 141.
Drummond Island, 355.
DuBuisson of Detroit, 117.
Ducharme, Mr. 50, 52.
Duck, Dr. C. H. 362.
Dunbar, A. C. 297.
Duncan, Gov. Joseph, 584.
Duncan, Matthew, 636.
Dunn, Col. Charles, 566.
DuPin, M. 475.
Durantaye, M. 25, 164, 592.
Durocher, Mr. 62.
Dwellers in Chicago 1839, 20.
Dyer, Dyson, 179.
Dyer, Dr. C. V. 364.
Dyer, Hon. Thomas, 523.
Dyer, Rev. Mr. 626.
"Eagle Exchange," 510.
"Eagle Tavern," 509, 521.
"Eagle House," 517.
Earliest Chicago Poem, 91.
" Thanksgiving Proclamation, 583, 584.
Early Bridges, 555.
" Chicago Confidence Man, 197.
" County House, 575.
" Custom at the "Forks," 535.
" Days of Chicago Pork Packing, 507.
" Debt of Chicago, 573.
" Indian Deed, 272.
" Inns of the Settlement, 495.
" Mail Routes, 528, 533.
" Maps and Chicago, 250.
" "Medical Chicago," 352, 360, 537, 575.
" Missionaries and Early Churches, 591.
" Post-Office, 532.
" Post-Mark, 539.
" Postal Matters, 526.
" Printing-Press; a mistake, 417.
" Schools of Chicago, 283.
" Shipments of Grain, 50, 132, 452.
" Show, 78.
Eastman, Francis A. 549.
" Zebina, 364, 463.
Eastman's Hist'ry of Chicago, 369, 476, 499.
Eddy, Ira B. 639.
" Deacon Seth, 301.
Eels, T. S. 510.
Edson, Nathan, 179.
Edwards, Col. Abraham, 186, 409.
" Gov. Ninian, 239.
Egan, Dr. Wm. B. 311, 601.
Elliott and McDonald, 53.
" George, 99.
Ellis, A. G. 374.
Engle, Lieut. 567.
Errors of Mr. Parkman, 255, 256, 257.
Eschikagou, 175.
Etherington, Capt. George, 451.
Evacuation of Fort Dearborn, 177.
Evans, Rev. James, 122.
" Lewis, 437.
Evening Journal, 517.
"Exchange Coffee House," 511.
Fac-Sim. Sig'ture of Sidney Abell, 541.
" " Claude Allouez, 591.
" " Geo. Bancroft, 402.
" " Jona. N. Bailey, 530,
" " Mrs. E. M. Bates, 39.
" " John Bates, jr. 535.
" " Flavel Bascom, 619.
" " John B. Beaubien, 310.
" " Mark " 336.
" " Medore B. " 336.
" " Stephen R. Beggs, 596.
" " Rev. J. Blatchford, 618.
" " Hon. L. D. Boone, 632.
" " Dr. D. Brainard, 644.
" " Wm. Burnett, 70.
" " Arthur Bronson, 609.
" " Billy Caldwell, 461.
" " Mrs. A. E. Carpenter, 291.
" " Dea. Philo " 608.
" " John Calhoun, 641.
" " Miss E. Chappel, 289.
" " Hon. J. P. Chapin, 631.
" " P. M. Clowry, 547.
" " Chas. Cleaver, 569.
" " Hon. Isaac Cook, 546.

Fac-Sim. Sig. of Hon. H. D. Colvin, 633.
" " Jas. H. Collins, 643.
" " Hon. Jas. Curtiss, 631, 644.
" " James Couch, 519.
" " Ira Couch, 519.
" " Claudius Dablon, 592.
" " George Davis, 293.
" " Geo. W. Dole, 545.
" " Hon. Thos. Dyer, 632.
" " Stephen Forbes, 286.
" " Mrs. S. Forbes, 285.
" " Rev. A. B. Freeman, 623.
" " John Frink, 541.
" " Grant Goodrich, 598.
" " C. M. Gray, 632.
" " R. J. Hamilton, 286.
" " Hon. J. C. Haines, 632.
" " Isaac Harmon, 629.
" " E. H. Hadduck, 518.
" " Rev. I. W. Hallam, 627.
" " Hon. Carter H. Harrison, 634.
" " Hon. M. Heath, 634.
" " R. E. Heacock, 40.
" " Rev. I. T. Hinton, 624.
" " Col. G. S. Hubbard, 29.
" " Mrs. M. Hunter, 491.
" " Samuel Hoard, 549.
" " J. S. C. Hogan, 532.
" " Hon. T. Hoyne, 583.
" " Rev. Z. M. Humphrey, 620.
" " Hiram Hugunin, 630.
" " Judge C. Jouett, 102.
" " Lathrop Johnson, 522.
" " James Kinzie, 481.
" " Col. J. H. Kinzie, 630.
" " Mrs. J. A. Kinzie, 489.
" " Maj. R. A. Kinzie, 493.
" " Hon. Alex Loyd, 631.
" " Father Marquette, 591.
" " Hon. R. B. Mason, 633.
" " Hon. A. Mitchell, 576.
" " Hon. Jos. Medill, 633.

Fac-Sim. Sig. of Rev. A. Mitchell, 621.
" " Hon. Isaac L. Milliken, 632.
" " Hon. Buckner S. Morris, 631.
" " Capt. Ira Miltimore, 300.
" " Samuel Miller, 505.
" " Edward Murphy, 296.
" " John Murphy, 512.
" " Mrs. H. A. Murphy, 512.
" " Hon. Wm. B. Ogden, 630.
" " Joshua F. Oram, 547.
" " Col. Thos. J. V. Owen, 629.
" " Rev. J. Porter, 607.
" " Wm. Price, 546.
" " Hon. B. W. Raymond, 631.
" " Hon. J. S. Rumsey, 633.
" " Wm. Rickcords, 523.
" " Hon. J. Young Scammon, 297.
" " George Smith, 576.
" " Hon. A. S. Sherman, 631.
" " Hon. F. C. Sherman, 631.
" " Mac Slosser, 547.
" " Hart L. Stewart, 545.
" " William Stuart, 543.
" " Rev. J. M. I. St. Cyr, 600.
" " A. D. Sturtvant, 300.
" " Col. J. S. Swearingen, 28.
" " John Sweeney, 538.
" " A. D. Taylor, 602.
" " Anson H. Taylor, 536.
" " Charles Taylor, 500.
" " Mrs. Mary A. Taylor, 500.
" " Dr. J. T. Temple, 622.
" " M. O. Walker, 542.

Fac-Sim. Sig. of Thos. Watkins, 539.
" " Wm. H. Wells, 283.
" " E. Wentworth, 497.
" " Hon. J. Wentworth, 632.
" " E. B. Williams, 630.
" " John L. Wilson, 538.
" " Col. W. Whistler, 26.
" " Rev. H. Whitehead, 598.
" " John S. Wright, 293.
" " Thomas Wright, 293.
" " H. A. Wynkoop, 546.
Factory and Factor at Chicago, 31, 405, 406, 480.
"Fairplay," U.S. Revenue Vessel, 419.
Family of Judge Jouett, 108.
Farnham, Russell, 34.
Farnsworth, William 397.
Farewell Sermon of Rev. I. T. Hinton, 626.
Father Marquette's Remains, 562.
" Pinet, and Boniteau, 592.
" Riorden, 494.
" Walker's Cabin, 499.
Fearson, John, 25, 426.
Fergus' Directory for 1839, 20, 504.
Fergus' Historical Series, 353, 354, 389, 421, 425, 485, 554, 558.
Fergus, Robert, 511, 519.
Fever River, 442.
Finley, Dr. C. A. 84.
Finley, Dr. J. B. 362.
Fire, not the first, 370.
First Auctioneer at Chicago, 46.
" Baptist Church Building, 612, 614, 621.
" "Baloon" Building, 48.
" Bridge, 555.
" Cargo Wheat fr. Lake Mich. 132.
" Chicago Newspaper, 635.
" Church Bell, 48.
" Coroner's Inquest, 45.
" Court House, 478.
" Debating Society, 46.
Dray-cart, 47.
Druggist, 47.
First Earth from Canal, 47.
" Engraver on Wood or Metal, 48.
" Fair in Chicago, 47.
" Ferryman, 47.
" Foundry, 374, 428.
" Four-wheeled Carriage, 47.
" Framed House, 389.
" "Frame" on West Side, 492.
" Inn, 476.
" Illinois Newspaper, 636.
" Indian Agent, 102.
" Indian Agency Building, 104.
" Livery Stable, 521.
" Mail-Coach, 537.
" Manufactory, 473.
" N. E. Chaise, 47.
" Organization of Methodist Episcopal Church, 596.
" Pier Ballast, 47.
" Postmaster, 479.
" Post-Office, 479.
" P. O. Clerk, 532.
" Power-Press, 646.
" Printed Book, 48.
" Printed Letter List, 47, 537.
" Protestant Sermon in Chicago, 198, 594.
" Prayer Meeting, 595.
" Presbyterian Church, 603.
" Public Edifice in Cook Co. 48, 484.
" Pupil in School, 484.
" Resident Menagerie, 134.
" School-House, 475.
" Stage to Milwaukee, 521.
" Steamboat Fuel, 47.
" Steam-Engine, 48.
" Sunday-School, 112, 421, 604.
" Tannery, 46.
" Temperance Society, 108.
" Trip of the Mail-Coach, 537.
" Unitarian Church, 628.
" Vessel in River, 418, 419.
" Vessel Launched, 48.
" White Child, 36.
" White Man Hanged, 45.
Field, A. P. 584.

Fitch, John B. 413.
Five Medals, 101, 583.
Flag Creek, 500.
Fleming, Gen. 468.
Flood, Peter F. 575.
Fonda, John H. Reminiscences of, 211, 308, 358, 422.
Foot-bridge over North Branch, 502.
Follen, Dr. 628.
Foot, Mr. *a teacher*, 285.
Foot, Starr, 519.
Forbes, Stephen, 284, 285, 286.
Forbes, Mrs. Elvira, 285.
Ford, David M. 525.
Former Sports of the Prairie, 84.
Forqua, George, 477.
Forsyth, Robert A. 79, 188, 189, 283, 475, 478.
Forsythe, John, 269, 272.
Forsyth, Thomas, 469.
Forsyth, William, 468.
Fort Buade, 111.
" Chartres, 174, 267.
" Dearborn, 22, 27, 85, 86, 88, 89, 92, 175, 176, 177, 179, 183, 187, 204, 212, 213, 215, 284, 312, 346, 347, 370, 373, 421, 422, 424, 432, 452, 453, 471, 484, 527, 529, 531, 536, 569.
" Dearborn; its Builders, 27.
" Dearborn; When Christened, 22.
" Gage, 270.
" Howard, 527.
" Malden, 465.
" Wayne, 69, 176, 178.
Foster, Lieut. A. B. 89, 567.
Fowle, Maj. John, 285, 498, 529, 567, 605.
Francis, Simeon, 214.
Franks, Mr. 65.
Franks, Moses, Jacob, and David, 274.
Franquelin, 257.
Fraudulent Histories, 155.
Freeman, Rev. Allen B. 291, 611, 622.
Freeman, Mrs. Hannah C. 623.
Freeman, "Little Allen Brown," 623.
French Fort at Chicago, 164, 361.
Frenchman Killed at Chicago, 59.
French Money of account, 58.
French's Historical Collection, La. 428.
French, time of Louis 14th, 430.
Frink, John, 541.
Frink and Bingham, 541.
Frink and Walker, 541.
Frozen on the Prairie, 247.
Fuller, Judge Henry, 414, 448.
Funeral of R. A. Kinzie, 494.
Funeral of Chief Waubansa, 445.
Furman, Lieut. John G. 85.
Gage, John, 296.
Galinée, 250, 257.
Gang of Pirates, 477.
Garrett, Augustus, 300, 513.
Garrett, Mrs. Augustus, 513.
Gary (or Guarie) River, 208, 439.
Gardiner, Daniel, 590.
Gates, P. W. 374.
Gauthier, Josette, 33.
Geese Tavern, 498.
George, Samuel C. 277, 278.
Gifford, Louisa, 294.
Gilbert, N. 298.
Gill, Edmund, 525.
Gillmore, Robert A. 549.
Giles, Rev. Henry, 629.
Gillespie, J. J. 360.
Globe of Ulpius, 434.
Godfroy, G. Indian Agt. 196, 202.
Goodhue, Dr. J. C. 109, 644.
Goods for Indian Trade, 36.
Goodrich, Hon. Grant, 540, 586, 598, 599.
Gordon, Nellie Kinzie, 354.
Graham, Mr. 55, 56, 57.
Graham, George, 283.
Granger, Francis, 543.
Grant, Gen. U. S. 549.
Graiter, Mr. 59.
Grandau, Pierre, 399.
Grand Portage, 66.
Grand or Ottawa River, 58, 61, 64, 66, 68.
Grand River of Mich. 61, 94, 302.
Grant, Hon. James, 84.

Gratz, Bernard, 274.
Gratz, Michael, 274.
Graves, Dexter, 290, 517, 518, 601, 602.
Graveyard at Mackinaw, 562.
Gravier, Father James, 170, 388.
Gray, John, 297, 300, 516.
Great Western Sanitary Fair, 448.
Green Bay, 181, 441.
Green Bay Road, 46.
Green Tree Tavern, 391, 414, 515, 525, 526.
Greenwood, Theophilus, 295.
Gregory, E. M. 525.
Gregory, John & Co. 63.
Griffith, Interpreter, 377.
"Griffon," LaSalle's vessel, 255, 403.
Grignon, Augustin, 35, 106, 174, 304, 472, 565.
Grignon, Louis, 35.
Grignon, Pierre, 35.
Grummow, Paul, 179.
"Grutte," *an error*, 349.
Guerette, Joseph, 35.
Guilleroi, 84.
Gurnee, Walter S. 632.
Gunning in 1834, 570.
Gurley, Jason, 518, 520, 522, 525.

Hadduck, Edward H. 277, 518.
Hagar, Prof. A. D. 121, 384, 385, 386, 387, 445.
Haines, Hon. E. M. 268.
Hale, Virginia, 483.
Hallam, Rev. Isaac W. 623, 626, 627.
Haliburton, Mrs. 468.
Hall, Amos T. 364.
Hall, Benj. 471.
Hall, Dr. Thomas P. 362.
Hamilton, Andrew, 274.
" Gov. Andrew, 526.
" Miss Ellen, 37.
" Lieut.-Gov. 51.
" Col. John, 526.
" Col. R. J. 37, 109, 286, 287, 288, 290, 296, 373, 383, 457, 531, 536, 540, 597.
Hamilton, Col. Wm. S. 210, 332.
" Wm. 274.
Hamlin, John, 39, 477.
" Mrs. John, 595.
" Rev. E. H. 626.
Hands, Wm. 52, 53, 54, 56, 57, 59, 60.
Handy, H. S. 290.
Hanna, Judge, 529.
Harbor Convention 1847, 585.
"Hardscrabble," 309, 349, 362, 476.
Harding, F. A. 540.
Harmer's Defeat, 59.
Harmon Family, 505.
" Isaac N. 288, 392.
" M. D. 109, 623.
" Mrs. Joseph, 292.
" Samantha, 623.
Harrington, Rev. Joseph, 628.
Harrison and Guion, of Topographical Corps, 567.
Harrison, Gov. Wm. H. 70, 465, 470.
Harper, D. 558.
" "Magazine," 422, 524.
" City Supt. 560.
Hathaway, James, 637.
" Miss Pamelia C. 637.
Harthaway, Mr. 89.
Hartzell, Major, 568.
Haselwood, Wm. 552.
Hazelton, W. F. 322.
Hays, A. A. jr. 422.
Hawley, Pierce, 594.
Hawes, Rev. Dr. Joel, 617.
Heacock, Reuben B. 41.
" Point, 40.
" Russell E. 37, 39, 40, 41, 42, 214, 284, 285, 349, 370, 427.
Heading *Chicago Democrat*, 641.
Heald, Capt. Nathan, 77, 109, 177, 178, 180, 191, 358, 379, 424.
Heald, Mrs. Capt. N. 357, 390.
"Heartless," Vessel, 418.
Helm, Lieut. L. T. 178, 180, 378, 379. 415, 482.
Helm, Mrs. Margaret, 351, 352, 353, 378, 415, 425, 428, 431, 482, 626.
Henderson, Rev. A. W. 301.

Hennepin, Father Louis, 154, 156, 183, 262, 434, 435, 437, 441, 442.
Henry, Mr. 72.
Herkimer, Gen. 51.
Hertz, H. L. 327.
Hesler, Alexander, 515, 605.
Hickling, Wm. 367, 394, 414, 459, 460, 461, 463, 467, 468.
Hill, Horatio, 644.
Hinton, Rev. Isaac T. 295, 296, 617, 624, 625, 626.
Histoire de LaSalle, 251.
Historical Magazine, 118.
Historical Sketch of Chicago, (*Chicago Democrat*), 356, 394.
His only Monument, 649.
History of Fort Dearborn and its Occupants, 647.
History of Joliet and Will Co. 374.
" of DeKalb County, 373, 466.
" of Ogle County, 368.
Hoard, Samuel, 549.
Hoffman, Chas. F. 240, 335, 424, 507.
Hogan, John S. C. 143, 288, 530, 532, 533, 534, 538.
Hogle, John F. 33.
Hollanders on the Hudson, 404.
Holliday, John, 34.
"Hoosier Avenue," 648.
Hoosiers on the Alert, 507.
Hopkins, A. S. 296.
Hopkins, Gerard, 99.
Hopson, Lieut. John D. 207.
"Horned Breeze," 419.
Home for Billy Caldwell, 462.
House of the Jesuits, 1699, at Chicago, 592.
House of Rufus Brown, 572.
Howe, Frank, 95.
Hoyne, Hon. Thos. 295, 580, 583.
Hubbard, A. S. 382, 421, 532.
" Eber, 559.
" Edwin, 121.
" Hon. Gurdon S. 29, 30, 31, 33, 34, 121, 199, 212, 307, 308, 367, 370, 397, 412, 421, 425, 453, 477, 478, 496, 523, 540.
Hubbard, Mr. and Mrs. E. K. 626.
" Note about *Wolf Point*, 497.
" Thomas, 295.
" T. R. 296.
Hudson Bay Co. 32, 409.
Hudson, Henry, 110.
Hugunin, Gen. Daniel, 416.
" Henry M. 416.
" Hiram, 297, 417, 425, 644.
" John C. 517.
" Judge Peter D. 416, 417, 418.
" Capt. L. C. 417, 418, 419, 420.
" Capt. Robert, 370.
Hull's Surrender, 330, 390.
"Humble Beginning," 597.
Humphrey, Rev. Dr. Z. M. 620.
Hungry Visitors, 501.
Hunt, Henry I. 196.
Hunter, Gen. David, 490, 491, 523.
" Mrs. Gen. 382.
Huntington, Alonzo, 393.
" Rev. Wm. P. 629.
Huntoon, B. 296.
" Rev. Mr. 628.
Hurlbut, Sidney S. 425.
Hyde, Dr. James N. 352, 360, 537.
Hymn at Dedication of First Presbyterian Church, 611.
Illinois and Michigan Canal, 408.
" Territory organized, 374.
"Illinois Exchange," 512, 522.
"Illinois," Schooner, 523.
Incident at St. Joseph, 79.
Incident from "Wau-bun," 460.
Indian Agency House, 104, 406, 411.
" Council in 1832, 457.
" Execution, 45, 427.
" Tradition generally, 271.
Ingersoll, Chester, 504, 525.
Ingalls, A. W. 300.
Inglis, John, 274.
Innes, Robert, 67.
Inter Ocean, 423.
Iowa River, 442.
Irving, Washington, 35.
Irwin, Matthew, jr. 202, 203, 480.
Isle Royal, 440.

Jacker, Father, 399.
Jackson, Andrew, 529, 636.
Jackson, Lucinda, 623.
Jackson's Message, 642.
Jackson, T. 623.
Jackson *vs.* Wilcox, 312.
James, Dr. Edwin, 204.
James, P.-M. Gen. 526.
Jamison, Lieut. Louis T. 496..
Janise, Mr. 55.
"January Searle," 429.
Jayne, Dr. Canal Commissioner, 566.
Jeffrey, Thomas, 266.
Jenkins, John, 423.
Jesuit Missionaries, 347.
Jesuit Relations, 338.
Jocularity and the Legal Profession, 580.
Johnson, Hon. Andrew, 549.
" Johnson, S. 521.
" Capt. Seth, 113, 421, 521, 604.
" Mrs. Capt. Seth, 113.
" Col. John, 528.
" John, 98.
" Lathrop, 521.
" W. T. Legal Professor, 322.
Joliet, Louis, 146, 148, 257, 356, 357.
Jones, K. K. 367, 635, 642, 645.
" King & Co., 428.
" Willard, 623.
" William, 297, 300.
Jordan, Walter, Letter of, 178, 564.
Jouett, Charles, 97, 102, 107, 361, 406, 410, 476.
Jouett, John and Robert, 102, 103.
Joutel, Henry, companion of LaSalle, 164, 437.
"Joutel's Journal," 262.
Juneau, Solomon, 210.
Justice to the Memory of a Patriot, 648.
Kamm, J. J. 528.
Kaw-kee-me, 75, 354.
Keating, Prof. W. H. 204, 453.
Kellogg, Sarah, 296.
Kendall, Amos, 529.
Kercheval, Gholson, 349, 492.
Ke-wa-goush-kum, 195, 200.
Kingston, Hon. T. 249, 455.
Kimberly, Dr. Edmund S. 295, 557, 629.
Kinney, H. S. 447.
Kinkeki, 56, 57, 59.
Kinzie and Hunter, 486.
Kinzie's Addition, 204, 312, 486.
Kinzie, Arthur M. 569.
Kinzie, Davis and Hyde, 493.
Kinzie, Elizabeth, 471, 480, 483.
Kinzie, Mrs. Eleanor, 471, 482.
Kinzie, Ellen M. 38, 39, 477, 490.
Kinzie Family, 468, 581.
Kinzie House, 348, 371, 375, 381, 389, 407, 411, 422, 423, 479, 480, 595.
Kinzie House in Detroit, 470.
Kinzie-House Views, 474.
Kinzie, James, 34, 46, 288, 393, 406, 407, 414, 471, 480, 481, 483, 515, 540, 566, 568.
Kinzie, Mrs. J. A. 120, 347–355, 368, 369, 376, 377, 378, 379, 381, 408, 453, 460, 473, 488, 489, 490, 499, 569, 626.
Kinzie, John, 28, 31, 45, 68, 70, 73, 188, 189, 190, 191, 196, 201, 210, 284, 307, 357, 361, 376, 378, 406, 416, 453, 468–479.
Kinzie, Col. John H. 125, 209, 284, 288, 354, 355, 374, 410, 423, 431, 444, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 523, 568, 630.
Kinzie, Maria, 38, 490.
Kinzie, Maj. Robert A. 37, 38, 84, 288, 349, 381, 416, 469, 491, 492, 493, 494, 506, 529, 568, 606.
Kinzie, R. H. 481.
Kinzie, Wm. 471, 480, 483.
Knaggs, Wm. 194, 196.
Knickerbocker, A. V. 360.
Knowles, Joseph, 179.
Kosciusko, 97.
L'Arbre Croche, 562.
LaBarre, Gov. de, 259.
LaBourbone, 568.
Larbroroche, 59.
Lafleche, Rev. Lewis, 119.
Lafontaine and Abbott, 70, 71.

Lafourche, 54.
Laframboise, Alexis, 305, 565.
" Francis, 65, 305, 413, 565.
" Joseph, 194, 336, 568.
" Joseph's Daughter, 539.
" Josette, 313, 350.
" Mrs. Madeline, 33, 305, 565.
Lafromboir, Mr. 58.
LaHontan, 166, 261, 399, 437, 439.
Lake Erie, 434.
" House, 522, 523, 524.
" Huron, 435.
" Michigan, 435.
" Mich. and Ill. River Communication, 184, 185, 186.
" Ontario, 434.
" Peoria, 437.
" St. Clair, 436.
" Street House, 517.
" Superior, 435.
"Lakeside Monthly," 368, 374.
LaLime, Mr. 55.
LaLime, John B. 194.
Lamorandiere, Ettienne, 35.
Land Conveyance in 1773, 272.
Land Office Proposition, 282.
Lapence, Mr. 59.
LaPerche, Joseph, 35.
LaSalle, Letter of, 157.
LaSalle, Robert de, 160, 162, 183, 250–259, 403, 404, 428, 436.
LaSource, Rev. Thaumur de, 169, 592.
Last Indian War-Dance, 249.
Last Letter of Father Marquette, 149.
Last of the Wild Bears, 277.
Lat. and Lon. of Court House, 45.
Latrobe, Chas. J. 214, 507.
Launch of the "Clarissa," 558.
Laughton, Mr. 309, 516.
Laughton, Bernardus H. 558.
Lawe, John, 35.
Learned the Violin, 485.
Leavenworth, Miss Ruth, 292, 293.
Lebay, 65.
LeClerc, J. B. 194.
LeClerc, Pierre, 194.
Lecture of J. N. Balestier, 346, 508.
Lecture by Wm. Bross, 421.
" by Judge Law, 372.
" by J. A. Marshall, 421.
" by John Wentworth, 388, 425.
Ledrue, Rev. Mr. 62.
Lee, Benjamin T. 499.
Lee's Place, "Hardscrabble," 349.
Legothrie, Mr. 65.
Le Mai, M. 25, 376, 472.
Le Petit, Lac, 207, 438.
Letendre, J. B. 307, 319, 322.
Letter of Thomas H. Benton, 589.
" William Burnett, 49–74.
" Stephen Forbes, 285.
" Capt. N. Heald, 177.
" Daniel Webster, 590.
" Dr. Alex. Wolcott, 317.
Levi, Levi Andrew, 274.
Likeness of John Kinzie, 416.
Lincoln, Abraham, 141, 451, 549.
Lindsay, Govt. Agent, 201.
List of Early Residents, 421
List of Post-Masters, 551.
Little Calamick, 207.
"Little Turtle," the Chief, 96, 129, 404.
"Little Woods," 84.
Localities of the Post-Office, 551.
Locality of the Kinzie House, 473.
Logan, Hugh, 180.
Logan, Hon. James, 171, 593.
London Chronicle, 527.
Long, Maj. S. H. Expedition, 204, 344.
Lord, Hugh, 277.
Lord, Rev. Wm. 629.
Lossing, Benson J. 375.
"Lost Pleiad," 21.
Lots built on in 1834, 594.
Low, Nicholas, 468.
Low water in Lake Mich. 558.
Loyd, Alexander, 299, 628.
Ludicrous Incident at Vincennes, 51.
Mackenzie, Elizabeth,, 471.
Mackenzie, John, 468.
Mackenzie, Margaret, 471.
Mackey, Lieut. Eneas, 188, 189.
Mackinaw, 181.
Mackinaw Co. 29.

Magill, Arthur, 486.
Mah-naw-bun-no-quah, 302, 305, 334.
Manierre, Judge George, 580, 586.
Mansion House, 518, 519, 522.
Map of Chicago 1834, 573.
Maps of C. C. Baldwin's Coll. *noticed*, 262.
" N. Bellin, *noticed*, 265.
" Bowen, *noticed*, 266.
" Bowles' Atlas, *noticed*, 267.
" Carey's Atlas, *noticed*, 268.
" Father Charlevoix, *noticed*, 265.
" Coxe, *noticed*, 435.
" D'Anville, *noticed*, 266.
" DeL'Isle, *noticed*, 263, 435, 436, 437.
" Louis Joliet, *noticed*, 253, 257.
" Joutel's Journal, *noticed*, 262.
" LaHontan, *noticed*, 261.
" Father Marquette, *noticed*, 149, 385, 400, 430.
" John Mitchell, *noticed*, 266, 434.
" Herman Moll, *noticed*, 265.
" Henry Popple, *noticed*, 265.
" John Senex, *noticed*, 264, 435.
" Shelton and Kinsett's *noticed*, 268.
" Garard VanKeulen, *noticed*, 264.
" The West, in MS. *noticed*, 267.
Marcy, Capt. R. B. 524.
Margry, Pierre, 157, 260.
"Mar Pock," 107.
Marquette, Father James, 145, 146, 148, 149, 250, 338, 342, 346, 356, 384, 385, 386, 387, 398, 400, 402, 425, 426, 429, 430, 435, 436, 437, 591.
Markle, A. A. 518, 522.
Martin, Gershom, 635.
Martineau, Miss Harriet, 367, 487, 628.
Marshall, J. A. 421.
Marshall, O. H. 403.
Mastering a Dilemma, 333.
"Mary," an early Lake craft, 575.
Matson, N. 464.
Mattison, Joseph, 639.
Matthews, William, 30.
Maxwell, Dr. Philip, 84, 85, 358, 421.
May, Mr. 57.
May, James, 63.
McArthur, Gen. John, 126, 550.
McClellan, James, 293.
McCorreston, W. 396, 522.
McConnell, Murray, 312, 328.
McCoskey, Bishop, 490.
McCoy, Rev. Isaac, 191, 192, 197, 198, 199, 334, 621.
McCoy's His. Bap. Missions, 191.
McDonald, Alex. 481.
McGregor, John and James, 69.
McGulphin, Patrick, 61.
McKay, Col. 34.
McKee, Col. 353.
McKee, David, 37, 358, 411, 418, 528, 581.
McKee, Stephen J. 37, 581.
McKillup, Mrs. Eleanor (Lytle), 406, 471.
McKinney, Col. T. L. 199, 422, 480.
"McKinney & Hall's Indian Tribes," 445.
McKenzie, Robert, 67.
McKenzie, Mr. 61.
McNeil, Gen. John, 37, 418.
McTavish, Mr. 58.
McTavish & Frobisher, 60.
Mechecunnaqua, or "Little Turtle," 96, 129, 404.
Meeker, "Squire," 299, 300.
Meeker, Joseph, 610.
Meldrum, Messrs. 306.
" George, 50, 54, 62.
" and Parke, 52, 53, 304.
Membre, Father Zenobius, 163, 434, 435, 436, 437.
Memoir, LaSalle to Frontenac, 154.
Memorial Chart, 425.
"Memories of Shaubena," 464, 477.
Merritt, James D. 133, 538.
Me-te-a, Chief, 196, 200.
Methodist Episcopal Church, 594.
"Metropolitan Hall," 603.
Michillimackinac, 441.
Michigan Pioneers, Soc. Coll. 397.
Miles, George, jr. 196.

Military Discipline, 446.
Miller, Mr. 213.
" John, 46, 557, 629.
" said 't was a trick, 595.
" Samuel, 484, 499, 505.
Miller's Tavern, 432, 496, 497, 505.
Milligan, James, 274.
Milne, Edmund, 274.
Mills, Elias, 179.
Miltimore, Ira, 48, 298, 299, 300.
Milwaukee, 1827, 210.
Milwaukee and Root River in 1835, 627.
"Milwaukee Magazine," 417.
Minshall, Thomas, 274.
Miscellaneous Items, 562.
Mitchell, Rev. Arthur, 365, 603, 621.
" Eliza and James, 33.
" John, 266, 437.
" Rev. John T. 599, 623.
Model for City Seal, 630.
Monguago, 194.
"Mons Meg," of Fort Dearborn, 128.
Montigny and St. Cosme, 592.
Montgomery, R. 196.
Moore, Peter, 623.
"More Spanish than Skunk," 423.
Morgan, Capt. 213, 422.
Moran, Pierre, 194.
Mosquigon River, 61.
Morris, Hon. Buckner S. 540.
Morris, Illinois, 467.
Morrison, Charles, 58.
Morrison, Wm. 34.
Motte, August, 180.
Mud Lake, 438.
"Mufti," 487.
Mukudapenais, 191.
Muller, M. 455.
Munson, F. A. 522.
Murphy, Edmund, 511.
" Edward, 294, 295, 296.
" John, 511, 512, 513, 514.
" and Titus, 504.
" Mrs. Harriet A. 506, 508, 511, 512, 513, 514.
Murray, Wm. 272, 274.
Myrick's Tavern, 45, 525.
Nadeau, Monique, 330.
Names of Western Lakes, Rivers, etc. 434.
Narration of G. S. Hubbard, 421, 422.
Narrow Escape, 127.
National Protest, 270.
Nautical, 80.
Navarre, Pierre, 34.
Neads, John, 180.
Neads, Mrs. 180.
Nelson, a Captive, 180.
Nes-cot-no-meg, 183, 349, 463.
Newberry, Oliver, 308, 558.
" and Dole, 249.
" and Ogden, 559.
" Walter S. 560.
New Departure, 384, 531.
New Found Speech of Capt. Wells, 380.
"New York House," 521.
Nicollet, Sieur Jean, 389.
Niles' Register, 178, 179, 356.
Noble, John, 109, 433.
" Mark, 109, 479, 595, 597.
" Misses, 113.
" Prof. T. S. 534.
" Mrs. Serena R. 37.
Noiseux, Rev. Mr. 372.
Non-no-ga, 106.
Norris' Chicago Directory 1844, 367.
Northwest Fur Company, 32, 409, 528.
Norton, Nelson R. 557, 558.
Not near as Old, 451, 452.
Not the first sail vessel here, 50, 417, 418, 419.
" " School-teacher, 366.
" " White Woman, 384.
" " to settle the Mississippi Valley, 594.
"Number One," 475.
Nunnery on LaSalle Street, 396.
"Oahiya," 56.
Ogden, Mahlon D. 364.
Ogden, William B. 48.
Ogilvy & Co. John, 64, 66.
"Ohio House," 525.
Old Fort, 62.
" "Geese," 498, 499.

Old Gun, 128.
" Mackinaw, 62.
" Merchants of New York, 28.
" Rome, 499.
" Settlers' Society Record, 354.
" Stories. By B. F. Taylor, 427.
Oliphant, Richard, 637.
Oliver, J. B. 319.
O'Meara, Rev. T. 295, 602.
"One Death in Four Years," 564.
One of the Old Log-cabins, 572.
On the Way to Chicago, 551.
Op-po-mish-shah, 106, 427.
Oram, Joshua F. 547.
Origin of name *Chicago*, 117–124, 189, 268, 271, 423.
Origin of name "Wolf Point," 498.
Osborn, Leader of Choir, 608, 636.
Osborn, Thomas O. 549.
Osterhoudt, L. M. 514, 521.
Oswego, N.Y. 419, 420.
Ouilmette, 25, 212, 361, 452.
Owen, George, 288.
Owen, Thomas, 288.
Owen, Col. T. J. V. 109, 220, 287, 288, 354, 457, 601, 629, 630.
Owen, William, 288.
Paddock, Sarah Edwards, 636.
Palmer, Frank W. 550.
Page's "Chicago Massacre," 416.
Palairet, John, 267.
Parker, Gerard & Ogilvy, 65, 67, 68.
Park, F. D. 412.
Parkman, Francis, 250, 251, 434.
Parshall, P. J. 578.
Pasquinade in 1835, 396.
Patterson, Mr. 69.
Patterson, Charles, 56, 440.
Patterson, Rev. R. W. 301.
Patterson's Point, 440.
Pearisburgh, Va. 471.
Pearsons, Hiram, 518, 558, 617.
Pearson, Hon. John, 393.
Peck, P. F. W. 113, 288, 290, 493, 505, 605.
Pettell, M. 25.
Penn, Wm. 96, 110, 526.
Pensonneau, Louis, 35.
Peoria, Lake, 211.
Perkins, H. B. 297.
Perkins, Rev. James H. 343.
"Perseverence" of Fitch, on the Delaware, 582.
Pesotum, that killed Capt. Wells, 380.
Peyton, Francis, 296, 540.
Phelps, Mr. 581,
Philadelphia Platted, 110.
Phillips, George S. 429.
Phillips, Major, Paymaster, 186, 196.
"Phillips," or "Sea Serpent," 575.
Picket, Ignace, 35.
Pictorial History of Revolution, 375.
Picture; a Deformity, 371.
Pictures of Kinzie House, 474.
Pierce, Benj. K. *U. S. A.* 565.
" Lieut. John S. 33.
" S. D. 358.
Pierre and Jacques; Marquette's Servants, 338, 341, 399.
Pinckney, Capt. 558.
Pineda, Don A. Alvarez, 436.
Pinet and Boniteau, Fathers, 168, 382.
Pinney, Catharine Louise, 329.
Platte Purchase, 463.
Point St. Ignace, 425, 426.
P.-O. Clerk in 1826, 544.
Pope, Capt. Surveyor, 566, 567, 568.
Popple's Atlas, 265.
Population of Chicago, 396, 644.
Porlier, Jacques, sen. 35,
Portage River, 149, 405.
Porteous, Mr. 64.
Porter, Gov. Geo. B. 220, 223, 236.
" Rev. Jeremiah, 290, 292, 395, 482, 603, 616, 626.
" Mrs. Jeremiah, 289, 292, 366.
" Gen. Peter B. 357.
" Mr. Sec'y Canal Commissioners, 566.
P.-O. Equipments in 1832, 143.
Portraits of the Mayors, 634.
Portrait of Col. J. B. Beaubien, 308.
" Mark Beaubien, 331, 506.
" Medore B. Beaubien, 336.

Portrait of Archibald Caldwell, 495.
" John Calhoun, 641.
" Deacon Philo Carpenter, 608.
" Stephen Forbes, 284.
" Mrs. Stephen Forbes, 285.
" Col. Gurdon S. Hubbard, 29.
" Judge C. Jouett, 102.
" Col. J. H. Kinzie, 568.
" Mrs. J. A. Kinzie, 569.
" Maj. R. A. Kinzie, 493.
" Little Turtle, 563.
" Me-te-a, 563.
" Rev. Jeremiah Porter, 607.
" Mrs. Jeremiah Porter, 292.
" Alex. Robinson, 458.
" Shabonee, 467.
" Tecumseh, 562.
" Col. Wm. Whistler, 26.
" Mrs. Col. Whistler, 23.
Potier, Mr. 61.
Pothier, Toussaint, 66.
"Potter's American Monthly," 375, 376, 381, 423, 473.
Pontwatamies, 57.
"Powerful Frosty," 553.
Powell, George N. 525.
"Powell's Tavern," 525.
Pownal, John, 266.
Pownal, Gov. Thomas, 266.
Prairie du Chien, 34, 209.
"Prairie Store," 572.
Pratt, Capt. Amos, 214.
Pratt, Oscar, 638.
Prescott, Eli S. 328.
Pretended Voyage to Lake Mich. 251.
Price, Richard M. 35.
Price, Wm. 546.
Primitive Corn Mill, 446.
Prophet of Cincinnati, 396.
Process Verbal, 1682, 160.
Proctor, Col. 178, 180.
Pugh, Mr. Canal Commissioner, 566.
Quadoghe, 267.
Quarter, Rev. Bishop, 602.
Quebec Surrendered, 173.
Quixotic Individuals, 388.
Racine, or Root River, 189.
Ragor, Mrs. 458.
Railway Prophecy, 84, 89.
"Rambler in North America," 214.
Ransom, Amherst C. 478.
Ransom, Capt. 34.
Rat Castle, 432, 500, 504.
Rates of Postage, 544, 545.
Raymond, B. W. 520.
Read, Charles H. 393.
Read, Lucinda, 637.
Reaume, Mr. 61.
Recognition of Chicago, 394.
Recollections by C. Cleaver, 569, 570.
"Record" of the Printers, 416.
Reed, Darius, 381.
Reed, Levi, 381.
Reid, John, 61.
Relatives of Shabonee, 468.
Relic, where is it? 21.
Reminiscences of J. M. Bucklin, 565.
" of Rev. S. R. Beggs, 373.
Rew, Dr. Norman, 135.
Reynolds, Gov. and His. Ill. 397, 636.
Rickords, William, 523.
Rice, Susannah, 623.
Riley, Judge, 206.
" James, 106.
" John, 106.
" Peter, 106.
River Calumet, 439, 452.
" DuPage, 441.
" Illinois, 437.
" Illinois Fox, 441.
" Kankakee, 439.
" Marquette, 449.
" Maumee, 440.
" Milwaukee, 441.
" Missouri, 264, 436.
" Muskingum, 440.
" Ohio, 56, 437.
" Plein, 182, 183, 184, 437.
" Rock, 442.
" Root, 441, 481.
" St. Croix, 441.
" St. Joseph, 440.
" Wisconsin, 441.
Roberts, Capt. of Michillimackinac, 178.

Roberts, David L. 500, 514, 525.
Robertson, Capt. 51, 52.
Robinson, Mr. 57.
Robinson, *a guide*, 104.
Robinson, Alexander, 94, 109, 208, 353, 415, 450, 453, 456, 458, 505, 568.
Robinson, Rix, 35.
Rock Fort, *or Starved Rock*, 369.
Rodgers, Capt. of "Walk-in-the-Water," 419.
Rodgers, George W. 516.
Rolette, Joseph, 33, 34, 491.
Roland, Antoine, 194.
Roman Catholic Church, 601.
" Catholic Missions, 593.
Romulus and Remus, 499.
Ronan, Ensign George, 178, 379.
Ross, Alex. 274.
Ross, John E. 458.
Rossiter Asher, 298, 518.
"Round Head," 465.
Roussain, Eustache, 33.
Rucker, Henry L. 295.
Rue, John C. 517.
Ruff, Capt. 67.
Rumsey, A. G. 297.
" George F. 267.
" James, 275.
" Julius S. 632.
Russell, Deacon Aaron, 615.
" Jacob, 295, 523, 524.
" John B. F. 542.
Ryan, Thomas, 319.
Sabbath-Day Incident, 94.
"Sag," the, 438.
Saginaw Bay, 440.
"Saginaw House," 470.
Sa-gua-nash, 84.
Sail Vessels, Early at Chicago, 390.
Saloon Building; 425, 542, 628.
Sand Banks, 200 years since, 387.
Sand Ridge, 500.
Sandusky Bay, 440.
Sanford, Rev. Miles, 626.
Sanson, Geographer, 260, 434.
Sarbonne, 111.
Sargent, John K. 623.
Sauganash Tavern, 333, 413, 506, 507, 508, 512.
Sawyer, Dr. Sidney, 520.
Sayers, John, 53.
Scammon, J. Young, 297, 299, 300, 312, 542, 586.
Scarritt, Rev. Isaac, 373, 594.
Schindler, Therese, 33, 194.
Schooner "Ann," Capt. Ransom, 34.
" "Illinois," 359.
" "Me-mee," 489.
" "Nancy," 58.
" "Napoleon," 308.
" "Tracy," 25, 393.
Schoolcraft, H. R. 118, 120, 188, 189, 190, 191, 271, 413, 476.
Schoolcraft's Narrative, 187, 562.
" "Oneota," 118.
" Opinion of Chicago, 190, 471.
" Thirty Years, 413, 444.
" View of Chicago, 1820, 318, 564.
Scott, J. H. 297.
" Capt. Martin, 84, 85, 89, 567.
" Stephen J. 558.
" Gen. Winfield, 214, 391, 500, 501.
" Willis, 412, 425, 432, 476.
Scripps, John L. 547, 548, 549.
Secretary of Tecumseh, 460.
See, Miss Leah, 482.
See, Rev. Wm. 350, 373, 393, 415, 482, 596.
Sermon at Presbyterian Church Dedication, 612.
Several Indian Names, 583.
Seymour, Jesse, 512.
Seymour, Mr. of Long's Expedition, 564.
Shabonee, 432, 461, 464, 466.
Shaffer, Rev. B. 602.
"Shakespeare Hotel," 525.
Shapley, Morgan L. 131.
Shaw-ne-aw-kee, 475, 486.
Shaw-we-no-quah, 336.
Shea, Dr. J. G. 118, 149, 338, 343, 385, 401, 426, 434, 436.
"Shekaug," or "Old Garlic," 269.

Shelley, Geo. E. 523.
Shelton & Kinsett's Map, 268.
Sheppard's Indignation, 294.
Sherman, A. S. 300.
Sherman, Francis C. 337, 524, 585.
Sherman House, 525.
Sherman, Silas W. 544.
Shuman, Mr. 125.
Shuttleworth, Julia, 286.
Silver Pitcher, 22.
Silversmith Shop, 475.
Simons, Edward, 127, 279.
Simon, Joseph, 274.
Sixty Authors and Several Hundred Errors, 337.
Skinner, Mark, 299, 300.
Skinner, Charles, 519.
Sleeping Partnership Dissolved, 536.
Sloop Russell, 67.
Sloop Clarissa, 415, 575.
Slosser, Mac, 547.
Smith, J. T. 519.
" George, 523, 576.
" Rev. C. B. 626.
" Mrs. fate of, 247.
" Mr. 512.
" Hon. Theophilus W. 397.
Smith's History of Wisconsin, 181.
Snow, George W. 48, 290, 501.
Social Profanity, 144.
Social Intercourse and Drinking, 497.
Solomon, Levy, 60.
Southern Hotel, 525.
Spaniards at St. Louis, 63.
Spanish Money, 544.
Sparks, Jared, 385.
Speech of Alex. Robinson, 457.
" "Black Partridge," 377.
" "Little Turtle," 99.
"Speedwell," Vessel, 61.
Speer, Isaac, 126, 127.
Speer and Cosper, 22.
Spotka, 464.
Sproat, David, 274.
Sproat, Grenville T. 290, 611.
Squires, Capt. 523.
Squires and Williamson, 525.
Stafford, John F. 383.
Standish, W. H. 311.
Starr and Little, 637.
Starved Rock, 258.
Steamboat "Chicago", 415.
" Hotel, 522.
" "Great Western," 214.
" "General Wayne," 214.
" "Henry Clay," 486.
" "Sheldon Thompson," 214.
" "Walk-in-the-Water," 419.
St. Cosme, Rev. J. F. B. de, 167, 168.
" Cyr, Rev. J. M. I. 382, 600.
" Ignace Point, 399, 400, 425.
" Ignatius Mission, 401.
" James Episcopal Church, 482, 628.
" Jean, Mr. 66.
" Joseph River, 50–70, 405.
" Leger, Col. Barry, 50, 51, 52.
" Louis Indian, 268.
" Mary's College, Montreal, 400, 430.
" Mary's Falls, 181.
" Palais, Rev. Maurice de, 602.
" Tuskey, 55.
Steele, Ashbel, 278, 509, 521.
Stevens, G. 521.
Stewart, Hart L. 545.
Stone, John, Trial of, 393.
" " Execution of, 45.
" Oscar, 78.
Storey, Wilbur F. 393.
Storrow, Samuel A. 181, 441, 463.
Store of P. F. W. Peck, 605.
Stow, William H. 375, 428, 525.
Strode, Col. J. M. 94, 326, 580.
Stuart, John T. 542.
Stuart, Robert, 30, 203, 355.
Stuart, Mrs. Robert, 395.
Stuart, William, 540, 543.
Studied as a Classic, 498.
Sturtevant, Mr. A. D. 297, 300.
Surdam, Duane, 525.
"Suminecatha," 85, 93.
Surrender of Quebec 1629, 593.
Swagger, an English Inheritance, 363.
Swearingen, Lieut. James S. 25, 27, 28.

Sweeney, John, 278, 280, 427, 558.
Sweet, Alanson, 361.
Tabeau, Mr. 50, 55.
Tallmadge, Mr. Alderman, 300.
Tanguay, Abbe, Gen. Dic. of, 303.
Tarleton, Col. 103.
Tartar Clans, 271, 335.
Tassé, Joseph, 303.
Taylor, Abner, *a mistake*, 413.
Taylor, Anson H. 479, 556.
Taylor, Aug. Deodat, 394, 602.
Taylor, Benjamin F. "Old Stories" of, 427, 510.
Taylor, Charles, 500, 556.
Taylor, Mrs. Charles, 113, 497, 500,
Taylor, E. D. 322, 325, 326.
Taylor, Maj. Zachary, 187, 545.
Tecumseh, 460, 465, 562, 564.
Temple, Dr. J. T. 109, 290, 557, 612, 622.
TenEyck, Conrad, 196.
Teppeconno, 57.
Thatcher, David C. 131.
The Sign with the Wolf, 496.
Thinks it "conclusive," 272.
Thomas, Mr. 63.
Thomas, Col. James, 181.
Thompson, Lieut. James L. 85, 109.
Thompson, William, 274.
Thought his Prophecy not Reliable, 620.
Thrilling Incident from "Wan-bun," 460.
Timber on the "South-side," 433.
Todd, Mr. 57.
Todd, Andrew, 58, 59.
Todd, McGill & Co. 58.
Todd, William, 59.
Tonty, Henry de, 158, 161, 260, 434.
To-pay-nah-bay, 75, 192, 196, 197, 198, 200.
Tour of Gov. Cass, 1820, 374.
To Whom it may Concern, 581.
"Tracy," vessel, 25.
Traders' Licenses, 70.
Traditionally Drunk, 311.
"Traveler's Home," 504.
Treaty of Arbre Croche, 461.
" Butte' des Morts, 422.
" Chicago, *1821*, 476.
" Chicago, *1833*, 217–239.
" Greenville, 270, 360, 365.
" Prairie du Chien, 455, 462, 466.
" St. Louis, *1816*, 239, 358, 443, 466.
" St. Mary's, O. 476.
"Tremont House," 519, 520.
Tribune, Chicago, 270, 271.
"Tricks of the Trade," 363.
Trimble, Hon. Wm. A. 196.
Trip to Chicago in 1828, 594.
Trotier *or* Beaubien, 303.
Trowbridge, Hon. C. C. 188, 201, 203, 374.
Trowbridge, S. G. 542.
Trumbull, J. Hammond, 121.
Trustees' Lease, 113.
Tucker, B. E. 519.
Tucker, Rev. Dr. Elisha, 626.
"Tuck Chicago," 423.
Tuttle, F. B. 509.
"Twelve Families in the City," 598.
Two Cherished Legends, 498.
Two Prominent Factors, 271.
Tyler, Hon. John, 543, 544.
"Underground Railway," 364.
"United States Hotel," 512.
Van Alstine, John, 89.
Van Der Bogert, W. H. 109.
Vandergrist, David, 89.
Van Horne, James, 179.
Van Keulen, Gerard, 264.
Van Voorhis, Dr. Isaac V. 178, 352, 362.
Variety; Kinzie House Views, 371, 473, 474.
Varnum, Jacob B. U. S. Factor, 196, 203.
"Vermont House," 514.
Verrazano, 434.
Vessel Ashore, 1793, 61.
Vicissitudes of Fur Trade, 77.
View of the Beaubien Land, 318.
" Wabansa Statue, 449.
" Kinzie House, 474.

View of Wolf Point, 503.
" Beaubien's Violin and Calumet, 509,
" West-Side, 513.
" "Wigwam," 1860, 515.
" Green-Tree Tavern, 516.
" Lake Street, 1839, 520.
" Chicago P.-O. Mark, 1836, 539.
" Saloon Building, 543.
" Ice Jam, 1849, 561.
" P. F. W. Peck's Store, 605.
" Block House, Ft. Dearborn, 647.
Vincennes, Ind. 72, 73.
Vincennes, M. de, 173.
Violin of Mark Beaubien, 508, 509.
Virginia Settlement, 471.
Visget, Jacob, 196.
Voyage to Chicago, *1810*, 383.
Wabansa and his Statue, 443-450, 464.
Wabansa, 481.
Wadsworth, Julius, 583.
Wadsworth, Tertius, 602.
Wait, Timothy, 136.
Waldy, Henry, 526.
Walker, Capt. Aug. 214.
Walker, Rev. Jesse, 109, 113, 288, 373, 391, 397, 502, 594, 595.
Walker, Martin O. 542.
" Rev. Wm. F. 554.
" Geo. E. 566.
"Walk-in-the-Water," Steamboat, 419.
"Walk-in-the-Water," (or "Miere,") *Chief*, 465, 583.
Wallace, Wm. H. 34.
Walnut Grove, 493.
Wandell, George, 134.
"War" of 1812, 175, 176.
Warden, Peter, 623.
Warner, Goodrich, 33.
Warren, Sarah L. 290, 291.
Warren, Truman A. 34.
Was he "a circumlocutionist?" 390.
"Washington's Journal," 435.
Was it the First? 575.
Was Marquette at Chicago? 384.
"Watchman, what of the Night!" 619.
Watkins, Therese (Laframboise), 336.
Watkins, John, 109, 287, 288, 293, 366, 391.
Watkins, Thomas, 336, 532, 539, 543.
Watson's Annals, 526.
Wattles, Wm. W. 504, 518.
"Waubansee," 380.
Wau-bun, 75, 104, 271, 347, 357, 381, 406, 408, 433, 443, 468, 473, 489, 495, 506, 507.
Wayne, Gen. Anthony, 175, 466.
Weatherford, Wm. 220, 231.
Weather in Chicago, *1820*, 280.
Webster, Daniel, 447, 590.
Weed, Edmund, 594.
Weeks, Cole, 496.
Wellmaker, John, & Co. 499.
Wells Street or 5th Avenue, 648.
Wells, Capt. Wm. 70, 73, 97, 103, 178, 357, 358, 380, 388, 408, 424, 648.
Wells, Wm. H. 119, 122, 283, 289, 292, 297, 300.
Wells, Wm. Wayne, 369, 390.
Wentworth, Elijah, 391, 496, 497, 498, 499, 529.
Wentworth, Hon. John, 37, 103, 108, 124, 141, 175, 178, 305, 335, 393, 406, 442, 463, 465, 471, 477, 480, 481, 496, 499, 508, 512, 513, 514, 523, 529, 533, 539, 542, 557, 565, 585, 586, 599, 601, 602, 625, 645, 646, 647.
Wentworth, E. and the Wolf, 497.
Western Hotel, 525.
"Westward Ho!" 417.
Wheeler, Capt. Fred, 131.
Whiley, Mr. 72.
Whipley, J. 196.
"Whispered in her Ear," 432.
Whistler, George W. 25.
" Capt. John, 25, 26, 354, 355, 405, 409, 426.
" John, jr. 469.
" John H. 38.
" M. L. *first known white boy*, 38.
" Col. Wm. 412.
" Mrs. Wm. 23, 376, 407, 493.
"White Elk," 105, 106, 427.

Whitehead, Rev. Henry, 598.
"White Otter," 107.
White Pigeon, 529.
"White Raccoon," 179.
Whiting, Wm. 307.
Whitlock, James, 325.
Whittlesey, Col. Chas. 172.
Whittlesey, Elisha, 526.
Who Killed Tecumseh, 564.
Whoop for Return of the Prairie, 456.
Wickliffe, the renowned, 401.
"Wigwam" of Col. Beaubien, 306.
"Wigwam" of Lincoln's Nomination, 515.
Wilcox, Capt. Lafayette, 109, 328.
Wilcox, Maj. Lafayette, 607, 615.
Wilcox, Miss Myra D. 554.
Wilcox, Charles, 554.
"Wild Onion River," 182.
Wilder, A. G. 300.
Wilderness Letters, 49–74.
Willard, Miss Frances L. 294.
Williams, J. L. 529.
Williams, Mr. 55.
" Eli B. 290, 413, 425, 556.
" E. S. 393, 580.
" H. 360.
" Gen. John R. 196.
Wilson, John L. 427, 537, 573.
Wilson, Richard L. 545.
Wilson, Gen. James G. 556.
Winchell, John, 529.
Winnebago Grammar, 485.
" War, *1827*, 421.
Winnemeg, 380.
Winslow, D. A. 79.
Winslow's Sketch Ber. Co. Mich. 364.
Winston, Richard, 276, 277.
"Winter in the West," 240, 424.
Wisconsin Marine and Fire Insurance Company, 576, 577.
Wisconsin State Historical Society, 106, 181, 186, 372, 422, 455, 529.
Witherby, Eathan, 299.
Witherell, Judge, Reminiscences of, 306.
Wolcott, Dr. Alexander, 39, 188, 189, 190, 196, 198, 201, 208, 280, 410, 426, 453, 477, 478, 490.
Wolcott, Alexander (2d), 473.
Wolfe, Gen. 451.
Wolf Hunt, 246, 247.
" Point, 391, 414, 498, 499, 515.
" Tavern, 504.
Wood, A. C. 299.
Woodruff, Geo. H. 374, 537, 573.
Woodward, Walter, 636.
Woodworth, Hon. James H. 632.
Wool, Gen. John E. 187.
Worthingham, Wm. 361.
Wouldn't let it be Copied, 574.
Wright, Deacon John, 288, 617.
" John S. 293, 331, 366, 493, 574, 608.
" Thomas, 293, 295, 296, 540.
Wrongly Located, 598.
Wynkoop, H. A. 546.
Yale College, 271.

FERGUS PRINTING COMPANY CHICAGO.

HOME USE
CIRCULATION DEPARTMENT
MAIN LIBRARY

This book is due on the last date stamped below.
1-month loans may be renewed by calling 642-3405.
6-month loans may be recharged by bringing books to Circulation Desk.
Renewals and recharges may be made 4 days prior to duo date.
ALL BOOKS ARE SUBJECT TO RECALL 7 DAYS AFTER DATE CHECKED OUT.

REC'D CIRC DEPT SEP 11'74

MAY 25 1979 7 5

REC. CIR. JUN 22 1979

NOV 29 2000

DEC 19 2000

JA

LD21—A-40m-5,'74
(R8191L)

General Library
University of California
Berkeley

LD 21[illegible]
(C1795s10)476B

General Library
University of California
Berkeley